00031129

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-1.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

RESTORATION,

TO THE ACCESSION OF THE

HOUSE OF HANNOVER.

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

VOL. II.

31129
a.c

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL, in the
MDCCLXXVI.

00031129

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHAP. I.

Obſervations.——Diſcontents.——Intrigues with the Whigs.——Views of James's friends.——Correſpondence of Marlborough and Ruſſel.——Project of an invaſion.——Preparations of William.——James at La Hogue.——Vigorous meaſures.——French defeated.——Obſervations.——Affairs at ſea.——Campaign of 1692.*——Namur taken.——Battle of Steinkirk.——Conſpiracy againſt William.——Campaign in Savoy.——Young's forgeries.——Diſcontents.——Parliament meets.——Ill humour in both houſes.——Remonſtrance againſt foreigners.——Proceedings.——A place-bill rejected by the lords.——Bill for ſhortening parliaments rejected by the King.——Affairs of Ireland.——Grievances of that kingdom.——A remonſtrance.——Parliament prorogued.——Affairs of Scotland.——Obſequiouſneſs of the Scots.——Ill-requited by William.——Intrigues of James.——His declaration.——Legal ſeverities.——Campaign of* 1693.*——Battle of Landen.——Reflections.——Campaign on the Rhine——In Piedmont——In Spain——In Hungary.——Smyrna fleet taken.——Diſcontents.——Intrigues of King James.*

James.——Whigs and Tories promiſcuouſly in his intereſt.——The clergy favour him.——Parliament meets.——Proceedings of both houſes. page 1

CHAP. II.

Secret intrigues.——Of Marlborough.——Ruſſel.——Shrewſbury.——Godolphin.——Sunderland.——Whigs and Tories in office.——An expedition againſt Breſt.——Betrayed by Marlborough.——Campaign of 1694.——Proceedings of parliament.——Triennial bill.——Death and character of the Queen.——Grief of William.——Reflections of James.——Lancaſhire plot.——Inquiry into abuſes.——Speaker expelled.——Corrupt practices in India affairs.——Duke of Leeds impeached.——Parliament prorogued.——Campaign of 1695.——Siege of Namur.——Campaign in Italy, Germany, and Spain.——Diſaſters at ſea.——Affairs of Scotland.——Affairs of Ireland.——Intrigues of James in England.——Situation of William.——His projects.——A new parliament.——Debates on the coin-act.——Addreſs againſt the Scots.——New council of trade.——Addreſs againſt the Earl of Portland.——Aſſaſſination-plot.——A projected invaſion.——Zeal of the two houſes.——Schemes of the late King broken.——Conſpirators puniſhed.——Proceedings of the parliament. P. 59

CHAP. III.

Diſtreſſed ſtate of France.——Her intrigues, and deſire of peace.——Campaign of 1696.——Advances toward a treaty.——Domeſtic affairs.——Proceedings of parliament.——Fenwick's caſe.——An obſequious ſeſſion.——Congreſs at Riſwick.——Peace oppoſed by the Emperor.——Intrigues for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.——Campaign of 1697.——Crown of Poland offered to

King James.——Secret views of that Prince.——William haſtens the peace.——He agrees that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the throne.——Reflection.——The propoſal rejected by James.——France peremptory in her demands.——The treaty of Riſwick ſigned.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Views of parties.——The army diſbanded.——The King diſguſted.——Proviſion for the civil liſt.——The commons refractory.——Parliament diſſolved.——Negociations for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.——Firſt treaty of partition propoſed.——The King in Holland.——Scotiſh and Iriſh affairs.——Treaty of partition ſigned.——A new parliament.——The commons refractory.——The army again reduced.——William threatens to abandon the government.——He yields to the commons.——Solicits them in vain for his Dutch guaras. p. 113

CHAP. IV.

A general tranquillity.——Second partition-treaty.——Inſolence of the Spaniſh ambaſſador.——Affairs of the North.——Scotiſh affairs.——Change in the miniſtry.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Iriſh forfeitures.——Violence of the commons.——Bill of reſumption.——King diſguſted.——Affairs of Scotland.——A petition in the name of the whole nation.——The King offended.——Miniſtry changed.——Character of Lord Somers.——William and France on good terms.——Affairs of the North.——Scotiſh affairs.——A general ferment.——Violence of the diſcontented.——Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.——Death and will of the King of Spain.——Reſentment of the Emperor.——Domeſtic affairs.——Scotiſh parliament gained.——A new parliament in England.——Steps toward a war.——Settlement of the crown.——Reflections.——Proceedings in parliament.——The King's prudence.——Various impeachments.——Proceedings.——Difference between the houſes.——Reflections.——

Campaign.

Campaign in Italy.——Triple alliance.——Exhauſted ſtate of France and Spain.——Death of King James.——His ſon owned in France.——Preparations for war.——King declines in his health.——Conteſt between parties.——Affairs of the North.——A new parliament.——King's death.——His private character.—His public conduct.——Reflections. p. 163

QUEEN ANNE.

CHAP. V.

Acceſſion of Anne.——State of parties.——Her firſt ſpeech to parliament.——She reſolves to proſecute the war.——A general ferment.——New miniſtry.——Marlborough and Godolphin in chief power.——They correſpond with St. Germains.——Parliament prorogued.——Affairs of Scotland.——A great ferment.——A ſeceſſion of members.——Act of ſettlement rejected.——Campaign of 1702.——Operations at ſea.——Succeſs before Vigo.——New parliament.——Proceedings.——Penſion refuſed to Marlborough.——His intrigues with St. Germains.——Bill againſt occaſional conformity.——Diviſion between the houſes.——Parliament prorogued.——Conduct of the Whigs.——Queen favours the Tories.——Court of St. Germains apply to Marlborough.——Affairs of Scotland.——Character of the Duke of Hamilton.——His inſtructions from St. Germains.——New parliament.——Act of ſecurity.——Act of ſettlement rejected.——Violent heats.——State of Scotland, with regard to England.——Affairs of Ireland.——Campaign of 1703.——Progreſs of the French and Bavarians.——Operations on the Rhine—In Flanders—and at ſea.——Affairs of the North.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Ample ſupplies.——A dreadful tempeſt.——Bill againſt occaſional conformity.——Scotiſh plot.——Character of Simon Fraſer.——His crimes.——His plot diſcovered.——Diſpute between the houſes.——Parliament prorogued. p. 227

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

State of parties.——Tories diſmiſſed.——Campaign of 1704.——*Attack at Donawert.——Battle of Blenheim.——Its great conſequences.——Campaign in Flanders and Portugal, and in Italy.——Gibraltar taken.——Battle of Malaga.——Affairs of the North.——Secret intrigues of Marlborough.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of parties.——Act of ſecurity.——Reflections.——Secret negociations.——Parliament of England meets.——State of parties.——Bill of occaſional conformity.——Proceedings.——Marlborough's intrigues with the court of St. Germains.——Quarrel between the houſes.——Affairs of Ireland.——Godolphin intimidated, joins the Whigs.——Parliament diſſolved.——Campaign of* 1705.——*Death and character of the Emperor.——Campaign in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Portugal.——Succeſs in Spain.——Affairs of the North.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of the Jacobites.——Act for treating about an union.——A new parliament in England.——Proceedings.——Inconſiſtency of the Tories.——Motion for inviting the Princeſs Sophia.——Bill of regency.——Proceedings with regard to Scotland.——Parliament prorogued.——Secret conduct of Godolphin.——Campaign of* 1706.——*Battle of Ramillies.——Conqueſt of Flanders.——Battle of Turin.——Succeſs of the allies in Spain.——Campaign in Germany.——Naval tranſactions.——Affairs of the North.——Articles of union ſettled.——Scotiſh affairs.——Intrigues of the Jacobites.——Tumults and debates.——Arguments againſt the union.——The articles approved.——Reflections.——Peace offered by France.——Parliament of England ratifies the Union.——Diſtreſs and preparations of France.—Campaign of* 1707.—*Battle of Almanza.—Siege of Toulon.——Inactive campaign in Flanders.* p. 289

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Diſcontents in Scotland.——Intrigues of France.——Hoche's negociations.——Secret views of Godolphin.——Marlborough's intrigues.——An oppoſition formed.——Firſt parliament of Great Britain.——Houſe of lords refractory.——Examination into public affairs.——Scotiſh affairs.——A zeal for war.——Harley's intrigues.——He is diſmiſſed from office.——An invaſion threatened.——Pretender ſails from Dunkirk;—but returns.——Obſervations on the invaſion.——Views of the Scotiſh Jacobites.——Parliament diſſolved.——Campaign of 1708.——Battle of Oudenarde.——Siege of Liſle.——Siege of Bruſſels raiſed.——Corrupt practices of Marlborough and Cadogan.——Operations on the Rhine—in Savoy—and in Spain.——Sardinia and Minorca reduced.——Affairs of Italy.——Death of the [illegible] Denmark.——New Parliame[illegible] promote[illegible]s of treaſon extended to Sc[illegible] act of [illegible] Parliament urges the Queen [illegible] —— Propoſa[illegible]——Diſtreſs of France.——Extraordinary terms.——Preliminaries rejected by the allies.——Marlborough favours the Pretender.——Secret intrigues of Godolphin.—— Pretender's views.——Campaign of 1709.——Battle of Malplaquet.——Retreat of the French.——Operations on the Rhine—in Dauphinè—and Spain.——Naval affairs.——Battle of Pultowa.——Overtures of peace.——Secret intrigues.—— Affair of Doctor Sacheverell.——He is impeached.——A general ferment.——His trial.——Preliminaries offered by France. ——Conferences at Gertruydenberg.——Campaign of 1710.—— Operations in Flanders—Germany—and Savoy.——Battles of Almenara—Sarragoſſa—Villa-Vicioſa.——Naval affairs.—— Affairs of the North. p. 373

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

State of domeſtic affairs.——Steps towards a change.——Imprudence of Godolphin and obſtinacy of Marlborough.——Sunderland diſmiſſed.——The allies interpoſe.——Leaders of the Whigs diſgraced.——Character of the Earl of Wharton.——Marlborough offers his ſervice to the Pretender.——He receives a letter from the exiled Queen.——He applies to the houſe of Hannover.——He accuſes Harley of Jacobitiſm.——Uneaſineſs of the allies and hopes of France.——Secret views of the court of St. Germains.——Godolphin's project for the Pretender.——His character.——A total change in the miniſtry.——Intrigues of St. John and Harcourt.——Whigs and Tories apply to Hannover.——New parliament.——Inquiry into miſmanagements.——Coldneſs towards Marlborough.——Immenſe ſupplies.——Harley ſtabbed.——He is made Earl of Oxford and lord-treaſurer.——Parallel between him and the Earl of Rocheſter.——Schemes of the Pretender.——He writes to Queen Anne.——Endeavours to gain the miniſtry.——Their profeſſions to the family of Hannover.——Death of the Emperor.——Campaign of 1711.—In Flanders.—In Germany, Savoy, and Spain.——Naval affairs.——State and views of the houſe of Bourbon.—And of the Britiſh miniſtry.——Advances towards a peace.——A memorial from France.——Preliminaries of Great Britain.——Mr. Prior ſent to France.——Menager ſent privately to London.——Prior diſcovered on his return.——The preliminaries become public.——Are defended by the miniſtry.——They reſolve upon a peace.——Intrigues of Buys, the Dutch ambaſſador.——Elector of Hannover oppoſes the peace.——Intrigues of Bothmar.——Dangerous ſchemes of the Whigs and confederates.——Marlborough's zeal for the Pretender.——Affair of the medal in Scotland.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Intrigues of the allies and Whigs.——The lords declare

declare againſt a peace.——Duke of Hamilton's patent rejected.——Proceedings of the commons.——Diſgrace of the Duke of Marlborough.——Cauſe of that meaſure.——Obſervations on his character and conduct.——Reflections. p. 447

CHAP. IX.

Views of the lord treaſurer.——Dangerous ſchemes of the Confederates and Whigs.——Twelve new peers created.——Arrival and character of Prince Eugene.——His ſchemes.——Projects of Marlborough and Bothmar.——Prince Eugene's violent propoſal.——He is diſguſted with the Whigs.——His plot diſcovered.——Conſternation of the Queen and miniſtry.——Lord treaſurer's prudent conduct.——Proceedings of the commons.——Their animadverſions on the Whigs.——They cenſure the barrier-treaty.——They examine the conduct of the allies.——Prince Eugene returns to the Continent.——Congreſs at Utrecht.——Death of the Princes of France.——Alternatives offered by Great Britain.——King Philip renounces his title to the French crown.——Anxiety of the Queen for peace.——Her attachment to the Pretender.——He writes to the Queen.——Artifice of the Earl of Oxford.——He deceives the Jacobites.——The Queen lays the terms before parliament.——Arguments for and againſt the peace.——Proceedings.——Campaign of 1712.——Inactivity of Ormond.——Conſternation of the allies.——Intrigues of Marlborough.——A ſuſpenſion of arms.——Affair of Denain.——The allies defeated.——Rapid progreſs of the French.——Bolingbroke ſent to France.——He ſettles terms with M. de Torcy.——The States eager for peace.——The Queen interferes for them.——Her views in favour of the Pretender.——He declines to change his religion.——Intrigues and propoſals of the Tories.——Deſigns of the Whigs.——Oxford pays court, in vain, to Hannover.——Death of the

the Duke of Hamilton.——Marlborough quits the kingdom. ——Shrewſbury ſent to France.——Affairs of the North.—— Progreſs of the peace.——Secret ſchemes of the Whigs.—— Projects of the houſe of Hannover.——They diſtruſt the Queen and miniſtry.—— The Elector indifferent about the ſucceſſion. ——Marlborough a ſpy on the Pretender.——Views of that Prince.——Peace of Utrecht. p. 521

CHAP. X.

Reflections on the peace of Utrecht.——Critical ſituation of the lord-treaſurer.——He is hated by both parties.——His views and intrigues.——Queen averſe from the houſe of Hannover. ——Parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Treaty of commerce examined.——Diſcontents of the Scots.——Character of the Duke of Argyle.——Motion for diſſolving the Union.—— Lord-treaſurer terrified.——Addreſs againſt the Pretender.—— Parliament prorogued.——Intrigues and diſſenſions in the cabinet.——Cabals of the Whigs.——They demand money, in vain, from the Elector.——Views of the Pretender.——Campaign of 1713.——A ferment in England.——Seditious conduct of the Scots.——Affairs of Ireland.——Jacobitiſm of Sir Conſtantine Phipps.——Diſſenſions between the Queen's ſervants.——Intrigues of Bolingbroke with Marlborough. —— Marlborough correſponds with the Pretender.——Whigs demand money for poor lords.——The friends of the houſe of Hannover deſpond. ——A general panic.——Mr. Harley ſent to Hannover.—— Some Tories join the Whigs.——Peace of Raſtadt.——Treaty with Spain.——Parliament meets.—— Miniſtry reform the army. ——The Elector refuſes to gratify the Whigs.——Their unmanly fears.——Their conſpiracy to ſeize the Tower.——Succeſſion voted out of danger.——Motions of the Whigs againſt the Pretender.——Their vain fears.——Their ſcheme to embarraſs the Queen.——A writ for the Electoral Prince demanded.——

The Queen's anxiety.——The Elector's demands.——Intrigues of the lord-treaſurer.——Views of the Pretender.——Proclamation againſt him.——The Queen endeavours to gain the Elector.——Death of the Princeſs Sophia.——State of the miniſtry.——Parliament prorogued.——Open rupture among the Miniſtry.——Concert between Bolingbroke and Marlborough.——Their views.——Diſmiſſion and character of the Earl of Oxford.——Death and character of the Queen. p. 589

WILLIAM AND MARY.

CHAP. I.

Obſervations.——Diſcontents.——Intrigues with the Whigs.——Views of James's friends.——Correſpondence of Marlborough and Ruſſel.——Project of an invaſion.——Preparations of William.——James at La Hogue.——Vigorous meaſures.——French defeated.——Obſervations.——Affairs at ſea.——Campaign of 1692.*——Namur taken.——Battle of Steinkirk.——Conſpiracy againſt William.——Campaign in Savoy.——Young's forgeries.——Diſcontents.——Parliament meets.——Ill humour in both houſes.——Remonſtrance againſt foreigners.——Proceedings.——A place-bill rejected by the lords.——Bill for ſhortening parliaments rejected by the King.——Affairs of Ireland.——Grievances of that kingdom.——A remonſtrance.——Parliament prorogued.——Affairs of Scotland.——Obſequiouſneſs of the Scots.——Ill-requited by William.——Intrigues of James.——His declaration.——Legal ſeverities.——Campaign of* 1693.*——Battle of Landen.——Reflections.——Campaign on the Rhine——In Piedmont——In Spain——In Hungary.——Smyrna fleet taken.——Diſcontents.——Intrigues of King James.——Whigs and Tories promiſcuouſly in his intereſt.——The clergy favour him.——Parliament meets.——Proceedings of both houſes.*

CHAP. I.

1692. Obſervations.

WILLIAM had obtained the crown, through the folly of his predeceſſor. He was now in danger of loſing it, by his own negligence. Diſappointments in their views, had eſtranged from him the minds of the Whigs. He diſguſted

CHAP. I. 1692.

the Tories with the coldneſs of his manner, even when he diſtinguiſhed them moſt with his favour. The diſſolution of the convention-parliament, had diminiſhed the influence of the former, to a degree that offended their pride. They ſaw a Prince, who had aſcended the throne upon their own principles, throwing himſelf into the hands of their political opponents, from an avowed affection for thoſe prerogatives which he was called to circumſcribe. The ſame conduct which deprived the King of the attachment of his firſt friends in England, deſtroyed his intereſt with the party which had accompliſhed the revolution in Scotland. In both kingdoms, the ſeeds of diſcontent had been ſown with a laviſh hand; and they gradually roſe to maturity, in the progreſs of events. The people in general, inflamed by diſappointment, miſled by deſigning men, or from levity, fond of change, began to ſhew a manifeſt diſlike to the behaviour of the King, and the meaſures of the crown. They became jealous of foreigners. They complained of an expenſive war, in which victory itſelf could produce no advantage to Britain. They murmured againſt a ſtanding army. They repined at the little uſe made of the navy, the great and natural bulwark of England.

Diſcontents.

THOUGH the enemies of William exaggerated his miſmanagements, it muſt be allowed, that men who judged of cauſes by events, had juſt reaſon to complain. The expences of England, from the landing of the Prince of Orange, on the fifth of November 1688, to the twenty-ninth of September 1691, had amounted to near eighteen millions[a]. Beſides, great arrears were owing to the army in Ireland, the navy was deſtitute of ſtores, and the ſhips were out of repair. The ſervice done in the intermediate time, excluſive of the change made in the perſon of the Monarch, was far from being adequate to that enormous ſum. The war in Ireland had been at firſt ſtrangely neglected. It was

[a] MS. 1691. Journals paſſim.

afterwards

afterwards proſecuted with little judgment, and it terminated in no honour. The inhabitants of a few pariſhes in the Highlands of Scotland, without any aid from abroad, and deſtitute of the means of war at home, remained in arms againſt the King, for more than two years. They had once totally defeated his army in the field. The checks which they had received, were neither ſplendid nor deciſive; and he owed the pacification which enſued, to the influence of his rival, and his own money [b], and not to the terror of his power. England had been, in the mean time, wounded in her pride. Her fleet had been twice defeated. Her enemy rode in triumph in the channel. Her coaſts were inſulted. She was left naked of troops, and expoſed to invaſion [c].

Secret intrigues

BUT William ought not, in common fairneſs, to be blamed for all theſe misfortunes. He reigned over a divided people. His title was diſputed by one party. He loſt the other, by not yielding to their claims upon his excluſive favour. His rival, in the mean time, ſupported by a powerful Monarch, either maintained war againſt him, within his kingdoms, or hovered over the coaſt with threatened invaſions. Deprived by his unhappy manner, and avowed attachment to foreigners, of the affection of the Engliſh, he had no friends among his ſervants. His councils were betrayed, his orders neglected, his perſon hated, his authority deſpiſed [d]. His only ſafety lay ultimately in the folly of his enemies; and that invincible averſion to the French nation, which the people of England had derived from their anceſtors. James had ſcarce landed in France, when many of thoſe, by whoſe deſertion he had loſt his throne, began ſecretly to favour his return. Men, who apparently had the chief hand in the revolution, admitted his agents into conferences, and encouraged their hopes [e]. The unprepared ſtate of France, in the beginning of

[b] MS. 1691.
[c] Nottingham to William, 1690.
[d] Intell. from England, MS. 1691.
[e] Rereſby.

CHAP. I. 1692.

the year 1689, rendering an immediate invaſion of England impracticable, James, contrary to his own opinion [f], was induced to ſail to Ireland. He knew that it was impoſſible to hold that exhauſted kingdom, againſt the wealth and power of the Engliſh nation. To render his rival uneaſy in the poſſeſſion of his throne, and to furniſh France with an opportunity of aiding him with effect in England, was all that he expected from his expedition [g].

with the Whigs.

WHILE James was on the worſt terms with his favourite ſect, the Catholics of Ireland, William, by the coldneſs of his manner, and his exertion of the prerogative, loſt his influence with the Whigs in England and Scotland. Diſcontented friends are frequently the moſt dangerous enemies. A plot was formed in Scotland, by the Preſbyterians, in favour of James. Many of the Whigs in England were privy to a conſpiracy, which threatened the ſubverſion of their former principles. In both kingdoms, thoſe inferior agents of the party, who had ruined the late King, were now buſy in procuring his reſtoration. Sir John Cochran, Ferguſon, Wildman engaged themſelves deeply with James [h]. The leaders of the party, though they had not avowedly eſpouſed the cauſe of that Prince, became very indifferent concerning the fate of William. The very ſecrets of the cabinet were ſaid to have been betrayed, by the Earl of Monmouth to Wildman; and by the latter to the late King [i]. The Duke of Bolton, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Earl of Devonſhire, the Lord Montague were ſuſpected [k]. The party in general made no ſecret of their diſappointment, in the Prince whom they had raiſed to the throne. Thoſe who came over with him from Holland, and ſuch as firſt joined him on his arrival, hated his perſon and his government the moſt [l].

[f] Mem. to Lewis, MS. 1689.
[g] Ibid.
[h] Caermarthen to William, June 13, 1690.
[i] Mary to William, 1690.
[k] Caermarthen to William, 1690.
[l] Dalrymple's Appen. Stuart-papers.

THE

CHAP. I.

1692.

THE retreat of James from Ireland, though unadviſed, precipitate, and weak, neither leſſened his influence nor increaſed the intereſt of William. The Tories, urged by their principles, favoured the former. The Whigs, ſwayed by their reſentment, ſtill continued adverſe to the latter. The agents of James were, in the mean time, extremely active. The Colonels Bulkley and Sackville ſounded the Marquis of Halifax and the Lord Godolphin. The Earl of Marlborough, inflamed by recent injuries from William, and, perhaps, remembering his former obligations to James, began, as ſhall hereafter appear, to correſpond with the latter. Admiral Ruſſel, diſappointed in his own private views, as well as in his public expectations from William, entered into the cabals, in favour of the late King. The Marquis of Caermarthen, in all his avowed zeal for the revolution, liſtened, in ſecret, to propoſals for the reſtoration of James [m]. While the great offered their ſervice to the late King, that Prince neglected not to ſupport his intereſt with conſpiracies among the inferior ranks. He correſponded with Ferguſon. He informed him of his intentions. He aſked his advice [n]. A party was formed in the city in his favour. The Tower was to have been ſurpriſed. The guards were to be attacked, on the firſt news of his landing. The perſons of William and Mary were to be ſeized [o].

James gains many friends.

THE affairs of James wore a like favourable aſpect in Scotland, toward the end of the preceding year. The ceſſation of arms made by Breadalbin with the Highlanders, had been begun and finiſhed by his conſent. His firm friend the Earl of Arran had promiſed "body for body," to uſe his own expreſſion, for the Earl of Argyle and the Marquis of Athol. The Highlanders were again prepared to take the field. Ten thouſand men, under the Duke of Berwick and the Earl of Dumbarton, were to have

Their views.

[m] Dalrymple's Appen. and MS. 1691. [n] Inſtructions to G. H. MS. Cot. 1691.
[o] Ibid.

been

CHAP. I. 1692.

been ſent to Scotland. The Marquis of Athol, the Earls of Argyle and Home, were to have received commiſſions, as lieutenant-generals, from James. The intrigues of James extended, in England, to the projected meaſures of parliament, and even to the very appointment of William's ſervants. The delay, at firſt, in granting the ſupply, the facility with which it was afterwards obtained, proceeded from the ſecret machinations of the late King's friends. Some of them wiſhed to leave the kingdom naked to an invaſion, by refuſing money. Others to vote the exciſe, that their old maſter might enjoy the benefit, without the odium, of that unpopular tax. Under the maſk of patriotiſm, they propoſed to attack his enemies. The Biſhops of Saliſbury and St. Aſaph were to be impeached, for perſuading the clergy to take the oaths to William, as a conqueror. The Marquis of Caermarthen, though he might not obſtruct a reſtoration, was not, from his temporizing character, to be truſted. He was, therefore, to be terrified from office by an impeachment, for declaring that no King could reign in England, as long as the act of *habeas corpus* ſhould remain in force. The choice of his ſucceſſor, as miniſter, was left to James; and the conteſt, for preference, lay between the Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Rocheſter [p]. To keep alive the ſpirit of diſcontent in the kingdom, Ferguſon employed, for King James, that very private preſs, with which he had, ſome years before, ſo much annoyed the Duke of York [q].

Correſpondence of Marlborough and Ruſſel.

THOUGH the Whigs, by their leaders, and the moſt of the Tories, in their own names, had made engagements with the late King, he relied chiefly upon Marlborough and Ruſſel. Marlborough had aſked, in the moſt abject terms, and obtained forgiveneſs for his former conduct, from James and his Queen [r]. He even became an agent for that Prince. He gained the Earl of Shrewſbury. He

[p] Ferguſon's Memorials, MS. Oct. 1691. [q] Ibid. [r] Jan. 10th, 1691.

tampered

CHAP. I. 1692.

tampered with Caermarthen. He promiſed to bring back the Princeſs of Denmark to her duty to her father [s]. He undertook, in ſome degree, for the army. He requeſted James to invade England, with twenty thouſand men. Though he was not truſted by James, he was, perhaps, ſincere in his profeſſions, and he effected what he promiſed. The Princeſs of Denmark, gained by his ſolicitations, warmed with a returning affection for her father, or urged by reſentment for perſonal injuries received from William and her ſiſter, made her peace with the late King. She wrote to him a letter full of contrition [t]. She aſked his forgiveneſs, and promiſed to join him whenever he ſhould land in England [u]. Marlborough judging in vain to corrupt the captains of men of war, as they durſt not communicate the ſecret to the ſailors, was the perſon who adviſed James to accept of the ſervices of Ruſſel [w]. To avoid an action with the French fleet, ſhould they fall in his way, would have been impoſſible. But it was always in the admiral's power to carry the fleet from the courſe held by the enemy, under the ſpecious pretence of orders. The conſpiracy was ſo great and general, that William ſeemed to have no friend to apprize him of his danger. Though he diſmiſſed the Earl of Marlborough from all his employments, in the month of January, though he diſgraced and deprived of her guards the Princeſs of Denmark, his reſentment ſeems to have rather proceeded from a renewal of private quarrels, than from any diſcovery of their ſecret negociations with the court of St. Germains.

Intrigues of James in England.

JAMES himſelf had taken all the precautions, which prudence or the advice of his friends could ſuggeſt, to render his return agreeable to the nation. He endeavoured to awaken the feelings of his former ſubjects, with a detail of the injuſtice of his rival and his own misfortunes. He hoped to rouſe their reſentment, by re-

[s] May 20th, 1691. [t] Dec. 10th, 1691. [u] Dec. 1691.
[w] Marlborough's Meſſage, MS. 1694. James II. 1692.

preſenting,

CHAP. I. 1692.

preſenting, in a ſtrong light, their grievances. He dwelt, in his propoſed declaration, on the tyranny of foreigners. He reminded the people of the enormous expences of government, the weight of taxes, the profuſion of William, his glaring partiality to his countrymen, the Dutch. He yielded to all the requiſitions of the Whigs in favour of the ſubject. He ſatisfied the church of England, with regard to religion. The Nonjurors were his determined friends. The clergy who had taken the oaths, offered to return to their allegiance, and they were, with chearfulneſs, received. To ſatisfy the world that the Proteſtant religion was in no danger, five hundred clergymen had engaged to join the late King upon his landing; and to attend him in his progreſs to preach to the people. The deprived biſhops, the moſt of thoſe prelates, who had temporized with William, by taking the oaths, were buſy in inculcating, upon the inferior clergy, the propriety of reſtoring James; while they, at the ſame time, aſſured that Prince of their zeal and fidelity [w].

Project of an invaſion.

ENCOURAGED by favourable accounts from Britain, and eager to turn the ſcale of the war, by placing that kingdom in the hands of a friend, Lewis the Fourteenth began to think ſeriouſly of an invaſion. James poſſeſſed of his native ſubjects an army almoſt equal to the purpoſe of the expedition. The tranſports which had carried to Ireland five thouſand French, in the year 1690, had brought back to France as many Iriſh. The Engliſh government had been at the expence of ſending fourteen thouſand more troops to James, after the capitulation of Limerick. Lewis promiſed to tranſport to Britain ten thouſand of this army, with a like number of French troops, under the convoy of his whole fleet, early in the year 1692. He began, in the month of January, to equip ſquadrons of men of war, at Toulon, Breſt, Rochfort, and

[w] Stuart-papers, 1693.

Port-Lewis. An embargo was laid upon all merchantmen. All privateers were recalled to man the fleet. An army, under the Mareſchal de Bellefons, filed off toward the coaſt of Normandy. Tranſports were prepared. James had concerted his meaſures with his friends in England. He had ſettled his conceſſions to the nation. To ſecure the Earl of Marlborough, already in diſgrace, from the further reſentment of William, he agreed, at his own requeſt, to except that nobleman from pardon, in his projected declaration to his people [x].

Preparations of William.

THOUGH ſo many perſons were privy to the deſigns of James, though every channel of intelligence brought news of the preparations of France, William was ſtill a ſtranger to his own danger. He, however, made all neceſſary preparations for manning the fleet. Preſs-warrants continued to be executed, throughout the month of February; and all ſailors fit for ſervice, were forced to enter on board the navy. The utmoſt expedition was uſed in the docks and yards. In the firſt week of March, all the ſhips of force had come round from Portſmouth. Many had fallen down from Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham, to the Nore. William, upon his arrival in Holland, haſtened the Dutch fleet to ſea. The Amſterdam, the Maeſe, the North-Holland, the Zealand ſquadrons were ordered to proceed ſucceſſively to the Downs. The combined fleets formed a greater naval force than had ever covered the ſea. They conſiſted of ninety ſhips of the line, with many frigates and fire-ſhips; and they carried more than forty thouſand men, with near ſix thouſand guns. Ruſſel, in the Britannia, a firſt rate, commanded in chief the whole. He reſolved to adhere to his engagements with James, but time and accident broke through all his deſigns [y].

[x] Stuart-papers, 1692. Dalrymple's Append.

[y] Stuart-papers, 1692.

CHAP. I.

1692. James arrives at La Hogue.

THE late King had concerted with his friends in England, that the French fleet ſhould ſail early in the year. Had the preparations of Lewis anſwered his expectations, he propoſed to put to ſea in the middle of March. He, however, left not St. Germains until the eleventh of April. He had, even then, ſufficient time to carry his army to England, before the junction of Ruſſel with the Dutch fleet. Beſides, that officer continued his correſpondence, and aſſured him of his firm intention to ſerve his cauſe. He propoſed one of two alternatives. That James ſhould ſuſpend his expedition till winter; or that he himſelf ſhould, under the pretence of making a deſcent on the coaſt of France, permit the French fleet to paſs. He accordingly applied, but in vain, to the court of England, for permiſſion to attack St. Maloes. He adviſed James, by all means, to prevent the meeting of the fleets. None of his officers was truſted with the ſecret; and he would, therefore, find himſelf under a neceſſity to fight. A contrary wind, which blew inceſſantly for four weeks, hindered the French from ſailing, and prevented James from conveying his inſtructions to Ruſſel. The Toulon ſquadron was kept, by the ſame adverſe wind, from paſſing the Streights. Tourville, with the Breſt ſquadron, was, after repeated efforts, driven back to his port. During this interval, the Dutch joined the Engliſh in the Downs [z]. Ruſſel, proceeding immediately to St. Helens, ordered two ſmall ſquadrons, that cruized on the coaſt of France, to join him in that place.

Vigorous meaſures in England.

DURING this time of ſuſpence, the government of England were not remiſs in their duty. Several of the ſervants of the crown were in correſpondence with the late King; but they endeavoured, by a ſhow of alacrity againſt him, to prevent every ſuſpicion of infidelity. Some imperfect inſinuations of a plot had been carried

[z] May 8.

to

CHAP. I. 1692.

to William in Flanders. The Earl of Portland arrived, with ſecret inſtructions for the Queen. The Earls of Huntington and Marlborough were ſent to the Tower, with others of leſſer name. A proclamation was iſſued, for apprehending ſeveral other perſons of rank, who had abſconded. A camp was formed between Petersfield and Portſmouth. Six regiments, under orders to embark for Flanders, were countermanded. The lieutenancy were ordered to raiſe the militia; and the ſame precautions were uſed in Scotland; but Ireland was left to its fate. Orders were ſent to the fleet to ſail in queſt of the enemy. A declaration, iſſued by James before he left St. Germains, was publiſhed and anſwered, by authority. Activity and ſpirit prevailed every where; and that terror, which commonly precedes danger, was leſſened by the buſtle of preparation [a].

The fleet ſails toward La Hogue.

THE communication between France and England was, in the mean time, completely interrupted. James, during all the time he had remained at La Hogue, received no intelligence from his friends in London [b]. Captain Lloyd, who had been diſpatched to him by his adherents, with an important meſſage, and a letter from the Princeſs of Denmark, was detained two months on his way. Tourville, upon a change of wind, ſailed at length from Breſt, with forty-four ſhips of the line. He directed his courſe to La Hogue; but, unfortunately for him, the combined fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of many more than double his number of ſhips, arrived, at the ſame inſtant, in the neighbourhood of that place. The weather, in the mean time, was extremely hazy. On the nineteenth of May, about four of the clock in the morning, the ſun having cleared a little the fog, admiral Ruſſel deſcried the enemy holding, with a very ſmall gale at weſt and by ſouth, their courſe ſouthward, on the ſame tack with himſelf. They began on both ſides to form the line. Tourville, who had been

[a] Gazettes, 1692.

[b] James II. 1692.

CHAP. I.

1692.

irritated by a reflection thrown on his courage, by M. de Seignelay, reſolved to fight the enemy, though he was not ignorant of their force. He bore down upon the combined fleets at ten of the clock. The Dutch were in the van. The French admiral threw out the ſignal of battle, as he advanced on Ruſſel, who lay to receive him, with his fore top-ſail to the maſt [c].

An engagement.

AT half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, brought to, within three quarters of a muſket ſhot, of the Britannia of one hundred guns, commanded by Ruſſel. The reſt of the French admiral's diviſion fell in with the Engliſh line. A ſmart engagement enſued. The two commanders plied their guns very warmly, till one of the clock. The weather, during the engagement, fell almoſt calm. Tourville was diſabled. His rigging, ſails, and yards were ſhot, and his fire began to ſlacken. He ordered his boats to tow him to windward. Five freſh ſhips of the ſquadron, with a furious fire, covered their admiral's retreat. About four of the clock, a thick fog fell on the battle; and the firing ceaſed. At half after five, a ſmall breeze of wind aroſe at Eaſt; and the weather clearing up a little, the French were ſeen running on every ſide. Ruſſel gave the ſignal for the fleet to chaſe; but the fog returned and night came on. The French ſtood to the Weſt, with all their ſails. The breeze was ſo light, that little way could be made. The fog continued the greateſt part of the next day. Toward the evening, Ruſſel took in the ſignal for the line of battle; and ordered each ſhip to make the beſt of her way, in purſuit of the enemy. The tide of ebb being done, both fleets came to anchor; both reſolving to take advantage of the next return of the tide [d].

Sixteen French ſhips burnt.

IN the morning of the twenty-firſt of May, all the French ſhips were far advanced toward the Race of Alderney. One and

[c] Ruſſel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.

[d] Ibid.

twenty

CHAP. I. 1692.

twenty however were driven eaſtward, from the entrance of the Race, by the tide of flood, toward Cape La Hogue. Three of that number endeavoured to tack to the weſtward, againſt the current; but one of them, after two or three ſhort boards, ran aſhore. The other two were weathered by the ſternmoſt ſhips of Ruſſel's ſquadron. Sir Ralph Delaval, rear admiral of the red, was ordered to deſtroy the three ſhips, and Ruſſel himſelf ſtretched after the remaining eighteen, who hauled in for La Hogue. Five made their eſcape eaſtward in the night. Thirteen were obſerved, on the twenty-ſecond, hauled in cloſe with the ſhore. On the twenty-third, rear-admiral Rooke was ordered, with ſeveral men of war, the fire-ſhips and the boats of the fleet, to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips. Though the men of war could not approach, Rooke burnt ſix ſhips in the night. The remaining ſeven were deſtroyed in the ſame manner, the next day. Little reſiſtance was made by the French. Their officers had retired, and the men fled, upon the approach of the Engliſh ſailors. James himſelf is ſaid to have been a ſpectator of this laſt action, yet Tourville refuſed to receive his advice. The army intended for the invaſion were near; but they had the mortification to be hold a deſtruction which they could not prevent [c].

Obſervations

THE French owed their misfortunes in the battle, or rather in the affair of La Hogue, as it has been more juſtly called, to their preſumption, at firſt, and afterwards to their want of ſpirit and ſkill. Tourville ſupported with little courage and leſs conduct, the battle into which he had wantonly entered. The ſuperior ſkill of the Engliſh, in managing light breezes of wind and impetuous tides, gave them a great advantage over an enemy, who were manifeſtly conquered in their own minds. The French ſuffered little in the engagement. Tourville's ſhip was the only

[c] Ruſſel's Letter to Nottingham, June 2, 1692.

one

CHAP. I. 1692.

one in any degree diſabled. None was taken, none ſunk, few even ſuffered in their rigging. Ruſſel himſelf, though a man of too much courage not to fight with ſpirit, owed his ſucceſs more to accident and the folly of his enemies, than his own conduct. Had the Dutch ſhewed the ſame alacrity in fighting, which they had exhibited upon a former occaſion againſt Tourville, the ruin of the French fleet might have been rendered complete. But the hazineſs of the weather; the very fears of the French, upon perceiving themſelves much outnumbered; the confuſion and want of plan which prevail in all naval engagements, ought to have ſaved the victors from the cenſure which ſome writers have thrown on their conduct. The chief loſs of the French conſiſted in that of their ſhips. Sixteen men of war, between fifty-ſix and one hundred and four guns, were burnt. Twenty tranſports ſhared the ſame fate. Few were killed on either ſide. Among the ſlain, on the part of the victors, the moſt regretted were admiral Carter and captain Haſtings[f].

on the affair of La Hogue.

RUSSEL, it is certain, meant nothing leſs than to obſtruct the ſervice for which the French fleet were to ſail. His loitering at St. Helens, for ten days after he had paſſed through the Downs; his applying, in concert with the late King, to the miniſtry for leave to attack St. Maloes; his calling in the ſquadrons that obſerved, under Carter and Delaval, the motions of the enemy; ſeem all to have been calculated to accommodate the intended invaſion. He knew that the ſame winds which carried himſelf out of the river, would have favoured Tourville, in leaving Breſt. A few days would have brought the French fleet to La Hogue. A few hours would have wafted the invaders to the coaſt of Suſſex. When James ſhould land, he was determined to throw off the maſk, and declare for that Prince. The prudence, or perhaps, the terrors of the government, defeated his meaſures. They refuſed

[f] Gazette.

to agree to the propoſed deſcent. They ordered him to take the advice of a council of war. The reſult was, that the fleet ſtretched over to La Hogue, but with a deſign to return to St. Helen's in four days. The fate of the Britiſh kingdoms depended upon accident. Had Tourville arrived on the coaſt of Normandy a few days before, or had the winds retarded him till Ruſſel's propoſed return to his old ſtation, the crown of England would have been transferred to the late King, without conteſt [h].

Conduct of James. Tranſactions at ſea.

JAMES was rather diſappointed than rendered deſperate, by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet. He laid the blame upon accident. He continued his correſpondence with Ruſſel. He held his former communication with his friends in England. Though the object of his reſtoration was rendered a little more diſtant, he kept it ſtill in view. His agents were buſy. The diſcontented caballed in his favour. Men in office betrayed to him the ſecrets of the cabinet; and, ſometimes, guided their conduct by his advice [i]. He retired to St. Germains, where his queen had born a daughter in his abſence. The Engliſh fleet remained in a ſtate of inaction, during the reſt of the ſummer. The miniſtry propoſed to carry into execution a deſcent on the French coaſt, which had been projected in the preceding winter. Ruſſel, diſcontented with government, and provoked by ſome orders ſent to him by the Queen, which he deemed the effect of ignorance [k], rendered ineffectual a ſcheme which promiſed no great ſucceſs. The French fleet retired to their ports. They had loſt but a very few men in their late misfortune. They filled the whole channel with their privateers. The merchants ſuſtained great loſſes. The expectations which the nation derived from the late victory, were damped with its want of beneficial conſequences. The miniſtry complained of Ruſſel, and Ruſſel of the miniſtry. Cla-

[h] Stuart-papers.

[i] Stuart-papers, 1692. James II.

[k] Burnet, vol. iii.

mour,

CHAP. I. 1692.

mour, diſappointment, and ill humour prevailed every where, after an event which promiſed general ſatisfaction and joy [l].

Campaign in Flanders.

THOUGH the fate of England ſeemed to depend on the operations at ſea, William turned his principal attention to the war by land. He was, if the expreſſion may be uſed, the chain of union between the heads of the grand confederacy, the life and ſpirit of their councils and armies. The force of the confederates had however been, in ſome degree, diminiſhed, by the intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth, and miſunderſtandings between themſelves. Diſputes between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, had induced the latter to recal his troops to his own dominions. Sweden and Denmark continued their neutrality. The Helvetic body diſcovered an inclination to favour the cauſe of France. To ſupply the place of the Saxons, the Emperor and King of England gained the younger branch of the houſe of Lunenburgh to their party. The Dukes of Zell and Hannover, upon the promiſe of an electoral cap, with a certainty of the inveſtiture before the end of the year, undertook to march ſix thouſand troops to join the Imperialiſts, and four thouſand to reinforce the army of the allies in Flanders. The Spaniards had raiſed to the government of that country, the Elector of Bavaria; a Prince whoſe ſpirit and abilities promiſed to ſupport the feebleneſs of the common cauſe, on that ſide. France was, in the mean time, active in her preparations, and prudent in the diſpoſition of her armies. The Mareſchal de Lorges commanded on the upper Rhine. M. de Joyeuſe occupied the country of Eyefeldt. Boufflers lay between the Sambre and the Meuſe; and Luxembourg, in the name of the Dauphin, commanded in Flanders [m].

Namur taken.

LEWIS the Fourteenth and William ſet out, on the ſame day, to join their reſpective armies. The firſt arrived in his camp, on the twentieth of May. On the twenty-third, all the French troops were

[l] Burnet, vol. iii. [m] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

in

CHAP. I. 1692.

in motion. Lewis ſuddenly ſat down before Namur, and with forty-five thouſand men, proſecuted the ſiege of that important place. He was covered by Luxembourg, with another army. The town was ſtrong, the citadel was deemed impregnable. The Prince de Barbaſon commanded in the place, with a well-appointed garriſon of ten thouſand men; and the famous Coehorn defended, in perſon, a new fort called by his own name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur. Two great Kings, at the head of two powerful armies, turned their whole thoughts to this important enterpriſe. A battle, which was to decide the fate of the war, was daily to be expected. The French attacked [n] the place with incredible vigour, and the town was forced to capitulate in ſix days [o]. William, in the mean time, advanced, with an army of one hundred thouſand men, and ſat down within cannon ſhot of Luxembourg's lines. The ſmall river Mehaigne ran between the armies; and an ineffectual cannonade enſued. The French preſſed with vigour the ſiege of the new fort. Coehorn made an obſtinate defence, but being driven from the covered way, on the twenty-ſecond of July, and forced to retire with great loſs into the body of the place, he capitulated. The fate of the citadel was ſoon after decided. The garriſon evacuated the place, on the thirtieth of July; and Lewis returned in triumph to Verſailles [p].

Batt'e of Steinkirk.

THOUGH William loſt reputation, by permitting a place of ſuch importance as Namur to be taken in his ſight, his inactivity may be juſtified, in ſome degree, by the ſtrong poſition of the enemy. The Duke de Luxembourg, one of the beſt generals of the age, had poſted himſelf to great advantage, on the banks of the Mehaigne. The unſeaſonable rains had unexpectedly ſwelled the ſtream, and formed into moraſſes the adjoining fields. To make, at firſt, an attack, was to riſk a defeat; and the

[n] June 29. N. S. [o] July 5. [p] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

CHAP. I. 1692.

place ſurrendered before William, who was always ſlow in his councils, could determine upon any vigorous meaſure to raiſe the ſiege. To retrieve the glory which he had loſt before Namur, William endeavoured to ſurpriſe the French army under the Duke of Luxembourg at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly carried on by the Engliſh in columns. They aſcended with amazing reſolution and ſpirit the riſing ground, on which a wing of the French army lay encamped. They took poſſeſſion of their batteries, and were, for ſome time, maſters of their line. The whole camp was in confuſion, but the aſſailants were not properly ſupported. The ſecond line of the French advanced. The rencounter was obſtinate and bloody, and the conteſt was maintained for four hours. The confederates were at length repulſed, having left many thouſands of the enemy, as well as of their own number, dead on the field. Though this bloody battle was attended with no material conſequences, an undiſputed victory remained to the French. The King gained no reputation for his conduct, but the valour of his troops deſerved great applauſe. The generals Mackay, Lanier, and Douglas, the Earl of Angus, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction were killed in this unfortunate field. The Prince de Turenne and the Mareſchal de Bellefons were numbered among the ſlain, on the ſide of the French [q].

A conſpiracy againſt William.

THE campaign in Flanders having languiſhed after the battle of Steinkirk, the diſcovery of a plot againſt the life of William, and the execution of one Grandval, the pretended aſſaſſin, gave occaſion to much reflection and noiſe. Lewis the Fourteenth and the late King of England were involved by the diſcoverers in this conſpiracy. But as there is no probability that the former would be guilty of ſuch a villanous deſign; ſo there is now a certainty, that the latter rejected, always, with becoming horror, every propoſal of the like kind. The incident, however, ſerved, at the time, the

[q] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. Gazettes, paſſim.

views

views of party; and loaded, with a degree of infamy, an unhappy Prince, already ruined by his folly and misfortunes. The hopes of a reward for the diſcovery, gave birth, in all appearance, to a plot, laid chiefly at the door of de Louvois, who was lately dead. His ſon, M. de Barbeſieux, was accuſed of carrying on what his father had begun. But as the odium of the murder itſelf would do more harm, than what could be derived of advantage from the death of William, the prudence of the French court may be truſted with regard to their innocence.

Campaign in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Hungary.

THE French, in exerting their chief force in Flanders, left their own country expoſed, on the ſide of Dauphiné. The army under M. de Catinat was found too weak to reſiſt the Duke of Savoy. That Prince ſufficiently revenged himſelf for the inſults which he had received in his own dominions, in the two preceding campaigns. He entered Dauphiné, in the month of July. He ravaged the open country. He attacked the fortified towns. The ſurrender of Embrun, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, was ſoon followed by the taking of Gap. In the midſt of his ſucceſs, the Duke fell ill of the ſmall-pox. Diſſenſions prevailed among the nations which compoſed his motley army, and he found himſelf obliged to retire, and to evacuate the places which he had ſeized. On the Rhine, the Mareſchal de Lorges defeated the Prince of Wertemberg, on the ſeventeenth of September. He forced the Prince of Heſſe to raiſe the ſiege of Ebenbourg. The Marquis d'Harcourt obtained ſome advantages in the county of Chinei; and Boufflers bombarded Charleroy, on the nineteenth of October. The campaign, upon the whole, ended with ſufficient glory to France. Her allies were not equally ſucceſsful, on their ſide of the war. Great Waradin was taken by the Imperialiſts, after a long blockade; and thoſe diſtractions, which uſually attend the misfortunes of the Ottomans, involved the Seraglio in blood [r].

[r] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

CHAP. I.

1692.

Young's forgeries.

THE defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue had removed the fears of the nation from a foreign enemy; but the domeſtic tranquillity was ſtill diſturbed, by ſurmizes of plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons. Men in general believed, that ſome ſecret machinations exiſted, in favour of the late King. No proofs had appeared againſt the ſuſpected. The Earls of Huntington, Scarſdale, and Marlborough, had been ſent to the Tower, upon the accuſation of one Young; a criminal, actually under the execution of the law, in Newgate, for forgery. This infamous perſon, by the advice of a priſoner for debt, in the ſame gaol, and by the aid of one Blackhead, framed a copy of an aſſociation againſt the government; to which he annexed the names of the Earls of Saliſbury and Marlborough, the deprived Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and other perſons of rank. The Biſhop of Rocheſter being confronted with Blackhead, detected the villany of the accuſation, to the ſatisfaction of the council; but the court, ſuſpecting Marlborough of ſome ſecret intrigues with James, ſtill encouraged Young. His fine was paid, and he himſelf was diſcharged from priſon. Marlborough, in defiance of the *habeas corpus* act, was detained in the Tower, by a chicane of law, even after the grand jury of Middleſex had found a bill of forgery and ſubornation of perjury, againſt Young [a].

Diſcontents.

THESE legal ſeverities recalled the memory of former times; and they ſeemed more grievous, as they were now leſs to be expected. The paſſions of men, inflamed by faction and party were ready to receive impreſſions of the worſt kind. The preſs groaned with polemical pamphlets. The Jacobites attacked the meaſures of government, and accuſed the King of a breach of faith to the nation. The Whigs complained of the management of the war, the burden of taxes, the imperfect ſecurities of the liberties of the people. They affirmed, that the aid given for the maintenance of

[a] Caſe of the Earls of Huntington and Marlborough.

the

CHAP. I. 1692.

the war at land had been abſolutely loſt. That, inſtead of breaking the power of France, the efforts of the allies had covered her arms with renown. The grand army, under the King in Flanders, they ſaid, had loſt ground to the enemy. The Germans had received a check on the Rhine. The efforts of the Spaniards in Catalonia had been feeble and ineffectual. The retreat of the Duke of Savoy, had put an end to the hopes of the allies on that ſide. The navy, though ſucceſsful againſt the fleet of the enemy, had not been able to protect the commerce of the kingdom againſt their privateers. Theſe ſuggeſtions were received with avidity, by a people accuſtomed to blame the meaſures of every government. The facts, though exaggerated, were true in the main; and men found, in their own burdens, that they had ſome reaſon to complain[t].

Parliament meets.

In the midſt of theſe diſcontents, William returned to England. Having arrived from Bruſſels at the Hague, on the eleventh of October, he embarked, on the fifteenth, in the Maeſe; and on the twentieth came to Kenſington. Having met his parliament at Weſtminſter, on the fourth of November, he expreſſed his joy, at an opportunity of thanking them again for their large ſupplies. He hoped, he ſaid, for their future advice and aſſiſtance againſt the exceſſive power of France. They had great reaſon to rejoice, he ſaid, at the late victory at ſea; and he wiſhed that he could tell them of an equal ſucceſs by land. He informed them, that the French were repairing the loſs, which they had ſuſtained in their fleet. That they deſigned to augment their army againſt the next campaign. He, therefore, declared, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that, at leaſt, an equal force ſhould be maintained in the enſuing, as in the preſent year; and he deſired the commons to give a ſuitable ſupply. He was ſenſible, he ſaid, of the heavy charge upon his people. He regretted the inconve-

[t] Publications, An. 1692.

nience

CHAP. I. 1692.

nience of ſending great ſums of money out of the kingdom, for the payment of troops abroad. He promiſed to attempt a deſcent on France. He took notice of the ſignal deliverance from the French invaſion. He entertained no doubt of their ſupport, and he requeſted diſpatch in their councils. He aſſured them, that he had no intereſt ſeparate from theirs, that he had no aim, but to render his people happy; and he concluded with obſerving, that as he never ſpared his perſon for the good of his ſubjects, he would continue to encounter dangers, for the honour and advantage of England [u].

Ill humour in

THOUGH this ſpeech ſeemed calculated to gain the good opinion of parliament, neither of the houſes returned their thanks by an immediate addreſs. The commons adjourned for a week, and the lords for three days. The latter, when they met, inſtead of paying their compliments to the King, began to vindicate their own privileges. The lords, who had been committed to the Tower, repreſented their grievances, and they were ſupported, with great warmth, by their friends. The conſtable of the Tower was ordered to produce the warrants of commitment. The judges of the King's Bench were commanded to appear before the houſe, to anſwer for their refuſal to diſcharge the recognizance, into which the impriſoned peers had entered for their appearance. Violent debates enſued. The oppoſition, in every motion, prevailed; and reſolutions were framed to guide the judges of oyer and terminer, in their proceedings on the *habeas corpus* act. The lords declared, that two witneſſes of the delinquency were neceſſary to juſtify the remanding any perſon to priſon, upon his application to be admitted to bail. A motion was made and carried, for entering this reſolution on the books, as a ſtanding rule to all future judges. The mode of ſetting free the accuſed priſoners becoming a matter of great debate, the King interfered; and to end

[u] Journals, Nov. 4th, 1692.

the

CHAP. I. 1692.

the conteſt, he promiſed to give directions for diſcharging the bail of the lords, in the King's Bench. But ſo much inflamed were the majority, that they determined to enter upon no buſineſs till the King's promiſe was actually performed [v].

both houſes.

THIS conceſſion from the court, was not ſufficient to allay the heats in parliament. The commons, on the tenth of November, had voted thanks to the King for his ſpeech. They ordered an addreſs to the Queen, acknowledging her prudent adminiſtration in the abſence of her huſband; but they, at the ſame time, reſolved to preſent an addreſs, deſiring that the alliances made with the States, in the months of April and Auguſt 1689, and all other alliances with the princes and ſtates of Europe, ſhould be laid before the houſe [w]. They entered into an examination of the management of the war at ſea. They voted thanks to Admiral Ruſſel for his victory; yet they reſolved to inquire, why that victory had not been purſued. This, however, was ſoon after dropt, and a reſolution to offer advice to the King, was attended with no better fate. A great animoſity againſt the preference given to foreigners, exhibited itſelf in the debates of the houſe. They reſolved, that one article of the propoſed advice ſhould bear, that he ſhould fill all vacancies, as they ſhould happen among the general officers, with the ſubjects of Great Britain; and that the commander in chief of the Engliſh troops, next to the King himſelf, ſhould be an Engliſhman. This reſolution was aimed at the Count de Solmes, on whoſe conduct toward the national troops, at the battle of Steinkirk, they ſeverely animadverted [x].

A ſupply granted.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe ſymptoms of diſcontent among the commons, that aſſembly ſeemed more hoſtile to the miniſtry, than averſe to the King. Though James was in correſpondence with ſome leaders in the two houſes, he had de-

[v] Journals of the Lords. [w] Nov. 10. [x] Journals paſſim.

CHAP. I. 1692.

ſpaired of guiding the conduct of either, long before the parliament met [y]. The previous motion of advice was introduced and managed by his friends, ſupported by ſome zealous Whigs. But this attempt was defeated, by frequent adjournments. On the twenty-ſecond of November [z], a general ſupply was voted. The commons, on the ſecond of December, ſpecified the ſums granted for each ſervice [a]. Near four millions were allowed, for the land and ſea ſervice; together with ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to ſupply the deficiency in the poll-tax of the preceding year. Theſe great ſums were raiſed by various ways and means. A tax of four ſhillings in the pound, was charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; with a vote of credit to enable the King to raiſe money at ſeven *per cent.* upon that fund. A fund of credit, for one million, was alſo eſtabliſhed, on the hereditary exciſe, by way of tontine. But all theſe proviſions appearing inadequate to the wants of government, an additional impoſition was laid upon merchandiſe, before the end of the ſeſſion [b].

The lords refractory.

THE lords were much more refractory than the commons. The former ſeemed offended with the King, as well as with his meaſures. The latter ſhewed only their diſlike to the acting miniſter, the Earl of Nottingham. The diſcontented lords availed themſelves of the article in the ſpeech, where William aſked advice of his parliament; and under this cover, they endeavoured to ſend a remonſtrance to the throne. Thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt for the Revolution, were the chief promoters of a meaſure, which diſtreſſed and offended the King. The Earl of Devonſhire, though lord-ſteward of the houſehold, preferred his principles to the adherence to the court expected from his office. The Earls of Shrewſbury, Monmouth, Torrington, Macclesfield, and Warrington, and the Lord Mountague, who were deemed the

[y] Stuart papers, Sept. 1692. [z] Journals, Nov. 22. [a] Dec. 2.
[b] Feb. 3, 1693.

moſt

CHAP. I.

1692.

moſt ſteady Whigs, were the moſt violent againſt William and his partiality to ſtrangers. The Earl of Marlborough, yielding to his own reſentment, and in concert with James [c], appeared a principal in the motions againſt foreigners. The Earl of Bath, who had, four years before, betrayed Plymouth to the Prince of Orange, for the promiſe of an annual penſion of four thouſand pounds, which he now actually poſſeſſed [d], had engaged to execute the ſame ſervice for the late King [e]. To give an earneſt of his zeal, he joined heartily with Marlborough. The Tory lords, not in office, ſupported the oppoſition on popular grounds. Though the majority of the biſhops favoured James in ſecret, they adhered, except one, to the court; and ſeveral peers, who were in correſpondence with the court of St. Germains [f], endeavoured to cover their private engagements, by ſupporting, in public, the cauſe of William.

1693. They remonſtrate againſt foreigners.

THE parties were ſo equally balanced, that almoſt the whole winter was ſpent in the fierceſt debates. The people themſelves were not unconcerned ſpectators of the conteſt. Their jealouſy of foreigners, the indignity of truſting to aliens the defence of the kingdom, while the native troops were employed abroad, the real and ſuppoſed inſolence of Dutch favourites and officers, combined to inflame the paſſions of the nation againſt the crown. The oppoſing lords, in ſome meaſure, at length prevailed, and a remonſtrance was preſented [g] to the King, conſiſting of five articles. The peers deſired, that the commanding officer of the Engliſh, next the King himſelf, ſhould be an Engliſhman; that the Engliſh officers ſhould have precedency of all officers of the ſame rank in the confederate armies, except thoſe of crowned heads; that the twenty thouſand men, deſtined for the defence of England, ſhould be all native Engliſh, under the command of an Engliſh general; that the abuſes committed in preſſing

[c] Stuart-papers, Nov. 1692. [d] K. William's papers, MS. [e] Stuart-papers, Nov. 1692. [f] Ibid. [g] Journals, Feb. 25, 1693.

CHAP. I. 1693.

ſailors ſhould be remedied and prevented; that no foreigners ſhould be permitted to ſit at the board of ordnance. William was not of a complexion to grant demands, ſo contrary to his fixed predilections and views; and he refuſed the requeſt of the lords, by anſwering, that he would conſider their addreſs. The oppoſition had carried their point with ſuch difficulty, that they dropt the remonſtrance, without any farther efforts. Their ill humour, however, continued; and filled the whole ſeſſion with ineffectual altercations and debates [g].

Proceedings of both houſes.

THE oppoſition in the houſe of lords, to ſhew their own reſentment, or to embarraſs the government, diſcovered a diſpoſition to ſtop the progreſs of the bills of ſupply. The meaſure was adopted in concert with James [h], who notwithſtanding his diſappointment at La Hogue, ſtill projected an invaſion. The Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Mulgrave induced the houſe, by the force of their eloquence, to ingraft a clauſe on the land-tax bill, that the lords ſhould tax themſelves. The bill was ſent down amended to the commons. The lower houſe flew into the moſt violent heat. They rejected the amendment, without one diſſenting voice. The lords agreed to paſs the bill, without alteration, with a formal proteſt, on their journals, that though they yielded to the preſent urgent ſtate of affairs, they had a right to inſiſt upon taxing themſelves. In other matters, the two houſes were more unanimous. They ordered, by a joint vote, that a pamphlet, intitled, "King William and Mary Conquerors," ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they addreſſed the King to diſmiſs from his place the licenſer of the preſs, under whoſe ſanction it had been printed and publiſhed. They aſſumed an appearance of hoſtility to the high prerogatives of the crown, while they ſtrengthened the hands of the King with enormous ſupplies [i].

[g] Journals. [h] Stuart-papers, 1692. [i] Journals, paſſim.

CHAP. I.

1693.

THOUGH the facility of parliament, in giving money, has been aſcribed to ſome corrupt practices of the court, it may be juſtified from the urgent ſtate of the times. The people were plunged in a war, from which they could not immediately extricate themſelves, by land, either with honour or with ſafety. To remit in preparations by ſea, might have encouraged an invaſion. The commons, in other reſpects, ſhewed little complaiſance for the crown. They even appeared to be ſelf-denied, with regard to the private intereſt of their own members. They introduced and paſſed a bill, touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament, which excluded, from the right of ſitting in the houſe, all perſons, who ſhould accept of any office from the crown. The miniſtry found themſelves incapable of oppoſing, in the lower houſe, a meaſure ſo popular. To facilitate the paſſing of this important bill, it was not to be in force till the King ſhould think fit to call a new parliament. It was ſent up to the lords early in the ſeſſion. The malcontents, in the upper houſe, carried the motion in favour of the bill, in the committee. But when it came to be reported, the court party, by the means of proxies, rejected it, by a majority of two votes. The adherents of James were joined with the moſt violent Whigs, upon the preſent occaſion. The firſt wiſhed for confuſion; the latter, by yielding to their reſentment, adhered to their profeſſed principles [k].

A place-bill rejected by the lords.

THE oppoſition, in the houſe of lords, were not diſcouraged with the bad ſucceſs of the place-bill. As they could not exclude the members from office, they were reſolved to ſhorten the duration of parliament. The preſent houſe of commons, though refractory on ſome occaſions, had rendered their general conduct grateful to the court. Their oppoſition to the high exertions of the prerogative had never been followed with rigour. They were generous in their ſupplies, and, perhaps, rather profuſe,

Bill for ſhortening the duration of parliament rejected by the King.

[k] Journals.

CHAP. I. 1693.

with regard to the money of the ſubject. A great majority were Tories, men in general leſs attached to the family of a prince, than to the power of the crown. The Earl of Nottingham, and others of their own party, had opened a channel of connexion between them and the reigning King. Sir John Trevor, the ſpeaker, was a ſucceſsful agent, in purchaſing the votes of the venal, with money[l]. Beſides, in the preſent divided ſtate of the nation, a new election would be at leaſt troubleſome, if not attended with danger. The oppoſition perceived the views of their enemies, and they were reſolved to purſue their own. The Earl of Shrewſbury moved for a bill, providing for triennial parliaments and annual ſeſſions. It paſſed the houſe of lords. The commons paſſed it by a great majority. William reſolved to diſappoint a bill, ſo adverſe to the power of the crown. He therefore rejected it, when preſented for the royal aſſent[m]; and thus made uſe, for the ſecond time, of a prerogative, which neither of his immediate predeceſſors ever choſe to exert.

Affairs of Ireland.

THE affairs of Ireland commanded a conſiderable degree of the attention of parliament during the preſent ſeſſion. That kingdom, ever ſince its reduction in 1691, had exhibited one continued ſcene of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and public miſery. The government of James, with all its diſadvantages, his own bigotry, the inſolence of the papiſts, combined with the fears of the proteſtants, were all more tolerable than the adminiſtration of William, ever ſince the ſurrender of Limerick. Coningſby and Porter, the lords juſtices, rendered themſelves odious by a ſeries of frauds, cruelties, and rapacities. They ſold common juſtice for money. They ſcreened the guilty, and oppreſſed the innocent, for gain. To render their proceedings ſummary, to clothe their authority with more terror, and, with moſt expedition, to enrich themſelves, they choſe to exert their authority in the military way. The cor-

[l] Burnet, vol. iii.

[m] March 14.

ruption,

ruption, at the ſource, extended itſelf through every channel of government. The ſubordinate magiſtrates, the juſtices of the peace, as if all law were at an end, made their own will and pleaſure the rule of their conduct. Preſuming on their power in the country, they deprived, under the colour of authority, many perſons of their effects; and they even diſpoſſeſſed many of their lands [n]. The Roman Catholics, as they had leſs to expect from juſtice than the Proteſtants, endeavoured to purchaſe favour. They applied to thoſe in power, through the channel of their venality; and thus the party who had been in arms againſt the Revolution, fared better than thoſe who had ſupported the cauſe of William with the moſt zeal, courage, and induſtry [o].

The grievances of that kingdom

On the third of March, 1692, the Lord Viſcount Sidney had been raiſed to the government of Ireland. But he arrived not in that kingdom, till the twenty-fifth of the following Auguſt. Coningſby, created a Baron by the ſame name, with his colleague Porter, continued in the government, in the intermediate time. They preſided in the court of claims, for adjuſting the demands of thoſe comprehended in the articles of Limerick; and the obvious road to their juſtice, was ſaid to lie through their avarice. The arrival of Sidney in his government, though it might leſſen the fear of future oppreſſions, diminiſhed not the reſentment of the people for former injuries. His own conduct ſeemed more calculated to preſerve the prerogative of the Crown, than to redreſs the grievances of the ſubject. His ſpeech, at the opening of the parliament, was ſuited to the times, and well received. But the memory of the paſt, created an ill humour among the commons. Seventy thouſand pounds had been demanded, as an additional revenue, for the annual and neceſſary expences of government. But the houſe were either ſlow in finding the ways and means, or ignorant where they could be found. Two bills, ready drawn,

[n] Printed proclamation.

[o] Journals, paſſim, 1693.

the

CHAP. I. 1693.

the one for an additional exciſe on malt liquors, the other for a tax on land bearing corn, were ſent down from the Iriſh privy council. The commons were highly offended at the manner of introducing theſe bills, which were in themſelves, eſpecially the latter, highly exceptionable; and, in ſome degree, partial and unjuſt. They argued, that though, by Poyning's law, no bill was to be paſſed, without the ſanction of the Engliſh privy council, it was never deemed that the Iriſh commons were precluded from taxing themſelves [p].

laid before the Engliſh parliament.

THE neceſſities of government induced the lord-lieutenant to hearken to a compromiſe. The commons conſented to paſs the exciſe bill, with a declaration, that the thing ſhould not be drawn into a precedent. But they rejected the land-bill, as laying an unequal tax upon the farmers. When Sidney found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the additional exciſe, he gave vent to his reſentment againſt the parliament. He ſent for them, on the fourth of November [q]. He reprimanded them ſeverely, for invading the prerogatives of the Crown. He prorogued them to the ſixteenth of April. Inflamed with what they deemed a public inſult, offended at ſome private expreſſions of indignation from the lord-lieutenant, ſeveral members of the Iriſh houſe of commons came, in the name of their country, to England, to lay their grievances before the parliament. On the twenty-fourth of February, they laid their complaints, in writing, before the Engliſh commons. The lords, at the ſame time, took cognizance of the affair, and examined witneſſes. Some circumſtances appeared, upon the inquiry, which ſerved to heighten the miſmanagements of government, as well as the real grievances of Ireland. The army, in want of pay from the Crown, raiſed money by military diſtreſs, from the ſubject, to the incredible amount of two hundred thou-

[p] Journals, paſſim. Slone's Narrative. [q] 1692.

ſand

ſand pounds[r]. The ſtores left by James in the kingdom, to the value, it was ſaid, of eighty thouſand pounds, were embezzled or applied to his own uſe by Coningſby. The lord-lieutenant himſelf, and Ginckle, who had been created Earl of Athlone, were accuſed of poſſeſſing themſelves of almoſt all the forfeitures which ought to have fallen to the public[s]. But one of the moſt flagrant inroads upon the conſtitution, was the depriving the citizens of Dublin of their right to chuſe their own magiſtrates.

A remonſtrance on that ſubject.

THE lords preſented an addreſs, upon the ſubject of the Iriſh complaints, while the commons ſent a remonſtrance to the throne. To the grievances already ſpecified, the latter added ſeveral others of the ſame alarming kind. They complained of the miſeries of free quarters, and the licentiouſneſs of the army, to which the Proteſtant ſubjects had been expoſed. They repreſented the danger of recruiting the troops, as had been notoriouſly done, with Iriſh Papiſts; and ſuch perſons as had been in open rebellion. They averred, that the common courſe of law was ſtopt, by granting protections to Roman Catholics, not comprehended within the articles of pacification; and that it was from the mercenary views of the ſervants of the Crown, that the impolitic addition was made to the treaty with the Papiſts, at the ſurrender of Limerick. All theſe grievances they requeſted the King to redreſs; and he promiſed to rectify all that had been amiſs in Ireland. The miſeries of that kingdom might, perhaps, have been exaggerated. The expectations of the Proteſtants were high, from the ſucceſs of their party. The claims of the Papiſts were extenſive, from the favourable articles by which they had finiſhed the war. Recent injuries were added, on both ſides, to ancient prejudices and animoſities. To ſatisfy either, was certainly a thing very difficult for any government. But it is equally

[r] Slone and Brewſter's Narratives.

[s] Ibid. paſſim.

certain,

CHAP. I. 1693.

certain, that the ſervants of the Crown were much leſs attentive to the happineſs of the people, than to the gratification of their own paſſions and avarice.

Parliament prorogued, March 14.

WILLIAM ſeems either to have repented of his promiſe to the commons, or to have been perſuaded from his purpoſe, by thoſe moſt concerned in the miſmanagements in Ireland. To prevent the parliament from reſuming the affair, he prorogued it, on the fourteenth of March, juſt four days after receiving the remonſtrance. He thanked the commons for their large ſupplies. He ſignified to the two houſes, his intention of going abroad. He promiſed to continue to expoſe his perſon, upon all occaſions, for the good and advantage of his kingdoms; and that his hearty and ſincere endeavours ſhould never be wanting, to make the Engliſh a great and flouriſhing nation [t]. Notwithſtanding this ſoothing ſpeech, the different parties, in both houſes, were highly offended at the ſudden prorogation. The Whigs reſented the meaſure, as an aggravating ſequel to the King's refuſing his aſſent to the bill for ſhortening the duration of parliaments. The diſcontented part of the Tories joined, upon other grounds, the general cry. The Jacobites, being the moſt violent in their principles, were leaſt temperate in their language. All parties carried their diſcontents and arguments to the preſs. The Earl of Warrington, Hampden, and Wildman were ſuppoſed to inflame the Whigs, with publications. The church, offended at the coldneſs of William, ſupported the opinions of the high Tories to the world. Ferguſon, and ſeveral other adherents of James, openly attacked the Revolution, and the perſonal character and conduct of the King [u].

Affairs of Scotland.

THE maſſacre of Glenco had greatly ſhaken the intereſt of William, in the minds of his Scottiſh ſubjects; and the hopes of

[t] Journals, Mar. 14. [u] Publications, 1693.

James

CHAP. I. 1693.

James aroſe, in proportion to the odium which a tranſaction ſo barbarous had thrown upon the government of his rival. But, prior to that event, the late King had laid a plain for invading Scotland. In the end of the year 1691, he ſolicited Lewis the Fourteenth, for a force to ſail from Breſt, Belliſle, or Rochfort; and to land between Irving and Air. When the King of France had reſolved to tranſport an army into England, under the conduct of James, before the affair of La Hogue, the Scottiſh expedition was not relinquiſhed. Two frigates, with officers, ſtores, arms, and a ſmall ſum of money, were to ſail from Ambleteuſe, when the main fleet were to put to ſea. The defeat of Tourville broke this, as well as all the other meaſures of the late King. His attention afterwards was chiefly turned to England. The Earls of Arran and Breadalbin, and Sir James Montgomery, were the only perſons of rank in Scotland, who held any correſpondence with the court of St. Germains; though the greateſt part, by far, of the gentry of the kingdom were in the intereſt of the late King [w].

Obſequiouſneſs of its parliament

THE unexpected blow ſuſtained by the French at La Hogue, and the conſequent diſappointment of James, threw a damp on his adherents throughout the reſt of the year. The nation in general ſhewed a manifeſt impatience under the government of William. But thoſe who oppoſed that Prince the moſt, covered, under ſpecious complaints of grievances, their attachment to his rival. The King, by the advice of ſecretary Johnſton, managed his affairs with prudence. He gained, by promoting their leaders, the Preſbyterians. He reconciled the Duke of Hamilton and his party to his government, by appointing that nobleman commiſſioner of the approaching parliament. On the eighteenth of April, in the preſent year, a parliament met at Edinburgh. To flatter the pride of the Scots, the King ſignified in his letter, that

[w] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

CHAP. I. 1693.

ever ſince his coming to the crown, he had been fully reſolved to hold a parliament, in perſon, in his ancient kingdom. He declared that nothing but his neceſſary preſence abroad, or the buſineſs of his ſtation, when in England, could have hitherto prevented his purpoſe. The commiſſioner aſſured the houſe, that the King was reſolved to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment, in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs. He awaked their fears of preſent dangers, by recounting thoſe they had eſcaped in the preceding year; and he concluded his ſpeech, with demanding a ſupply to place the kingdom in a poſture of defence againſt its enemies. Tweedale, the chancellor, enforced what the commiſſioner had propoſed. He recommended that new laws ſhould be made, to ſtrengthen the authority of government, and to recover the ruined trade of the nation.

ill requited by William.

THE ſpirit which had uniformly oppoſed government, ſince the late revolution, if not extinguiſhed, was at leaſt ſuppreſſed. The parliament was all ſubmiſſion. Their anſwer to the King was full of humility, acknowledgment, and loyalty. They voted, that four regiments of foot, and two of dragoons, ſhould be added to the ſtanding forces of the kingdom. To defray the charges of this body of men, and to aid the other expences of government, they granted a ſupply of one hundred and fourteen thouſand pounds ſterling. They ratified, by a ſolemn act, the proceedings of the privy council in impreſſing ſeamen. They expelled all abſentees, among the commoners, from their houſe. They fined ſuch lords as declined to attend in parliament. A committee of ſecrecy had been appointed, to inquire into the deſigns of the adherents of the late King. Upon ſome allegorical letters, that had been intercepted, they formed their report. They declared, that there had been, and ſtill was, a project ſubſiſting between the Jacobites and France, for invading the kingdom with a foreign force. Several lords were impriſoned in the caſtles

of Stirling and Edinburgh, rather on ſuſpicion than on proof. One Payne, an Engliſhman, who was actually an agent for James in Scotland, was in cuſtody, and threatened with a trial. But this zeal for his government, was not properly returned by the King. He declined to levy the new troops. But he took care to raiſe the tax appointed for their ſubſiſtence, and to apply it to other uſes of his own [x].

Intrigues of

In England, the intrigues of the late King fomented the diſcontents of all the parties. He continued his correſpondence during the winter. His ſecret friends were buſy, his agents were aſſiduouſly employed. The Earl of Middleton had been ſent to England, in the preceding Auguſt [y], and he carried on ſucceſsfully his negociations with the diſcontented, till the month of January. King James, eager to recover his crown, offered terms, which even the moſt ſcrupulous among the diſcontented approved. In a letter, in the end of November, he explained his views, with great moderation and addreſs. He lamented, that it had been hitherto his misfortune to be miſtaken in his applications to his people. He, however, appealed to God, for the uniform ſincerity of his heart. He ſolemnly aſſured the nation, that, according to the moſt natural ſignification of the words, he was ready to agree to any laws that ſhould be deſired, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, as eſtabliſhed in the church of England. He promiſed to ſettle, with the concurrence of parliament, a liberty of conſcience. He was fully reſolved, he ſaid, to aſſent to all laws, for ſecuring effectually the liberty and property of the ſubject, not only during his own reign, but againſt all the incroachments of his poſterity and ſucceſſors in the throne. He affirmed, that it was his reſolution to meet his people frequently in parliament, as the beſt expedient to render a King truly great and the ſubject perfectly happy; and that it was his determined

[x] Burnet, vol. iii.

[y] Stuart-papers, 1692.

CHAP. I. 1693.

reſolution, neither to deſign nor attempt to introduce any arbitrary power in the crown [z].

the late King

He hoped, he ſaid, that he had expreſſed himſelf plainly. He declared, that he meant honeſtly. He was ſenſible that the nation, beſides the violence done to their own principles, had not found their account in the injury they had done to his right. He was no ſtranger, he ſaid, from that circumſtance, that ſome, who were diſpleaſed with the times, purſued projects of redreſs by other means than his reſtoration. But he averred, that his return to his native country, was the only thing that could either give a better eſtabliſhment for the future, or relieve them from their preſent diſtreſs. He requeſted his friends, for the greater ſecurity of the nation, to ſend any perſons they pleaſed, to diſcourſe with him at large upon the ſubject of his letter. He doubted not, he ſaid, to give any, commiſſioned to him for that purpoſe, an entire ſatisfaction upon every point. To create future confidence, he deſired to forget the paſt. He was reſolved, for his own part, to pardon all the miſcarriages of all his ſubjects, without exception. He expreſſed his earneſt deſire to cloſe, in every thing, with the united intereſt of the people. He requeſted, that more of them would make him acquainted with their inclinations, without the leaſt degree of flattery; which had often too fatal an influence upon the councils of Kings [a]; and he concluded with declaring, that he wiſhed for nothing in the world ſo earneſtly, as to ſee his people eſtabliſhed upon the true and legal foundation [b].

in England.

The malcontents in England were ſo much diſguſted with William, that they received the aſſurances of James with ardour. The Earl of Middleton, in the month of January, returned to France, with eight propoſals from thoſe who wiſhed to reſtore the

[z] Stuart-papers, Nov. 1692. [a] Ibid. Nov. 1692. [b] Ibid.

late

late King, upon conditions. They were accepted without heſitation. The high opinion which James always entertained of the importance of the fleet, induced him to apply to the principal officers, with unremitting diligence. Ruſſel had promiſed, in the preceding autumn, his beſt endeavours to ſerve his cauſe. But William, in conſequence of Ruſſel's oppoſition in parliament, and his diſputes with the Earl of Nottingham, had deprived that officer of the chief command. Delaval, Killegrew, and Shovel, were appointed, in a joint commiſſion, to execute the office of admiral. The two firſt had been, for ſome time, in the intereſt of the late King. That Prince, encouraged by a very great party in England, and numbering among his friends ſome of the firſt officers of ſtate, flattered by the engagements of the fleet and the diſcontents in the army, promiſed to himſelf an abſolute certainty of being reſtored, with little oppoſition, to the throne. The French King kept the crown of England on the head of William. He liſtened to the propoſals of James, but he entertained no ſerious thought of aſſiſting that Prince, with effect [c].

CHAP. I. 1693.

URGED by his own hopes, and the zeal of his friends in England, the late King prepared a declaration, upon the eight articles tranſmitted to France, through the hands of the Earl of Middleton. It was dated at St. Germains, on the ſeventeenth of April [d]. He promiſed an unlimited pardon to all his ſubjects, an abſolute oblivion of all the paſt. He declared, that he would immediately call a parliament, inform himſelf, through them, of the inclinations of his people, and redreſs, by their concurrence, former grievances, and give every ſecurity for their future happineſs. He promiſed to protect the church of England; to ſecure to its members all the churches, univerſities, colleges, and ſchools; to confirm their immunities, rights, and privileges. He pledged his word to recommend to his parliament an impartial liberty of

His declaration

[c] Stuart-papers, 1693.

[d] April 17, N. S.

CHAP. I. 1693.

conſcience. He declared, that he would never violate the teſt, and that he would leave the diſpenſing power of the crown, in other matters, to be explained and limited by the repreſentatives of the nation. He ſolemnly promiſed to give his aſſent to all ſuch bills as ſhould be found neceſſary to ſhorten the duration of parliaments, to ſecure the freedom of elections, the fair returns of members, and impartial trials.

to the people of England.

To regain the favour of thoſe who had been moſt active in the late revolution, he engaged himſelf to ratify and confirm all ſuch laws, during the government of William, as ſhould be tendered to him by his parliament. He declared his willingneſs to re-eſtabliſh, in the moſt ample manner, the act of ſettlement of Ireland, as paſſed in his brother's reign; to relinquiſh the chimney-money, or any other part of the revenue, as ſhould be deemed burdenſome to the people, for any other more eaſy aſſeſſment. He aſſured his people, that he had formed his declaration upon the advice of a great number of his ſubjects of all ranks and degrees; who had already adjuſted the manner of his re-aſcending the throne. To remove the apprehenſions of his ſubjects, that great ſums might be demanded by France, he poſitively aſſured them, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty expected no compenſation, but the glory of having ſuccoured an injured Prince. He added, that he was on the eve of coming to vindicate his own right, and to eſtabliſh the liberties of his people; and he concluded with ſolemnly praying that God might ſo give him ſucceſs, in the proſecution of the one, as he was ſincere in his intentions to confirm the other[e].

Legal ſeverities.

A month after this declaration was dated in France, it was diſperſed privately in England, by the adherents of the late King. Some perſons who had undertaken that dangerous office, were

[e] Printed Declaration.

ſecured;

CHAP. I. 1693.

ſecured; and, upon ſlender proofs, puniſhed ſeverely for a high miſdemeanour [f]. Several violent libels againſt the government, had raiſed the reſentment and indignation of the courts of juſtice. The legal ſeverities, of which the people formerly complained, ſeemed, in ſome caſes, to be renewed in all their horror. One Anderton was ſeized [g], by the meſſenger of the preſs, as the printer of two ſeditious pamphlets, and committed, for a miſdemeanour, to Newgate. But when he offered ſufficient bail, he was, by a freſh warrant, continued in priſon for high treaſon. On the trial of this unfortunate perſon, no poſitive evidence of guilt appeared. Though the ſtatute of treaſon allowed no conjectural preſumptions, no ſtrained inferences, no forced conſtructions, he was at length condemned. Treby, lord-chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, and formerly a vehement patriot, preſided at his trial; and was ſaid to have even ſurpaſſed Jefferys himſelf, in violence upon this occaſion. He brow-beat the priſoner. He rejected, without any anſwer, his defence. He reviled and threatened the jury, when they ſeemed to lean to the favourable ſide. The novelty of Anderton's caſe, being the firſt who had ever ſuffered death for printing, raiſed the attention of the public. The lameneſs of the proof was generally condemned; and to convict upon preſumptions, in caſes of treaſon, was deemed a dangerous innovation [h]. But when a nation is divided into two inveterate parties, it is difficult to exclude violence, even from the ſeats of juſtice.

Campaign in Flanders.

THE King, impatient to open the campaign in Flanders, left Kenſington, on the thirty-firſt of March, and arrived in the Meaſe, on the ſecond of April. The French had diſturbed the winter itſelf, with military excurſions and attacks. They had taken Furnes and Dixmuyde, in the end of November, with their garriſons, conſiſting chiefly of the Engliſh who had reduced thoſe places, in the cloſe of the preceding campaign. His own preparations,

[f] May 15. [g] May 2. [h] Anderton's Caſe.

CHAP. I. 1693.

preparations, the neceſſity of ſettling, previouſly, the councils of the Allies, and the difficulty of aſſembling the forces, detained the King at Loo and the Hague, till the middle of May. Having joined the troops of the Allies at Deigham, he marched from thence to Parks, near Louvaine; and, by that judicious poſition, is ſaid to have broken the deſigns of France upon Brabant. Lewis the Fourteenth, with an equipage more ſuitable to a triumph than a campaign, joined his army, conſiſting of one hundred thouſand men, on the ſecond of June. Maeſtricht, Charleroy, Huy, Bruſſels, and Liege, dreaded by turns the fall of the ſtorm. But the French King having fallen ſick, ſoon after his arrival, returned to Verſailles, and left to the Mareſchal de Luxembourg the conduct of military operations in Flanders. Luxembourg, on the fifteenth of June, placed his head-quarters at Meldert, within half a league of the camp of the Allies. The two armies continued in this ſituation above a month. Each endeavoured to find an opportunity of giving battle to advantage; while both ſuffered great hardſhips from the inceſſant rains.

The French attack

THE Mareſchal de Luxembourg, deſpairing to force William to fight at a diſadvantage, left his camp, on the eighteenth of July. He ſat down before Huy; which ſurrendered in two days. Having amuſed the enemy with a feigned deſign upon Liege, he ſuddenly quitted his poſt at Hellicheim, croſſed the Jaar in four columns, directed his march toward the Allies; being determined to attack them in their camp, or if they retreated, to fall upon their rear. His van was in ſight, before they were apprized of his march. The King made the neceſſary preparations for receiving the enemy with vigour. He ſent away his heavy baggage. He ordered his infantry to intrench themſelves in the front of his camp. The river Geette bounded his right, and ran, winding, along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the brook

brook of Landen. A thick hedge joining with one end, the Geette covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was ſituated between the left end of the hedge and the center. The village of Romſdorff ſtood farther advanced, oppoſed to the front of the left wing; and the entrenchment before it ſtretched to the rivulet of Landen. A line of entrenchments extended themſelves behind the two villages; and behind theſe, the army of the Allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageouſly placed, on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line [i].

and defeat William

ON the evening [k] of his arrival in ſight of the Allies, the Mareſchal de Luxembourg, diſlodged a detachment of the enemy, poſted in the village of Landen, which ſtood advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romſdorff, he placed forty battalions, in the night. He formed his center of eight lines of horſe and foot intermixed. His horſe, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themſelves to the Geette, oppoſing their line to the thick hedge which covered the front of the enemy's right. The French were formed before five in the morning, and the cannonading began on both ſides. Six brigades, under the Duke of Berwick and two other lieutenant-generals, attacked the village of Neerwinden. This important poſt was carried. But it was ſoon recovered by the vigilance of William; who had the good fortune, at the ſame inſtant, to ſee his enemies repulſed on every ſide. The center of the French army was not properly ſuſtained by either wing. But the Mareſchal de Luxembourg was not to be intimidated. He made a ſecond effort on Neerwinden. He ſucceeded. He was again repulſed. He reſolved to attack ſome other quarter of the enemy. They were inacceſſible every where. The village of Neerwinden is a third

[i] Mem. de Feuquieres.

[k] July 28.

CHAP. I. 1693.

time attacked. William, with great bravery, led twice the Engliſh infantry to the entrenchment, which the enemy endeavoured to force. Nothing, however, could reſiſt the impetuoſity of the French. Their center, reinforced by their right, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the Allies. They flanked the Engliſh. They charged and put to flight the troops of Hannover. They overturned and routed the Spaniards [l].

at Landen.

WILLIAM perceiving this diſorder, advanced ſuddenly with a part of his left wing. But the enemy gave him no time to form. They flanked the Dutch horſe, as they came. They broke them, in a furious onſet, before the Engliſh could draw into a line. The King, however, was not to be driven from the field. He ordered his troops to charge as they found themſelves. His efforts were attended with ſome ſucceſs, when he perceived his right wing driven headlong into the Geette. Nothing but confuſion could now be ſeen throughout the camp. Slaughter and flight prevailed every where, on the field. The bridge being too much crowded by the runaways, many were drowned in the river. William retreated, in ſome order, with the remains of the left wing. He, however, left a complete victory to the enemy. Sixty-ſix pieces of cannon, eight mortars, eighty ſtandards, colours, and other trophies fell into the hands of the French. Twelve thouſand of the Allies lay dead in this bloody field. Two thouſand were made priſoners. The Mareſchal de Luxembourg gained little but glory from the battle of Landen. He loſt eight thouſand of his beſt troops in the action; and his army was ſo much weakened, by the number wounded, that he could take no advantage of the conſternation of the enemy [m].

Reflections on his conduct.

WILLIAM diſplayed, upon this occaſion, great courage and preſence of mind. He expoſed his perſon to danger. He iſſued

[l] William's account. Gazettes.

[m] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

his

1693.

his orders with coolneſs. He was preſent every where; but he has, notwithſtanding, been cenſured, for hazarding, in his circumſtances, a general engagement. He had detached a conſiderable number of his troops, under the Duke of Wertemberg, and he had ſent a reinforcement to the garriſon of Liege [n]. In point of numbers, he was much inferior to Luxembourg. He had ſufficient time to retreat beyond the Geette, and to cover himſelf from inſult behind that river [o]. His poſt, however, was ſo ſtrong, that his officers encouraged him to fight; and he himſelf was extremely anxious to recover the laurels which he had loſt in the preceding campaign. Six weeks of inactivity ſucceeded the battle. Both ſides, weakened by their loſſes, ſeemed unwilling to grapple again in the field. The Mareſchal de Luxembourg, being at length reinforced, by detachments from the coaſts of Picardy and Normandy, as well as from the army on the Upper Rhine, moved toward Charleroy. He ſat down before that place, on the eleventh of September. William made no efforts to raiſe the ſiege, though the garriſon behaved themſelves with a ſpirit that deſerved relief. The King quitted the army on the fifth of October; and Charleroy ſurrendered on the eleventh of that month [p].

Campaign in the Upper Rhine.

On the ſide of Germany, the French tarniſhed their ſucceſs with acts of barbarity and cruelty. The Mareſchal de Lorges, having paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh without oppoſition [q], detached to Chamilli, with twenty thouſand men, to inveſt Heydelberg. In the midſt of diſſenſions, which prevailed among the garriſon, that place was ſtormed. The ſoldiers and burghers were promiſcuouſly put to the ſword. When ſlaughter ended, rapine began. The houſes were burnt, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants ſtripped naked, the women expoſed to violence and luſt. De Lorges, in the mean time, was prevented from paſſing the

[n] Mem. de Feuquieres.
[o] Ibid.
[p] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.
[q] May 18.

CHAP. I. 1693.

Necker, by the Prince of Baden, who commanded the confederate army. The King of France having undertaken to the Ottomans, to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Germany, had detached [r] twenty thouſand men from the army in Flanders, to the Upper Rhine. When this reinforcement joined De Lorges, the Dauphin aſſumed the command of the army. That Prince, having diſperſed, in vain, a manifeſto containing humiliating terms of peace, advanced to the Necker, and croſſed that river, with twenty thouſand men. The Germans, under the Prince of Baden, unable to contend with ſuch ſuperior numbers, avoided the riſque of a battle, in a ſtrong poſt. The Dauphin returned to Verſailles. The French and Imperialiſts, having remained for ſome time in the field, in a ſtate of inactivity, retired at length to their reſpective winter-quarters.

In Piedmont.

THE operations of the armies, on the ſide of Piedmont, having languiſhed throughout the ſummer, ended in a deciſive action, in the beginning of October [s]. The Duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, ſat down before Pignerol. The Mareſchal de Catinat, having been reinforced with ten thouſand men, from the army on the Upper Rhine, deſcended from the mountains; and, from his motions, ſeemed to threaten Turin. The Duke, having bombarded Pignerol, raiſed the ſiege, on the ſecond of October. He advanced to the ſmall river Ciſola, where it paſſes by Marſaglia. He ſent away his heavy baggage, reſolving to engage De Catinat. The next day, the two armies came in ſight, and formed themſelves in order of battle. Neither ſide ſhewing any inclination to come to battle, the confederates lay all night on the field in their arms. When day-light appeared, the French were already formed. The allies were inſtantly in motion. The Imperial and Piedmonteſe cavalry, commanded by the Duke in perſon, covered the right wing. The infantry, conſiſting of the infantry of Savoy

[r] June 10. [s] July 29. [t] October 4.

and

and Great Britain, were in the center, under the famous Prince Eugene. The Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French began the attack in an unuſual manner. They received the fire of the Spaniards, as they advanced, and then charged them, with bayonets fixed and ſword in hand. The whole wing was broken in an inſtant, and thrown, in their confuſion, on the center. The battle was ſuſtained by the latter with great obſtinacy. They were, however, broken, at length, and forced to fly. A complete victory remained to the French. The cannon, colours, ſtandards, and light baggage of the allies, fell into the hands of the enemy. They loſt eight thouſand men in the field. The Duke of Schomberg, who commanded the troops in the pay of Great Britain, was wounded and taken priſoner. He was releaſed, on his parole; and ſoon after died at Turin [u].

In Spain and Hungary.

THE French were ſucceſsful on every ſide during this campaign. In Catalonia, the Mareſchal de Noailles took Roſes, in the ſight of the enemy. The Spaniards, enfeebled by the deſpicable councils of Charles the Second, were unable to repel the victors. The French were too few and ill provided to purſue the advantages which they had obtained. Beſides, the Mareſchal de Noailles had embarked ſix thouſand men, to reinforce de Catinat's army in Piedmont. Both ſides remained inactive from May till the end of the year. The war in Hungary produced no ſignal event. The Imperialiſts, under the Duke de Croy, laid ſiege to Belgrade in vain. After five weeks open trenches, they ſtormed the counterſcarp. But they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The grand Vizier advanced, in the mean time, with an army. The Duke de Croy, having called a council of war, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege. He ſent away his heavy baggage. He repaſſed with his army, the Saave. The defeat of a few Tartars, in the neighbourhood

[u] Mem. de Marq. Feuquieres. Gazettes.

of

CHAP. I. 1693.

of Giulia, was magnified by the Imperialiſts, to cover the diſgrace of an inactive and inglorious campaign [w].

Affairs at ſea.

THE ſame bad fortune which purſued the allies by land, attended their operations at ſea. The war in Flanders having ingroſſed the whole attention of William, the navy was much neglected by his ſervants. Notwithſtanding the great ſupplies that had been granted, the fleet was not ready to ſail till the middle of May; and then it was feebly manned, and ill ſupplied with neceſſaries and proviſions. Killegrew, Delaval, and Shovel, who executed the office of admiral, having been reinforced by the Dutch, arrived at St. Helens, on the ſeventh of May. The whole fleet was to have conſiſted of one hundred ſail of men of war, ſeventy of which were to have been of the line. They, however, had not all rendezvouſed when the admirals arrived. Theſe officers, deſtitute of intelligence themſelves, and receiving no orders from the miniſtry, were uncertain how to proceed. The French had made the greateſt preparations, in all their ports. They repaired and refitted all their men of war. They bought and armed all the largeſt merchantmen. They manned, with activity and ſucceſs, the whole fleet. All their ſhips, in the ports of the ocean, had aſſembled at Breſt, under Tourville. The ſquadron equipped at Toulon, and commanded by D'Eſtrees, received orders to advance to the Streights. King James continued to ſolicit the court of France, to make another attempt on England; and the ſanguine adherents of that unfortunate Prince could aſcribe ſuch preparations to nothing but a fixed reſolution to re-eſtabliſh their maſter on his throne [x].

The Smyrna fleet,

THE eyes of Lewis were turned to an object of much leſs importance, than the reduction of a great kingdom. The trading part of

[w] Hiſt. des Ottomans, vol. ii.

[x] Stuart-papers, 1693.

the Engliſh nation had, ever ſince the commencement of the war, complained, with reaſon, of the little attention paid by government to the protection of commerce. Though powerful fleets were ſent by the nation to ſea, individuals had ſuffered much from the privateers of the enemy. The merchants reſolved, therefore, to keep their richeſt ſhips in their ports, till ſufficient convoys could be obtained Some of theſe had been, for eighteen months, ready to ſail [y]. Their number every day accumulated. They had been promiſed a ſtrong convoy in the winter. They were put off, however, by delays. Four hundred merchantmen, conſiſting of Engliſh, Dutch, and Hamburghers, bound for the Streights, lay waiting for a convoy, in May. On the nineteenth of that month, orders were ſent from the admiralty, for the whole fleet to ſail, as far as might ſeem requiſite, with the merchantmen. They accordingly ſailed on the thirtieth, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Uſhant. Sir George Rooke, with a ſquadron of twenty-three men of war, Engliſh and Dutch, proceeded with the trade toward the Streights. The main fleet, after having cruized a few days in the mouth of the channel, returned, for want of proviſions, to Torbay [z].

ſurpriſed by the French.

THOUGH the miniſtry had received no certain intelligence concerning the motions of the French, the fleet, commanded by Tourville, had ſailed from Breſt in the middle of May [a]. That officer directed his courſe toward the Streights, to join the ſquadron expected from Toulon, under D'Eſtrees. He arrived in the bay of Lagos on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month. He lay in that place till the fifteenth of June, when Rooke and the fleet under his convoy appeared. The Engliſh admiral, deceived by falſe intelligence concerning the ſtrength of the enemy, prepared to engage. Perceiving his miſtake, he ſtood away with an eaſy ſail. He ordered, at the ſame time, the merchantmen neareſt

[y] Burnet, vol. iii. [z] Burchel's Naval Hiſtory. [a] May 16.

to

CHAP. I. 1693.

to the land to ſhift for themſelves in the ports of Spain. The enemy gaining faſt upon him, he made ſail. The French came up with the ſternmoſt ſhips. Three Dutch men of war fell into the hands of the enemy. Eighty merchantmen were either taken in their flight, or deſtroyed in ports where they had taken ſhelter. The reſt owed their eſcape to the bad conduct of Tourville. Had he kept the wind, he might have ſurrounded and taken the whole fleet; but when the Dutch ſhips ſtood in to the ſhore, he tacked after them, and loſt the greateſt opportunity of acquiring wealth and glory, with eaſe, that ever fortune threw in the way of an officer [b].

Diſcontents.

THE French admiral, vain of his ſucceſs, inſulted, without hurting, the coaſt of Spain. Rooke, loſing ſight of moſt of the merchantmen, made the beſt of his way to Madeira. He returned from that iſland to Ireland, and, ſoon after, rejoined the main fleet. The reſt of the naval campaign, if the expreſſion may be uſed, was inglorioufly inactive. The admirals, having cruized for a few weeks in the mouth of the channel, were driven into Torbay by contrary winds. They were ordered round to St. Helens, and the capital ſhips laid up for the year. The victories of the enemy by land, the diſgrace and loſs of the nation at ſea, the diſappointment of individuals, and the diſcontents which ever accompany national misfortunes, filled the whole kingdom with complaints, murmurs, and noiſe. The merchants of London preſented a remonſtrance, rather than an addreſs, to the Queen. They enumerated the hardſhips impoſed upon trade, by the want of convoys. They exaggerated paſt evils, they magnified the preſent, they expreſſed their anxiety for the future. This ſpirit of reſentment ſpread from London to the reſt of the nation. In the events of the paſt years of the war, ſome glory had been blended with diſappointment. But the preſent year was uni-

[b] French Accounts.

formly

formly covered with misfortune and disgrace. Disputes in the cabinet were joined to the disgusts among the people; and thus a general clamour prevailed, which threatened consequences of the worst kind [c].

In the midst of this ferment, William arrived from Holland [d]. The parliament were to meet on the seventh of November; and they were supposed to be infected with those jealousies and discontents which inflamed the people. The campaign had produced no event, either of advantage or glory, to sooth their resentment or to flatter their pride. The King himself was incapable of constraining his temper into a complaisance, which, with a generous people, might supply the want of success [e]. The adherents of the late King, and even that Prince himself, were, in the mean time, extremely active in increasing the present clamours against the government. James was no stranger to the impatience of the English nation, under a disgrace on their own element, the sea [f]. He continued his correspondence with the disaffected clergy. He appointed the deprived bishop of Norwich his agent to gain his brethren. He recommended to the church to obstruct the views of William in parliament. He advised the Tory part of the ministry to retain their offices, to increase their capacity to forward his service. The Marquis of Caermarthen, either disgusted with William, or in hopes of profiting by the restoration of James, had entered into the views of the latter Prince. James requested him to betray the councils of the King, and to obstruct and defeat his measures in parliament. He desired him, if he could depend upon his son, to induce him to keep his command in the navy. He instructed the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and the Lord Godolphin, to exert themselves secretly against William, to hinder, or at least to retard, the giving of money, to prevent the early sailing of the fleet, in the following year [g]. Intrigues of James.

[c] Burnet, vol. iii. Stuart papers, 1693.
[d] Oct. 31.
[e] Burnet, vol. iii.
[f] James II. 1693.
[g] Stuart-papers, Oct. 1693.

CHAP. I.

1693. in England.

HE deſired theſe lords to ſend him their advice concerning his own conduct. He aſked them, whether he ſhould write to the parliament? Whether the King of France ſhould publiſh a formal declaration, that he entertained no views with regard to England, except the re-eſtabliſhment of her native King? He deſired them freely to adviſe him, in all matters concerning their intereſt and his own views. He requeſted Admiral Ruſſel, who had continued his communications with the court of St Germains, to endeavour to procure the command of the fleet. He deſired him to ſuppreſs his reſentment for his late diſgrace. He intreated him to command his temper, to regulate his conduct with prudence and reſerve, to raiſe no enemies that might obſtruct his deſigns [h]. The intrigues of James prevailed. William fell evidently into the ſnare. The adherents of the late King inſinuated, that to reſtore Ruſſel to the command of the fleet, was to ſooth the nation for the miſcarriages at ſea. He was accordingly replaced in his former office, on the ſixth of November. The anxiety with which James purſued this point, is as unaccountable as it is remarkable. Delaval and Killegrew, two out of the three joint admirals, were devoted to his ſervice [i]. But he, perhaps, perceived, that it was impoſſible for them to retain their offices in oppoſition to a torrent of popular clamours. The firſt had been raiſed by the late King, and owed every thing to that prince; and the latter depended on Caermarthen, who had reſolved to favour a reſtoration.

Whig as well as Tories,

THOUGH James depended much upon the zeal of Admiral Ruſſel, he derived ſtill greater hopes from the Marquis of Caermarthen. Though that lord was in part prime miniſter to William, he had entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with the late King. He had promiſed to gain to his intereſt the county of York, of which he was lord-lieutenant; to ſurrender to him the

[h] MS. Inſtructions to Ruſſel, Oct. 1693. [i] Stuart-papers, Ibid.

citadel

citadel of Hull, of which he was governor. The want of ſucceſs by land, the diſgraces at ſea, the unpopularity and forbidding manner of William, his bad ſtate of health, which promiſed no permanency to the fabric which he had reared, diſappointments in ſome, a return of their former principles in others, the diſcontents and even levity of all, had increaſed, to a ſurpriſing degree, the party of the abdicated King. The Whigs were equally forward with the Tories; and more dangerous, as they were more reſolute in their political views. In the liſt of noble correſpondents with the court of St. Germains, the two parties were blended with one another, in the preſent year. James had received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances from four dukes, four marquiſes, twenty earls, four viſcounts, eleven barons, beſide the Roman Catholics, in every degree of nobility.

moſt of the clergy, many in the army,

THE whole body of the non-juring clergy, conſiſting of ſix biſhops, and ſix hundred miniſters, and four fifths of thoſe who had taken the oaths, were ready to join the late King, to preach in favour of his authority, to convince the people that the Proteſtant religion was in no danger. The cities of Briſtol and Exeter in the Weſt, and, in the North, the town of Boſton, had ſignified their loyalty to James, through their reſpective leaders. The Earl of Yarmouth, in the name of ſeventeen baronets, and one hundred and thirty gentlemen, promiſed for the county of Norfolk. The gentlemen of Eſſex aſſured the late King, that they would join him with a body of cavalry, at a proper time. The Earl of Litchfield promiſed for the county and city of Oxford. The Earl of Lindſey for the county of Lincoln. Sir John Friend anſwered for a regiment of cavalry and two of militia, with which he hoped to poſſeſs himſelf of the Tower[k]. Colonel Selwin promiſed for Tilbury fort and a regiment of infantry; Lieutenant-colonel Row for his own regiment, Colonel Greenville for that of his uncle the

[k] Stuart-papers, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1693.

CHAP. I. 1693.

Earl of Bath. Crawford, governor of Sheerneſs, undertook to deliver that fort to James. The Marquis of Caermarthen, then preſident of the council, promiſed for Hull. The private ſoldiers, in ſome regiments, had formed aſſociations for the late King. One hundred troopers of the royal regiment of cavalry acquainted him, that they had ſufficient credit with their companions, to bring back the whole to their former allegiance. They even ſolemnly undertook to "cut the throats" of ſuch of their comrades and officers, as ſhould dare to oppoſe their deſign. In the north of England, ſeven regiments of cavalry and dragoons were privately liſted, under officers, bearing commiſſions from the late King[1].

his former greateſt enemies, and thoſe who

It is remarkable, that thoſe who had been the moſt violent enemies of James, when he was on the throne, were his moſt zealous friends in his diſtreſs. The county of Somerſet, the ſeat of Monmouth's rebellion and Jefferys's cruelties, was now ready to receive him with open arms. The town of Taunton itſelf, that had ſuffered ſo much eight years before, for oppoſing James, expreſſed the greateſt affection for his perſon and the warmeſt zeal for his reſtoration. The legal ſeverities of the year 1685 muſt, therefore, have been exaggerated; or the people acquitted the King of the rigorous conduct of his ſervants. The Lord Powlet, and the majority of the gentlemen of the county, together with the citizens of Taunton, ſolemnly engaged themſelves to James, to riſe in his cauſe. Even individuals were as unſteady to their former principles, as bodies of men. The famous Ferguſon, who had uniformly abetted the oppoſition to the late King, till he loſt his throne, employed, at this time, all the vehemence of his active ſpirit in his cauſe. He requeſted, he even implored him to invade the kingdom. To teſtify his own zeal, to encourage James with a certainty of his ſucceſs, he propoſed to deliver himſelf up in

[1] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

France

France to be puniſhed with death, ſhould the enterpriſe fail. Some of the clergy, who had moſt oppoſed James, ran ſo violently into the other extreme, that they were determined to form themſelves into a company of volunteers, to ſerve in the regiment commanded by Sir John Friend [m].

THE zeal of the clergy proceeded from their high principles in favour of monarchy. But to what principle can be aſcribed the relentings of the Earl of Sunderland? That nobleman, who had hurried James into his worſt meaſures to accompliſh his ruin, endeavoured, by the like conduct, to place him again on the throne. William having diſtinguiſhed Sunderland with his favour, for former ſervices, furniſhed that lord, a ſecond time, with an opportunity to betray. Having, with his uſual addreſs, convinced the adherents of King James of the ſincerity of his repentance, he wrote a letter full of contrition for his paſt conduct, to that Prince He told him, that a deſcent, with a competent force, was the only means of finiſhing the misfortunes of the King, and the miſeries of the nation. He informed him, that from the ſtate of the kingdom, an invaſion could not fail of ſucceſs. He declined to enter into particulars, becauſe he was afraid his Majeſty did not confide ſufficiently in his advice. But when he ſhould be aſſured that the King was ſatisfied with his fidelity, he promiſed to ſend the beſt intelligence, and to contribute all in his power to his ſervice. The Earl of Arran vouched for the ſincerity of Sunderland. The Earl of Marlborough pleaded in his favour. But James had felt ſo much from his treachery before, that even his purſuing the natural bias of his mind, with regard to William, could not convince him, for ſome time, that Sunderland was ſincere [n].

betrayed him before, are in his intereſt.

SUCH was the ſecret ſtate of affairs before, and ſome time after the two houſes met, for the diſpatch of the public buſineſs. Wil-

Parliament meets.

[m] Stuart-papers, 1693. James II.

[n] Ibid. 1694.

liam

CHAP. I. 1693.

liam opened the ſeſſion, on the ſeventh of November, with a ſpeech from the throne. He lamented, that his uſual joy at meeting his parliament, was damped by diſadvantages by land, and miſcarriages at ſea. He aſcribed the former to the number of their enemies. He expreſſed his reſentment againſt the authors of the latter. He declared his reſolution to puniſh the offenders. He promiſed to manage better, for the future, his power at ſea. He deſired them to conſider, whether the kingdom was not defective in the number of ſhips; and in proper ports to annoy the enemy, and to protect themſelves. He was very ſenſible, he ſaid, of the great affection with which they had ſupported him againſt his enemies. But he was perſuaded, that the experience of the laſt ſummer was ſufficient to convince them all, that an increaſe of forces, by ſea and land, was neceſſary, to put a happy period to the war. His allies, he ſaid, had reſolved to add to their troops. He formed no doubt, on his part, but his parliament would enable him, with a ſuitable ſupply, to follow their example. He earneſtly requeſted the commons to haſten their grants, in order to render them effectual. On their expeditious councils would depend, he concluded, that forwardneſs in his preparations, which ſeemed neceſſary to the ſecurity and honour of the nation [o].

Proceedings of the commons.

MANY in the lower houſe were attached to the late King. But the majority, though Tories in principle, had uniformly ſupported the cauſe of William. The people, diſcouraged with repeated misfortunes, and feeling the weight of the war on every branch of their commerce, were loud in demanding peace. Some of the Tory-leaders in office, particularly the Earl of Nottingham, joined the voice of the people. Others of the ſame party ſacrificed their opinion to their intereſt; and adhered to the court. A diſpute aroſe in the houſe, whether the miſcarriages of the fleet, or the ſupply, ſhould be the firſt object of their conſideration. The

[o] Journals, Nov. 7, 1693.

queſtion

queſtion was carried for the latter, after a ſeries of debates, which continued ſix days. On the thirteenth of November, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport their Majeſties, and their government, to their utmoſt power. Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums raiſed in the preceding year, they had greatly fallen ſhort of the expences of government. Thoſe who ſerved in the army, were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for money. More than one million of the wages of the ſeamen, without any funds, remained unpaid. Though the greateſt ſeverities were uſed, the ſailors, in their diſtreſs, became mutinous for want of pay. The firſt buſineſs, therefore, of the commons, was to grant four hundred thouſand pounds, by way of advance, to remove immediately a part of that grievance. This ſum was to be raiſed on the general credit of the exchequer, upon the promiſe of the commons to repay it with intereſt, after the rate of ſeven per cent. under a caution, that this proceeding ſhould form no precedent [p].

CHAP. I. 1693.

They grant large ſupplies.

WITH equal alacrity the commons entered upon the great buſineſs of ſupply. Upon the general eſtimates of the navy and army, they granted five millions, for the ſervice of the following year. Forty thouſand ſeamen, including two regiments of marines, were required by government, and voted by the houſe. But to a demand of one hundred thouſand men, for the land-ſervice, they granted only eighty-three thouſand. In this only they ſeemed uncomplaiſant to the court. Beſides a proviſion made for paying all wages due to ſeamen, more than four hundred thouſand pounds were voted, for making up the deficiencies in the grants of the preceding year. It was much more eaſy to grant the ſupplies in general, than to find particular funds, upon which they might be laid. The commons began with a land-tax. Four ſhillings in the pound were carried, as ſoon as propoſed [q]. The deficiencies of the laſt year were to be defrayed from this

[p] Journals, Nov. 25.

[q] Dec. 21. Dec. 29.

ready

CHAP. I. 1693.

ready fund. The ſecond money bill was a ſupplement to the million annuity act of the year 1692. Near one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds were ſtill deficient; though fourteen per cent. had been allowed. Some appropriations of exciſe duties were made for this purpoſe. The firſt lottery, and the bank of England, were two remarkable money-bills, in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. One million was raiſed by means of the firſt; and one million five hundred thouſand pounds by the ſecond. Still the ways and means fell ſhort of the money wanted. New taxes were impoſed, and appropriated as funds of credit, for raiſing the deficiencies which ſtill ſubſiſted in the neceſſary ſupplies[r].

Other proceedings

THE inquiry into the miſmanagements at ſea, produced nothing but altercation and debate. A general cenſure was paſſed. But the cenſure was attended with no conſequences. The malcontents in the houſe of commons being the minority, founded their oppoſition on popular grounds. The bill for frequent parliaments was again introduced, and a ſecond time rejected. The place-bill was paſſed by the commons, without oppoſition. The lords made amendments. But they withdrew them, and paſſed alſo that important bill. The facility with which it ſlipt through both houſes, proceeded probably from the certainty that it was to be rejected by the King. The commons had become unpopular, through the vaſt ſums which they had granted for ſupporting an inglorious war. To regain their credit with their conſtituents, they framed the place-bill. William, ſeldom ſubject to political terror, refuſed his aſſent[s]; and though the commons, in all appearance, would have been much diſappointed, had the place-bill paſſed into a law; they remonſtrated againſt the conduct of the King. They voted, that whoever had adviſed the refuſal of the royal aſſent to the act touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament, was an enemy to their Majeſties and the kingdom. The King's anſwer

[r] Journals, paſſim. [s] Jan. 25th, 1694.

was

was ſoothing, but nothing to the purpoſe. In return for their liberality, he permitted his commons to recover ſome part of their reputation with the people at his own expence [t]. CHAP. I. 1694.

of the two houſes

THE affairs of the Eaſt-India company, which had already employed ſo much of the attention of parliament, produced undeciſive debates in the preſent ſeſſion. The train of corruption, which ſoon after broke forth in ſuch diſgraceful diſcoveries, had been already laid. The complicated nature of the buſineſs, and the violent oppoſition of the merchants, prevented the friends of the company from making an immediate return for the favours which they had deſired to receive. A bill for a general naturalization of all foreign Proteſtants, created violent debates in the houſe of commons. Thoſe who oppoſed it, called the prejudices of the populace to the aid of their cauſe. They averred, that the deſign of the act was to place all the power and authority in England in the hands of Aliens. The people knew the affection of the King, for his countrymen the Dutch. They believed that he would ſooner truſt any foreigners than his own ſubjects. The Jacobite party, in particular, were vehement in their oppoſition. Sir John Knight, one of the members for the city of Briſtol, who was at that very time in correſpondence with James [u], ſpoke with uncommon violence againſt the bill. He concluded with a motion, that the bill ſhould be kicked out of the houſe, and the foreigners out of the kingdom. The people were inflamed to a degree of madneſs; and the court-party ſacrificed the bill to the public rage.

of parliament.

To purſue the ſeſſion to its period, we muſt tranſgreſs upon the order of time. The grievances of Ireland were again revived, as they had not been redreſſed, in purſuance of the King's promiſe. The Iriſh gentlemen who had made their appeal to the

[t] Stuart-papers, 1693. [u] Ibid.

CHAP. I.

1694.

Engliſh parliament, complained afreſh of Coningſby and Porter; whoſe injuſtice and tyranny had exceeded all bounds. The Earl of Bellamont impeached them both, in the houſe of commons. The articles againſt Coningſby contained charges of the blackeſt kind; and the accuſation againſt Porter, was ſcarce leſs ſevere. Bellamont ſupported, with vouchers, every charge. The commons ſeemed convinced of the guilt; but they declined to ground upon them an impeachment. The reaſon which they aſſigned, was plauſible if not ſufficient. They inſinuated, that in times of domeſtic commotions and civil war, exertions of power might be neceſſary, which ſhould not be puniſhed, though they ought not to be approved. Though this argument ſatisfied the commons, it was notorious, that the crimes charged upon the accuſed, were committed after the eſtabliſhment of a civil government and the opening of the courts of juſtice. Bellamont, for endeavouring to puniſh others, was actually perſecuted himſelf. He was deprived of his place under the government, while Coningſby and Porter received a pardon under the greal ſeal [w]. The ſeſſion ended with a ſpeech from the throne, on the ſixteenth of April.

[w] Journals, paſſim.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Secret intrigues.——Of Marlborough.——Ruſſel.——Shrewſbury. Godolphin.——Sunderland.——Whigs and Tories in office.—— ——An expedition againſt Breſt.——Betrayed by Marlborough. ——Campaign of 1694.*——Proceedings of parliament.—— Triennial bill.——Death and character of the Queen.——Grief of William.——Reflections of James.——Lancaſhire plot.—— Inquiry into abuſes.——Speaker expelled.——Corrupt practices, in India affairs.——Duke of Leeds impeached.——Parliament prorogued.——Campaign of* 1695.*——Siege of Namur.——Campaign in Italy, Germany, and Spain.——Diſaſters at ſea.—— Affairs of Scotland.——Affairs of Ireland.——Intrigues of James in England.——Situation of William.——His progreſs.——A new parliament.——Debates on the coin-act.——Addreſs againſt the Scots.——New council of trade.——Addreſs againſt the Earl of Portland.——Aſſaſſination-plot.——A projected invaſion.——Zeal of the two houſes.——Schemes of the late King broken.——Conſpirators puniſhed.——Proceedings of the parliament.*

CHAP. II.

1694. January. Several perſons of rank.

WHILE the parliament were employed in granting ſupplies to William, the agents of James were forming ſecret ſchemes againſt his power. Men of the firſt quality in the nation, and ſome of thoſe in office, endeavoured, with every flattering colour of the ſtate of affairs, to encourage Lewis the Fourteenth to tranſport an army into Britain. They obſerved, in their letters to the late King, that a deſcent in England would infallibly break the league; and enable France to finiſh with advantage, as well as reputation, the war. They aſſured him, that while the confederates remained united, the kingdom would be wretched and his own affairs obſtructed, if not ruined. Penn, the famous

CHAP. II.

1694. January.

famous Quaker, informed James, in expreſs terms, "that while there was a fool in England, the Prince of Orange would have a penſioned parliament to give him ſupplies" Among others, the Earl of Marlborough continued to eſpouſe, with eagerneſs, his former maſter's cauſe. He intreated him to take advantage of the unprepared ſtate of the Engliſh fleet. He gave him the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his own ſervices, and the hearty aid of all his party and numerous friends [a].

in correſpondence with the late King.

THE adherents of the late King, in all their repreſentations in the preceding year, agreed that thirty thouſand men would be neceſſary to enſure a revolution in England. When they perceived a coldneſs in the court of France, they leſſened their demands. In the month of February they aſſured James, that they found his party much ſtronger than they had ever imagined before. They ſaid twenty thouſand men would now be ſufficient to give him, without a battle, the throne. They affirmed, that the nation expected, with impatience, his arrival. They told him, that England could not, till the month of April, ſend to ſea above twenty-five third and fourth rate men of war, and theſe not completely manned. That no more than ſeven thouſand five hundred troops were then in the kingdom; and that even theſe would be diminiſhed to four thouſand, when the regiments deſtined for Flanders, ſhould embark for that country [b]. Lewis liſtened, with ſome attention, to the unfortunate King. But he meant nothing leſs, than to ſupport, with any vigour, his cauſe. Though victorious in the field, he was oppreſſed with calamities at home. Having exerted his whole force in the late campaigns, he had already impoveriſhed his ſubjects with grievous taxes. Beſides, a terrible famine had added, in the preceding ſummer, to the miſeries which aroſe from the war [c].

[a] Stuart-papers, 1693, 1694. [b] Ibid. Feb. 1694. [c] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

CHAP. II.

1694. March.

But James was not discouraged, either with the langu or of Lewis or the exhausted state of France. Though he placed little confidence[d] in the professions of the noble converts to his cause, he sent Captain Lloyd, in the month of March, to England. To facilitate his access to Admiral Russel, and to the Earls of Marlborough and Shrewsbury, he ordered him to apply to Colonel Sackville, their common friend. Marlborough was the first of the malcontents who presented himself to Lloyd. He informed him, that he had been solicited by William to come again into office. But that he did not chuse to accept, without the consent of his old master. Lloyd assured him, that James had actually heard of the offer; and that he had ordered him to signify his consent. "The thing," replied Marlborough, "is now past. Should the offer, which may well happen, again be made, I will accept. But it is only to serve the King; for whose re-establishment I am resolved to risque my life to expiate my crimes[e]." He had made the same professions to James himself in a letter, in the preceding December. Admiral Russel received Lloyd with still greater marks of attention and regard. He assured him, with the strongest asseverations and even with oaths, that he would undertake the restoration of the late King. He promised to endeavour to gain the officers of the fleet. He reiterated his most solemn protestations of fidelity. He told him, that the Earls of Shrewsbury and Marlborough should be the witnesses, the judges and sureties of his conduct. He, however, refused to avoid the French fleet; "though," said he, "I once determined to execute that business, as it depended then on myself alone[f]."

Intrigues of Marlborough.

Lloyd, not yet satisfied with the answer of Russel, opened various expedients to his view. He told him that there certainly was a design in agitation for making a descent on the coast of France.

Russel.

[d] Stuart-papers, March, 1694. James II. 1694. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. 1694.

He,

CHAP. II. 1694.

He, therefore, requeſted Ruſſel to ſend timely information to James, that tranſports might be prepared, where no attack could be feared. He propoſed, that toward the end of autumn, when the large ſhips ſhould be diſarmed and convoys ſent to America, he might retain in the channel ſuch commanders as he ſhould gain in the ſummer. That, ſafe in their fidelity, he might himſelf tranſport ſuch troops, as might be neceſſary for accompanying the late King to England. He ſtill proteſted, but ſeemed unwilling to determine on any plan. Lloyd gave an account to the Earl of Marlborough and to Sackville of his conference with Ruſſel. They obſerved, that he ſaid a great deal, could he be truſted. But that if he was not ſincere, all he could ſay would anſwer no purpoſe[g].

Shrewſbury,

THE Earl of Shrewſbury had ſucceeded Nottingham as ſecretary of ſtate, on the fourth of March, a few days before Lloyd arrived from France. His being in office prevented him from admitting into his preſence the avowed agent of the late King. He, however, ſent his mother, the old Counteſs of Shrewſbury, to Lloyd, with aſſurances of his fidelity. He inſtructed her to inform him, that upon being ſolicited to take the ſeals, he declined that honour, under the pretence of want of health. That William inſinuated he was no ſtranger to ſome words which the earl had dropt in converſation, in favour of the late King. That the earl perceived there might be ſome danger in refuſing the offer. That he, therefore, promiſed to accept. But that he requeſted a few days, to ſettle his affairs in the country. That he accordingly retired, with ſome friends, well mounted. That, as reports of an immediate deſcent were then current, he had reſolved to join James on his landing. That he was diſappointed in his hopes, to his very great regret. That he was obliged to take the ſeals, on his return. But that he only held them, to ſerve the late King with more effect[h].

[g] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

[h] Ibid. March 16/4.

GODOLPHIN

CHAP. II.

1694. Godolphin.

GODOLPHIN was, at this juncture, firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury. Though he was truſted by William, he affected to be in the intereſt of the late King. He explained to Lloyd his ſentiments of James, in the moſt affectionate manner in the world. He expreſſed his fears, that a peace was likely to be concluded before the end of the next ſummer. He told him, that he was ſorry to believe, from the words of the Prince of Orange, for ſo he called the reigning King, that the terms would be highly prejudicial to the late King. He informed him, that William would endeavour to oblige the moſt Chriſtian King to ſend James out of the dominions of France. That he thought it his duty to acquaint his old maſter of the deſigns of his enemy and rival. He told it as his opinion, that King James ſhould forthwith endeavour to tranſport himſelf into England, with a conſiderable force. That there appeared to him no difficulty in making a deſcent in this kingdom, without either the aid or concurrence of Ruſſel. That, however, he ought ſtill to be treated with attention. That he had ſaid all that could be expected from a perſon in his ſituation. That the Earl of Shrewſbury, who was ſincerely in the intereſt of the late King, poſſeſſed an abſolute influence over Ruſſel. He aſſured Lloyd, that Ruſſel would infallibly appear before Breſt. That this circumſtance would give a juſt pretence to Lewis to ſend an army to the coaſt. He adviſed, therefore, that the neceſſary tranſports might be prepared in the ſummer, to carry to Britain the invaders in autumn. He told him, that the large veſſels would return to port in the middle of September. That the ſailors would be diſperſed, the convoys ſent to the different places of commerce, the coaſt left bare of men of war. That he believed a revolution might be effected without a blow; as nine in ten of the people, either heartily deteſted William, or were firmly attached to the late King[1].

[1] Stuart-papers, March 1694.

THOUGH

CHAP. II.

1694

Sunderland,

THOUGH the Earl of Sunderland poſſeſſed no office under William, he held, for an Engliſhman, a high place in his favour. Swayed by the natural levity of his own mind, or infected with the changed opinions of others, he continued his correſpondence with the late King. He, however, was more guarded in his intercourſe with that Prince, than thoſe great men who truſted their lives and fortunes in the hands of intermediate agents. His ſon-in-law the Earl of Arran, who firſt promoted his intrigues with the court of St. Germains, was the only perſon in the ſecret in Britain[k]. In France, James concealed, with great caution, his intercourſe with a man who had ſo much injured his cauſe before. Sunderland preſſed the late King to an immediate invaſion upon various grounds. He intreated that Prince to take advantage of the changed opinions of the people; their contempt for William, their diſcontent at the late heavy taxes, their loſſes at ſea, their diſappointments in the war by land. Theſe circumſtances, he informed him, would enſure a favourable reception to himſelf in the kingdom, while the deſign of ſending the greateſt part of the fleet to the Streights, and almoſt the whole of the army to Flanders, would render his paſſage eaſy and his ſucceſs certain. He adviſed the late King not to be intimidated with the great ſupplies granted to the reigning Prince, as the money given by the parliament, could not be raiſed in time to place the kingdom in a ſtate of defence[l].

Whigs and Tories promiſcuouſly in office.

WHILE Sunderland tendered thus his advice to James, HE and the Earl of Portland formed the ſecret cabinet of William[m]. That Prince felt ſome part of the misfortunes, which he had contributed to throw on his predeceſſor, when he ſat on the throne. He was worſt ſerved by thoſe whom he courted the moſt. Impreſſed with the opinion, that intereſt forms the prin-

[k] Stuart-papers, March 1694.

[l] Stuart-papers.

[m] Dutch encroachments, p. 20.

ciples of men, he reſolved to bribe into fidelity thoſe whom he could not otherwiſe truſt. In the arrangements of the preſent year, he ſeems however to have regarded moſt the ſuppoſed Whigs. The admiralty, in particular, was placed in the hands of that party. Ruſſel was made firſt commiſſioner; Rook and Houblon ſupplanted the obnoxious admirals Delaval and Killigrew, at the board. Though William ſeems to have entertained ſome well-grounded ſuſpicions of Shrewſbury, that nobleman was accounted a Whig by the nation; and though the Marquis of Caermarthen was conſidered a Tory, by principle, his known prudence was deemed a ſecurity for his faith to the prevailing powers. But ſome other perſons of rank, who were known to be adverſe to the late revolution, were either continued in employment or raiſed to office. Among the latter, the Earl of Abingdon, then actually in correſpondence with James, ſucceeded to a place of profit, vacant by the death of the Lord Lovelace [n].

Titles conferred.

On the twenty-fifth of April, a few days after he prorogued his parliament, William went to Graveſend to embark at that place for Holland. The wind proving contrary, he returned to Kenſington the next day. This accident furniſhed the King with a further opportunity of gratifying ſome of his principal ſubjects with dignities and honours. But though he had of late ſhown ſome attention to the Whigs, his firſt care ſeems ſtill to have been commanded by the Tories. The Marquis of Caermarthen was created, on the thirtieth of April, Duke of Leeds. The title of Duke of Shrewſbury was conferred upon the Earl of the ſame name. The Earl of Clare, then deeply engaged with James [o], was raiſed to the dignity of Duke of Newcaſtle. The Earl of Mulgrave, a ſecret abettor of the deſigns of the late King [p], was made Marquis of Normanby, with an annual penſion of three thouſand pounds. But no titles of honour, nor even views of

[n] Gazette. [o] Stuart-papers, 1693, 1694. [p] Ibid.

CHAP. II. 1694.

profit, could reconcile theſe men either to the manner or title of the King. Shrewſbury and Leeds, whoſe advice Mary was implicitly to follow, in her huſband's abſence, were to have embarraſſed and betrayed her councils, ſhould her father appear with a force in England [q]. To ſtop their clamours, rather than to gratify the party who had raiſed him to the throne, the King, before his departure for Holland, had ordered patents for dukedoms to be prepared, for the Earls of Bedford and Devonſhire. The firſt derived his title to a name in party, from the fate of his unfortunate ſon. Diſappointments in his views for the public, as well as perſonal neglect, had rendered the latter indifferent concerning the fate of William, and the permanency of his authority [r].

Preparations at ſea.

ON the fourth of May, the King embarked at Graveſend. But the wind being contrary, he went by land to Margate; and was eſcorted from that place to Holland by a ſquadron of Dutch men of war. The projected operations of the ſummer at ſea, had employed a great part of his attention during the winter. His councils, however, were betrayed. The deſtinations of the different ſquadrons were generally known [s]. Nothing but the time of their departure, which depended upon accidents, remained a ſecret. Sir Francis Wheeler, with a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, had been ſent to convoy the trade to the Mediterranean, in the end of the preceding year. On the ſeventeenth of February, a terrible tempeſt overtook his fleet, in the bay of Gibraltar. The admiral himſelf, ſome ſhips of war, and ſeveral merchantmen were loſt. The reſt were diſabled. Some took ſhelter in Gibraltar, many in the harbour of Cadiz. The combined fleets were not aſſembled on the coaſt of England, till the end of April. Ruſſel hoiſted his flag, at Portſmouth, on the twenty-ſeventh of that month; and his avowed deſign was to ſail into the Mediterranean, to defend the ports of Spain from the

[q] Stuart-papers, 1693, 1694. [r] Ibid. 1690, 1691. [s] Ibid. 1694.

French;

French who were reſolved to make the principal effort of the campaign on that ſide [t].

An expedition againſt Breſt.

BUT the chief enterpriſe of the ſeaſon, was to be directed againſt Breſt. The Lord Godolphin had furniſhed the late King, in the month of March, with this important intelligence [u]. But from the uncertainty which attended the ſailing of the fleet, he could not fix the time. General Talmaſh, contrary to the expreſs opinion of Ruſſel, promoted firſt, and at length carried this deſign. When the admiral hoiſted his flag, at St. Helens, the land-forces deſtined for the expedition, were on their march, under Talmaſh, to Portſmouth. The French had made no ſecret of their reſolution to aſſiſt, with their whole fleet, the deſigns of the Mareſchal de Noailles upon Barcelona. The court of Spain had concerted with William, to ſend the main body of the combined fleet to protect the place. Men in general believed that the force under Talmaſh, was deſtined for the ſame ſervice. The French were either ignorant of the preparations of the Engliſh, or they knew not where the ſtorm was to fall. The alarm concerning Breſt, which had been raiſed by the intelligence ſent by Godolphin to James, had already ſubſided. Beſides, the danger of France, upon that ſide, had been leſſened by the actual ſailing of her fleet from the port of Breſt, on the fifteenth of April [w].

Betrayed by the Earl of Marlborough, May 4th.

THE zeal of the Earl of Marlborough for the ſervice of the late King, or his averſion to the reigning Prince, induced that nobleman to become, upon this occaſion, an informer againſt his country. He tranſmitted, through the hands of colonel Sackville, intelligence of the danger to which France was expoſed. His letter was dated on the fourth of May. He informed King James that twelve regiments encamped at Portſmouth, with two regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmaſh, were deſigned

[t] Burnet, vol. iii. [u] Stuart papers, 1694. [w] April 15th, N. S.

CHAP. II.

1694.

for deſtroying Breſt, and the ſhips of war in that harbour. He owned, that ſucceſs in the enterpriſe would prove of great advantage to England. But that no conſideration could now hinder, or ever ſhould prevent him from informing his Majeſty of all that he believed to be for his ſervice. He deſired the late King to make the beſt uſe of the intelligence. He told him, that he might depend on its being exactly true. But he conjured him, for his own intereſt, to keep the ſecret to himſelf and the Queen. He informed him that Ruſſel was to ſail, the next day, with forty ſhips; and that the reſt of the fleet, with the land-forces, were to follow the admiral, in ten days. He had endeavoured, he ſaid, to learn the whole from Ruſſel. But he always denied the fact, though he was no ſtranger to the deſign, for ſix weeks before. "This," continues the Earl, "gives me a bad ſign of this man's intention." Sackville, who tranſmitted the letter, formed, for the ſame reaſon, a like unfavourable opinion of Ruſſel. He mentioned, "that THE MAN had not acted ſincerely; and that he feared he would never act otherwiſe [x].

The enterpriſe miſcarries.

THE event eſtabliſhed the truth of the intelligence tranſmitted by Marlborough. Ruſſel ſailed, the next day, with a part of the combined fleets. Shovel remained at St. Helens, with the reſt, to take Talmaſh and his troops on board. On the twenty-third of May, the admiral, having diſcovered that the French ſquadron had left Breſt, returned. On the twenty-ninth, he again put to ſea with the forces; and, on the fifth of June, the diviſion of the fleet deſtined to attack Breſt, bore down for Camaret Bay, under the command of the Lord Berkley. Nine hundred men were landed, in a diſorderly manner, on the eighth of June, under the fire of ſome men of war. The bay was lined with intrenchments, which were full of the French marines. The Engliſh having, for ſome time, ſuſtained the fire of the

[x] Stuart-papers, May 1694. James II. 1694.

enemy,

enemy, ſuffered much and were forced to fly. To add to the misfortune, it was now ebbing tide, and ſeveral boats were left dry on the ſand. Confuſion and ſlaughter prevailed. Six hundred were ſlain, many were drowned. Talmaſh himſelf received a wound, of which he afterwards died at Plymouth. The ſhips, which covered the landing, were ſhattered by the batteries which guarded the ſhore. One Dutch frigate was ſunk, after loſing almoſt her whole crew. The French had profited ſo much by the intelligence of Marlborough, that the Engliſh choſe to return, without any further attempt, to their own coaſt [y].

Campaign in Flanders.

THIS diſgrace at ſea was not repaired by any ſplendid advantage obtained by land. The French, ſtanding on the defenſive, in Flanders, amuſed William, with dextrous movements, throughout the ſummer. With ſcarce half the force of the allies, the Dauphin, aſſiſted by the Mareſchal de Luxembourg, covered from inſult the French lines. The King was forced to remain in a ſtate of inactivity, with the fineſt army he had ever brought into the field. The rapid movement of the French from Vignamont, was the moſt ſignal event of the whole campaign. Having marched forty leagues, in four days, they formed an impenetrable line, from the Lys to the ocean; and prevented William from attacking, by land, the maritime places, which his fleet had inſulted by ſea. He, however, found means to beſiege and take the town and caſtle of Huy. He ended the campaign with this exploit; and left the army, on the thirtieth of September. To ſtop the progreſs of the King, on the ſide of Flanders, was deemed equal to a victory by the court of Verſailles. The confederates, it is certain, had never a nearer proſpect of ſucceſs; but their hopes were defeated, by the conſummate abilities of the Mareſchal de Luxembourg [z].

In Spain.

WHILE the war languiſhed in Flanders, the French puſhed their operations, with vigour, on the ſide of Spain. In Catalonia,

[y] Burnet. Marq. of Caermarthen's Journal. [z] Hiſt. de France, vol. iii. Kennet. Ralph.

the

CHAP. II.

1694.

the Mareſchal de Noailles, having forced the paſſage of the river Ter, defeated the Spaniſh army intrenched on the further ſhore. He took Palamos, by aſſault, on the ſeventh of June. Gironne and Oſtalric fell ſucceſſively into his hands. His deſigns upon Barcelona were defeated, by the arrival of Ruſſel, with the combined fleet, in the neighbouring ſeas. Tourville, with his ſquadron, was blocked up in the port of Toulon. The abſence of their ſhips ſtopt the progreſs of the French; but a panic had ſeized the King, and ſhaken the councils of Spain. The Queen-mother, a daughter of Auſtria, and devoted to the views of her family, prevented Charles the Second from ſoliciting peace, on advantageous terms. Intrigue, jealouſy, and even murder prevailed at court. The Queen-mother gained the young Queen, by ſupporting her ſuppoſed lover, the Baron de Perlis. The Duke d'Oſſona, who alone remained faithful to the intereſt of his maſter, was poiſoned; and the public meaſures were diſtracted, between the feeble efforts of a weak monarch and a faction devoted to the court of Vienna [a].

Other military tranſactions.

In Piedmont the campaign was inactive; and nothing of moment happened upon the Upper-Rhine. The Duke of Savoy was employed in ſecret negociations with France. The Emperor made his chief effort on the ſide of Hungary. The war, in the latter country, produced no ſtriking event; but the Poles, in alliance with the Imperialiſts, defeated the Tartars on the Neiſter in the month of October [b]. The operations of the combined fleets in the ocean, after the fruitleſs attempt upon Breſt, were either languid or ill-directed. The lord Berkley bombarded Dieppe [c], with ſome effect. He was not equally ſucceſsful at Havre. He proceeded from thence to La Hogue and Cherbourg. But his progreſs was more a matter of parade than ſervice. William, anxious to make an impreſſion on France, on the ſide of Flanders, had recommend-

[a] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom ii. [b] Oct. 26. [c] July 12.

ed

CHAP. II. 1694.

ed an attempt upon Dunkirk and Calais, in the courſe of the ſummer. A ſquadron, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and ſubject to the directions of one Meeſters, a Dutchman, came before the firſt of thoſe places, on the twelfth of September. This man had invented a machine, which from the fury of its diſcharge was called the *Infernal*. Two of theſe machines were ſent in againſt the fort, which guarded the Riſbank. The firſt blew up without effect; the latter ſpent its effect on itſelf, and was deſtroyed. The attempt on Calais [d] was equally unſucceſsful; and thus the naval campaign, in the ocean, if the expreſſion may be uſed, produced neither glory nor advantage to the nation [e].

King arrives. Parliament meets.

THE King, having left the army on the laſt day of September, repaired to his favourite reſidence at Loo. On the twenty-third of October, he departed from that place; and having adjuſted, at the Hague, the ſtate of the war, for the enſuing year, he ſet ſail from the Maeſe, on the eighth of November, and landed at Margate the next day. The Queen having met him at Rocheſter, they arrived at Kenſington on the tenth in the evening, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. The parliament, after repeated prorogations, meeting on the twelfth at Weſtminſter, the King informed them in his ſpeech, that he was glad to inform them of the good poſture of public affairs. He told them, that the enemy had not been in a condition to meet the fleet, in theſe ſeas; that the great force ſent into the Mediterranean, had broken all their deſigns in Spain; and that an effectual ſtop had been put to the progreſs of the French arms, on the ſide of Flanders. He doubted not, he ſaid, either their affection for his perſon, or their zeal for the public ſervice. He, therefore, demanded ſuch ſupplies as might enable him to proſecute the war with that vigour, which was beſt calculated to procure peace. He put them in mind,

[d] July 19. [e] Burchit.

CHAP. II. 1694.

that the act of tonnage and poundage was to expire at Chriſtmas; and that the great anticipations had rendered that revenue neceſſary for the ſupport of the crown [f].

A ſupply granted.

The commons, declining to proceed to buſineſs, adjourned themſelves for ſeven days; a circumſtance, that ſeemed to indicate, that the plan of government was either not ſettled, or that the heads of the oppoſing party were to be ſounded and gained. A bill for frequent parliaments, which has ſince obtained the name of the triennial bill, ſeems to have been the price of the demanded ſupplies. The abſolute neceſſity of a frequency of parliaments had been aſſerted, in the declaration of rights. But the demands of the ſubject, on this important point, had been expreſſed in ſuch indefinite terms, that they had been hitherto eluded with eaſe by the crown. The meaſure was proſecuted with ſuch an appearance of firmneſs, that the court party choſe to comply. The bill was accordingly prepared [g], and it was followed with a vote of ſupply [h]. Two millions and near four hundred thouſand pounds were granted for the ſervice of the navy [i]; and the like ſum to ſupport the army, throughout the enſuing year. The houſe voted, that the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, which expired on the twenty-fourth of December, ſhould begin from the twenty-ſixth, and continue for five years. The diſcontinuing of theſe duties, for one day, was intended to prevent the pretence of preſcription, on the ſide of the crown, for revenues, which ought to be conſidered as the free gift of the ſubject.

Triennial bill.

The King came to the houſe of lords, on the twenty ſecond of December, and gave the royal aſſent to the triennial bill. Two reaſons [k] ſeem to have combined, to induce William to give his concurrence to an act, which he had defeated the preceding year.

[f] Journals, Nov. 12. [g] Ibid. Nov. 21.
[h] Nov. 21. [i] Dec. 3. [k] Burnet, vol. iii.

The

The commons, he found, were reſolved to receive this conceſſion from the crown, as the price of a ſupply for the war. Beſides, the Queen had been taken ill of the ſmall-pox, the day before, with incurable ſymptoms of that dangerous diſeaſe. He was unwilling, therefore, by an exertion of the prerogative, to ſhake his influence with the nation; which would neceſſarily be weakened by the event of her death. His prudence only could, in this inſtance, overcome his attachment to what he deemed to be the inherent right of the crown. The commons, however, in aſſerting the liberties of the ſubject, appeared not to have neglected themſelves. In the ſecond clauſe of the bill, they implied the continuance of the parliament then ſubſiſting, for three years. This ſelfiſh proviſion was not paſſed without cenſure in the houſe of peers; for ſome lords, at the laſt reading, proteſted againſt the bill, as tending to the continuance of the preſent parliament longer than was agreeable to the conſtitution of England [1].

Death and character of the Queen.

THE diſtemper of the Queen, from bad ſymptoms, advanced rapidly to worſe, till it terminated in her death, on the twenty-eighth of December. Her figure, her manner, her affability, the decency of her carriage, and equality of her temper, rendered her ſincerely and generally beloved, by a people ever fond of the virtues of their princes. In her perſon, ſhe was tall and graceful, full proportioned and eaſy in all her motions. Though her complexion was not fair, the lineaments of her face were regular and well-combined. A lively and piercing eye threw ſuch a pleaſing light on her countenance, that ſhe even might be called a woman of beauty. The genuine features of her mind are difficult to be traced, as her paſſions were neither uncommon in their kind, nor ſtrong in their degree. A ſtrict attention to her huſband, and even an abſolute ſubſerviency to his will, ſeem to have been more the rule of her life, than thoſe more majeſtic virtues, which alone

[1] Journals of the Lords, Dec. 18.

CHAP. II. 1694.

could thoroughly juſtify her political conduct. When ſhe held the reins of government, ſhe diſplayed more prudence than ability, and leſs of art than of ſolidity of judgment. Unambitious in her diſpoſition, and ſubdued in her youth to obedience, ſhe was ever uneaſy under the weight of power; and ſhe always reſigned her authority, not only with indifference, but even with pleaſure. Her private virtues, in ſhort, were chiefly conjugal. She was not a kind ſiſter; and none will affirm that ſhe was an affectionate daughter. Her ſituation, it muſt be confeſſed, was cruel and difficult; as it was only through a breach of the ties of nature, ſhe could become at all an object of public applauſe.

Grief of William.

THOUGH William was neither a fond huſband, nor ſubject to feelings of a delicate kind, he exhibited every ſymptom of an unfeigned grief upon the death of the Queen. Her amiable manner, and an habitual attention to all his commands, had, it ſeems, made an impreſſion on his mind, which he had not cared to own. Beſides, gratitude had, perhaps, ſupplied the place of a warm affection in his breaſt. The Queen certainly deſerved every return of friendſhip at HIS hands. She had acted, in all reſpects toward him, as if virtue conſiſted ſolely in the implicit obedience of a wife to her huſband. Motives of policy might alſo have joined their force to more tender ſentiments in his mind. The whole popularity of his meaſures proceeded from the open and agreeable deportment of Mary. Many conſidered her as having the only natural right to the crown. His own manner, when at its beſt, procured more reſpect than affection; and he, therefore, had ſufficient reaſon to lament the loſs of a conſort, whoſe influence had ſo much contributed to reconcile the people to his government. But whatever motive weighed moſt with the mind of William, his prudence might have been truſted, as to the ſincerity of his grief.

THE

CHAP. II.

THE city of London, the two houſes of parliament, the nation in general expreſſed, in warm addreſſes to the throne, their ſenſe of the merit of Mary, and their own ſorrow. The Princeſs of Denmark was induced, by the Earl of Sunderland, to ſend a letter of condolence, on the death of her ſiſter, to the King. This Princeſs, even before her diſgrace, in the year 1692, had begun a ſecret correſpondence with her father. But having now obtained a nearer proſpect of the crown, ſhe was eaſily induced to adopt an appearance of reconciliation with William. His prudence dictated, that he ought to meet her half-way. He was apprehenſive, that ſhe might carry her reſentment for former injuries to a pitch that might prove uneaſy to his government, if not dangerous to his power. She was the next heir, by act of parliament. She was nearer than William himſelf, by the title of blood. He was ſenſible, that many had been reſtrained, by their deference to Mary, as the daughter of the late King; and he was certain, that, at leaſt, the diſcontented would pay their court with more diligence to the Princeſs, ſhould he permit her to remain in a ſtate of proſcription from his favour. He therefore admitted her into his preſence, preſented her with moſt of her ſiſter's jewels, and conferred upon her ſome other favours, more from political views, than any affection for her perſon [m].

1694. Conduct of the Princeſs of Denmark.

MARY was ſcarce conſidered as a partner in the regal authority, during her life; and therefore her death produced no material change. Some doubts aroſe, whether the parliament was not diſſolved by her demiſe. But the queſtion was ſcarce propoſed in the houſe of lords, when it was dropt, as unfit to be debated [n]. The late King declined to make any efforts for his reſtoration upon the preſent occaſion. He conceived hopes, that a government, which he thought depended upon the popularity of his daughter,

Reflections of James, on the death of Mary.

[m] Burnet. Dutcheſs of Marlborough.

[n] Burnet, vol. iii.

CHAP. II. 1694.

would ſhake and unhinge itſelf by her deceaſe. He was much affected by the intelligence. But his ſorrow was more that of an enthuſiaſt than a father. He was rather grieved at her manner of dying, than at her death. "The King," ſaid that unfortunate Prince, "received this additional affliction to thoſe which he had already undergone. He ſaw a child, whom he tenderly loved, perſevering to her death in a ſignal ſtate of diſobedience and diſloyalty. He perceived, that ſhe was extolled for a crime as for the higheſt merit. He heard her contradictions called virtues, and her breach of duty to a parent, a becoming ſacrifice to her religion and her country *." Such were the reflections of James, upon the death of a daughter, whoſe behaviour to a parent could ſcarce be juſtified, by his own conduct.

Proceedings of parliament

THE death of the Queen, though alarming to the nation, interrupted not the courſe of buſineſs in parliament. A remarkable tranſaction, in the preceding ſummer and autumn, was laid before the commons, early in the preſent ſeſſion. One Lunt, a perſon of a very profligate character, who had once been a day-labourer at Highgate, gave information, on the fifteenth of June, concerning a plot for levying war againſt the government. He affirmed, that he had delivered commiſſions from the late King to ſeveral gentlemen in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. That, at their inſtance and expence, he had bought arms and enliſted men. That he had been twice ſent to France, to receive the commands of James concerning the intended inſurrection; and that one Wilſon, who had aſſiſted him in delivering the commiſſions, was privy to the circumſtances of the plot. The ſuppoſed conſpirators were ſeized. They were brought to London, and then remanded to Mancheſter, to take their trials. Lunt and Wilſon ſwore to the truth of the information. But Lunt, being ordered in court, to point at the ſeveral priſoners, miſtook his men.

* James II. 1694.

This

This created a violent ſuſpicion of perjury; and, at the inſtant, one Taffe, who had been acquainted with Lunt, declared publickly, that the whole plot was nothing but a villanous contrivance, fabricated between himſelf and that profligate witneſs. The King's council ſtopt all proceedings. The priſoners were acquitted; and the popular clamour became ſo loud in favour of the accuſed, that the miniſtry found it neceſſary to commit their witneſſes to priſon, and to order them to be proſecuted [p].

on the Lancaſhire plot.

THOUGH the moſt of the perſons accuſed were attached to the late King, and ſome of them actually plotting for his ſervice, the information of Lunt and his aſſociates ſeems to have had no foundation in fact. The whole appears to have been framed by the intrigues and precipitate zeal of one Johnſton, a Scotſman, brother to the ſecretary of ſtate of that name. This buſy and ſelf-intereſted man, had, in the hopes of a gratification from William, long acted the part of an informer againſt the Jacobites, in England as well as in Scotland. He had employed every mean art to circumvent the unwary, and to find evidence againſt the accuſed [q]. The victory obtained by the gentlemen of Lancaſhire over the witneſſes of government, in a court of juſtice, induced them to lay their grievances before the parliament. The reſult of the deliberations of the commons anſwered not their hopes on the ſubject. They voted, that there had been ſufficient grounds for the proſecution and trial of the conſpirators at Mancheſter; and that a dangerous plot had been carried on againſt the King and government. Notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions, the witneſſes were tried and found guilty of perjury, at the Lancaſter aſſizes. They were afterwards [r] indicted, for a conſpiracy againſt the lives and eſtates of the accuſed gentlemen. But the proſecution was dropt, and Lunt and Wilſon were diſcharged.

[p] Trial. Kennet, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii. Auct. citat. paſſim.

[q] Johnſton's Letters to Carſtares.

[r] Aug. 1695.

THE

CHAP. II.

1695.

An inquiry into abuſes.

The popularity of paſſing the triennial bill into a law, ſecured not William from an oppoſition in parliament. The commons ordered a ſtate of the loans, debts, and charges upon the revenue, together with an account of the expence of the civil liſt, to be laid before their houſe [r]. They opened, the ſame day, a channel of inquiry into abuſes and corruptions, which led to important but diſgraceful diſcoveries of the venality of the times. Upon a petition of the inhabitants of Royſton, againſt the violence and exactions of the ſoldiery, the houſe came to ſome ſpirited votes. They reſolved, that the officers and ſoldiers, demanding and exacting ſubſiſtence-money in their quarters, or on a march, was arbitrary and illegal; and a great violation of the rights of the ſubjects. Some agents who, by defrauding the ſoldiers of their pay, had forced them into violences, were committed by the command of the houſe. Guy, ſecretary of the treaſury, the known inſtrument of the crown, in purchaſing votes in parliament, was ſent to the Tower for taking a bribe for himſelf [s]. They addreſſed the King againſt Colonel Haſtings, for his acts of avarice and violence againſt his regiment; and that officer was inſtantly diſcharged from his command. A bill was ordered, in the mean time, to oblige the agents of the regiments to account for the diſpoſal of the money which they had received [t].

The ſpeaker expelled for corruption.

THIS detection of flagrant abuſes, eſtabliſhed a well-founded opinion, that the court, the camp, the city, and even the parliament, were infected with one general contagion of bribery, corruption, and venality. The commons, to extricate themſelves from their part of the aſperſion, reſolved to proceed in their inquiry. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the city of London, to carry the orphans' bill into a law, and the facility with which it had been lately paſſed, created ſuſpicions of corrupt practices upon that head. A committee was appointed to inſpect the chamber-

[r] Journals, January 12th. [s] Ibid. Feb. 1695. [t] Ibid.

lain's

lain's books. They made their report, on the ſeventh of March. Several ſums of money appeared to have been expended in gaining votes in parliament. The line of corruption was traced to the ſpeaker himſelf. The houſe went immediately into debate on the ſubject. They ſoon came to the reſolution, "That Sir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe, by receiving a gratuity of one thouſand guineas from the city of London, after paſſing the orphans' bill, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour." He had the mortification to put this humiliating queſtion to the houſe. He retired under the pretence of a colick, and having ſignified his diſmiſſion to the King, he was expelled from his ſeat in parliament [u].

Corrupt practices in India affairs,

THE commons, from this ſhameful ſcene of detection, turned their inquiries to another quarter. The affairs of the Eaſt-India company had employed a great portion of the attention of parliament, from the year 1691, till the end of 1693. The company had not only declined to ſubmit to the regulations propoſed by the commons; they even fruſtrated all the endeavours of that aſſembly, by procuring a new charter from the King. The houſe ſuſpected corruption, upon the preſent occaſion; and they ordered the ſame committee who had examined the books of the chamberlain, to inſpect thoſe of the Eaſt-India company. The abſtracts of the ſums paid for ſpecial ſervices, ſince the Revolution, ſoon led to the diſcovery ſo much required. In the reign of James, the annual charges ſcarce exceeded twelve hundred pounds. Ever ſince they had gradually increaſed. In the year 1691, they were very conſiderable. But in the year 1693, when the charter was obtained, they amounted to near ninety thouſand pounds; which had been lent on the notes of Sir Thomas Cooke, the governor of the company. Cooke was called before the houſe, and refuſing to account for the money, he was immediately committed to the

[u] Journals, March 1695.

CHAP. II. 1695.

Tower; and a bill ordered to be brought in to oblige him to make a diſcovery. The bill paſſed, in a few days, and was ſent up to the lords for their concurrence[w].

detected

The Duke of Leeds, ſo often mentioned by the progreſſive titles of Sir Thomas Oſborne, the Lord Latimer, the Earl of Danby, and Marquis of Caermarthen, by the vehemence of his zeal for Cooke, rendered his own honour ſuſpected. The proteſtations of his innocence, with which he blended his ſpeech againſt the bill, were conſidered as ſo many acknowledgments of guilt, in a man more remarkable for his talents, than either for his integrity or diſintereſtedneſs. The houſe yielding either to his arguments or influence, poſtponed the buſineſs from the ſixth to the thirteenth of April; a point of conſequence, as the ſeſſion was known to draw near to its cloſe. Cooke was brought before the lords, on the thirteenth. He declared himſelf willing to make a full diſcovery, on condition of being indemnified againſt all actions and ſuits except thoſe of the Eaſt-India company, whom he had never injured. The peers reſolved to drop the bill of pains and penalties, ſent up from the commons; and they ordered a committee to withdraw to form ſuch a bill of indemnification as Cooke required. The commons amended the bill with a penal clauſe. The lords agreed to the amendment; and Cooke was directed, by the act, to make a full diſcovery to a joint committee of peers and commons, on or before the twenty-third of April[x].

by the commons.

SOME, in both houſes, were eager in the proſecution of the affair. But, from the loſs of time, the majority ſeemed determined to defeat a meaſure, which common decency forbade them to drop entirely. The King himſelf appeared to be no great friend to a diſcovery, which threatened to involve himſelf

[w] Journals, March 26, 1695.

[x] Journals, paſſim.

in

CHAP. II. 1695.

in the ſame ſcene of corruption with his ſervants. When he came to the houſe, on the twenty-ſecond of April, to paſs ſeveral bills, he recommended diſpatch to his parliament; as he was determined to put an end to the ſeſſion in a few days. The joint committee of lords and commons met at the exchequer chamber. Cooke appeared before them, and delivered a paper, containing an unſatisfactory diſcovery. Several perſons privy to the tranſaction were examined. Ten thouſand pounds were traced to the King; five thouſand to the Duke of Leeds, and other ſums to other men in power. The ſcene of corruption appeared to be as extenſive, as it was ſhameful and uncommon. The matter was reported, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, to both houſes. The commons, in particular, flew into a violent flame. The innocent were eager to ſhow their own regard to honour, and the conſciouſly criminal endeavoured to palliate their guilt, by an appearance of vehemence againſt the crime [y].

Duke of Leeds impeached.

THE commons, after ſome debate, came to a reſolution, that there was ſufficient matter to impeach the Duke of Leeds of high crimes and miſdemeanours. They ordered Mr. Comptroller Wharton to impeach him accordingly, at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of the houſe and all the commons of England. The report was read, in the mean time, in the houſe of lords. Leeds was ſpeaking to his own defence, when he was apprized of the proceedings of the commons. He ſuddenly went down to that houſe, and deſired to be heard. He was permitted to ſpeak. But his ſpeech was not ſatisfactory. He prepared for his defence in a more effectual way. One Robart, a Swiſs by nation, and one of his own domeſtics, was the only perſon who could carry home any certain proof to the Duke. Robart was prudently ſent back to his native country. The lords addreſſed the King to ſtop the

[y] Journals, paſſim.

CHAP. II. 1695.

fugitive, by ſhutting the ports of the kingdom againſt his flight. Neither William nor his ſervants were likely to gain by the inquiry. The proclamation was not iſſued till nine days after the addreſs of the peers. The clamours of Leeds for a trial or an acquittal, roſe in proportion to Robart's diſtance from London. A prorogation, on the third of May, at length extinguiſhed the inquiry and the Duke's fears; and thus ended a wretched farce; in which the feeble efforts for obtaining juſtice, were ſcarce leſs diſgraceful than venality itſelf to the age [z].

An act with regard to the coin.

DURING theſe tranſactions, another matter of the utmoſt importance employed a part of the attention of parliament. The bad ſtate of the coin, both by diminution and adulteration, became too obvious not to alarm the nation. The money had actually decreaſed more than one half, in its nominal value. The King had been, for ſome time, apprized of this growing evil [a]. He intended to iſſue a proclamation that no money ſhould paſs, for the future, but by weight. He was, however, diverted from this meaſure, by the conſideration, that the debaſement of the coin would facilitate the loans to government. The Earl of Rocheſter laid open, in the houſe of lords, the alarming condition of the currency; and as early as the eighth of January, a committee of the commons were appointed to receive propoſals to prevent clipping, and the exportation of ſilver. The report of the committee lay, for ſome time, neglected on the table. The lords, however, paſſed a bill to prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the current coin of the kingdom. They ſent the bill down to the commons for their concurrence, on the nineteenth of March [b]. The houſe took the report of their committee into conſideration; and they made ſeveral amendments, to which the lords agreed. But though the bill contained ſome good clauſes,

[z] Journals, paſſim.
[a] Burnet, vol. iii.
[b] Journals, March 19, 1695.

it was manifeſtly inadequate to the perfect cure of the evil. The value of money was ſunk in the exchange. Guineas, which ought to have been equal in value to one and twenty ſhillings and ſix pence, roſe to thirty ſhillings. The credit of government and the public funds fell to ſuch a degree, as to bring a diſcount of forty per cent. upon tallies [c]."

Parliament prorogued.

THE juſt complaints of the Engliſh mariners, had induced William to recommend a bill for their encouragement, at the opening of this ſeſſion of parliament. The abuſes which prevailed by land, were great and general. But avarice and tyranny arrived only at their height in the navy. The agents of the Crown defrauded the ſeamen of their wages. The captains and commanders of ſhips joined in the ſame ſhameful traffic. The proviſions were cheap and unwholeſome. Jobs, frauds, and injuſtice prevailed in every line [d]. Inſults abroad were added to the diſtreſſes of the ſeamen at home. The Dutch, to man their own fleet, exacted, under the pretence of the King's permiſſion, the tenth man out of every Britiſh ſhip that entered their ports. They roſe in their demands in the courſe of the preſent year. They required a man out of every veſſel, though navigated by ever ſo few hands. The perſon choſen was either obliged to redeem his freedom with a conſiderable ſum of money, or to ſerve in a foreign bottom [e]. The parliament paid no attention either to the recommendation of the King, or the complaints of the ſeamen. On the third of May, William came to the houſe of lords; and having thanked the two houſes for the ſupplies, put an end to the ſeſſion [f].

Diſpoſitions for opening the campaign.

THOUGH the neceſſity of his immediate departure to the continent, was the reaſon aſſigned by the King for proroguing the

[c] Burnet, vol. iii.
[d] Petition to the lords.
[e] Dutch encroachments, p. 53. MS. Account in the Bodleian library, Oxon.
[f] Journals, May 3, 1695.

CHAP. II. 1695.

parliament in the midſt of the inquiry, he remained nine days after the prorogation at Kenſington. Having declared the regency, conſiſting of the chief officers of ſtate, on the third of May, he ſailed from Graveſend on the twelfth; and arrived, on the fourteenth, at the Hague [g]. The allies had made the neceſſary preparations for acting with vigour. France, diſconcerted by the death of the Mareſchal de Luxembourg [h], and her other misfortunes, thought only of a defenſive campaign. Lewis deſpairing to find a proper ſucceſſor to ſo great a captain, was long doubtful where he ſhould fix his choice. The Mareſchal de Villeroi was at length placed at the head of the principal army in Flanders. The ſecond army was ſubmitted to the orders of Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended between them, the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheld, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed a part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to aſſemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur, and Villeroi poſted himſelf between the Scheld and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk [i].

Preparations againſt Namur.

WILLIAM, having taken the field, on the ſixth of June, found himſelf at the head of an army, much ſuperior to that of the French. To amuſe the enemy, and to conceal his real deſign upon Namur, he made ſome movements, which rendered Villeroi uncertain where the ſtorm was firſt to fall. The King aſſembled his army in three diviſions. The firſt, under the Elector of Bavaria, he ordered to advance between the Scheld and the Lys. He poſted himſelf, with the ſecond, at Becelaër on the Heule. He detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with the third diviſion, to inveſt the fort of Knoque. Theſe feints and refinements in his motions, the King durſt not have attempted, had De Luxembourg

[g] Auct. citat. paſſim.
[h] Jan. 4. N. S.
[i] Mem. du Feuquiere, p. 120.

ſtill

ſtill commanded the enemy. Any of the three bodies of the confederates might have been attacked by the whole force of the French army. But either Villeroi diſcerned not the advantage, or he deliberated till the opportunity was loſt [k]; and William, having at length completed his preparations, reſolved to ſit down before Namur. He made every neceſſary diſpoſition for inveſting the place, for covering the ſiege, and for forming an army to obſerve the motions of the enemy, on the maritime ſide of Flanders.

The town inveſted.

THE ſiege of Namur was formed by the Elector of Bavaria, with his native troops, the forces of ſeveral German princes, and a body of cavalry. William, at the head of the main army, lay behind the Mehaigne, in a condition to paſs that river, and, if neceſſary, to ſuſtain the ſiege. The Prince of Vaudemont, with an army of obſervation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover thoſe places in Flanders which were moſt expoſed [l]. The enemy perceiving, at length, the deſigns of William upon Namur, the Mareſchal de Boufflers, with ſeven regiments of dragoons, had thrown himſelf into the place, to reinforce the garriſon. Villeroi, inſtead of making any attempt to relieve Namur, reſolved to fall upon the Prince of Vaudemont, who lay, with an inferior force, within three leagues of his army. The Prince was diſadvantageouſly encamped. His adverſary, however, poſſeſſed no abilities to avail himſelf of what fortune had thrown in his way. When he deliberated, concerning the manner of attack, the opportunity was loſt. The like advantage preſented itſelf a ſecond time. But it was only to throw a ſecond diſgrace on the French general. The Prince retreated in his preſence, with conſummate ſkill; and ſheltered himſelf, with very little loſs, under the cannon of Ghent [m].

[k] Memoires du Feuquiere.

[l] Ibid. p. 123.

[m] Memoires du Feuquiere.

THE

CHAP. II.

1695. Operations.

THE fine retreat of the Prince of Vaudemont, was conſidered equal to a victory. The French, however, found means to take Dixmuyde and Deynſe, with little reſiſtance. The garriſons were made priſoners of war. Both places were diſmantled. The trenches were, in the mean time, opened before Namur. On the twelfth of July, the batteries began to play. In a ſally, on the eighteenth, the French were forced to retreat, with conſiderable loſs. The King, on the ſame day, ordered the advanced works and traverſes of the enemy to be ſtormed; and this ſervice was performed in his preſence, with the greateſt reſolution and ſucceſs. The ground taken from the enemy, was inſtantly occupied with batteries. On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the King carried the firſt counterſcarp; and the Elector of Bavaria, at the ſame inſtant, found means to throw a bridge acroſs the Sambre, which facilitated the reduction of the place. The French behaved themſelves with an obſtinate bravery. But the allies, animated by the preſence of their leader, were irreſiſtible in their various attacks. The outworks were, at length, carried by the beſiegers. A practical breach was made in the innermoſt wall. Preparations for a general aſſault being made, the town capitulated, on the fourth of Auguſt; and the garriſon, under the command of the Mareſchal de Boufflers, retired, on the ſixth, to the caſtle [n].

The citadel capitulates.

The Mareſchal de Villeroi, in the mean time, having croſſed the Lys and Scheld, made a feint of marching to raiſe the ſiege. His real deſign was directed againſt Bruſſels; and he appeared, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, before that place. Under a pretence of revenging the attacks of the Engliſh fleet, on the maritime towns of Flanders, he bombarded Bruſſels. Fifteen hundred houſes, and many public buildings were laid in ruins. The Prince of Vaudemont was an eye-witneſs of a deſtruction which he could neither prevent nor avenge. On the fifteenth of Auguſt, the French

[n] Journal of the ſiege.

general,

general, being reinforced with a conſiderable body of troops, directed his march toward Namur. When he had advanced to Fleurus, he gave a ſignal of his approach to the beſieged, by the diſcharge of ninety pieces of cannon. William, leaving the charge of the ſiege to the Elector of Bavaria, repaired to his army, ſtrongly encamped within five miles of Namur. On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, De Villeroi advanced toward the allies. But he found them ſo well poſted, that he retired in the night, without noiſe. The caſtle was, in the mean time, preſſed by the confederates with the utmoſt vigour. In a general aſſault, on the thirtieth of Auguſt, the beſiegers, though with great loſs, made ſuch a lodgement, that the French deſired to capitulate, on the firſt of September[m].

Reflections.

THE taking of Namur, in the preſence of a great army of the enemy, was the moſt brilliant of William's military actions. Though he had loſt that important place, in the like circumſtances, his ſpirit and conduct throughout this campaign, deſerved and received applauſe. An act of reſentment againſt the enemy, added to the reputation which the King acquired by the taking of Namur. The French, contrary to an expreſs cartel for a mutual ranſom of priſoners, had detained the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which places had fallen into their hands. The Mareſchal de Boufflers was arreſted as an hoſtage, by the orders of the King. He remonſtrated in vain. He was ſent priſoner to Maeſtricht, and detained till aſſurances were received, that the impriſoned garriſons ſhould be releaſed and ſent back to the confederates. The operations of the campaign ended with the ſurrender of the citadel; and William, quitting the field, retired to Dieren, and from thence to Loo. The command devolved upon the Elector of Bavaria; but the armies ſeparated, in the end of September. His want of ſucceſs, in the preceding years of the

[m] Journal of the ſiege.

war,

CHAP. II. 1695.

war, enhanced to William the fame of taking Namur. The capture of a ſingle town could ſcarce produce a plentiful harveſt of laurels to a general accuſtomed to victory.

Campaign in Italy, Germany, and Spain,

THE war languiſhed, on the ſide of Italy, between France and the Duke of Savoy. Caſal was defended by the firſt and taken by the latter, in a manner, that ſhewed neither power was ſincere in the operations of the campaign. To amuſe the allies ſeemed to be the object of both parties. The ſame languor, or rather a total inaction, prevailed on the Upper-Rhine. Two armies, alternately offering and declining battle, made a mere paſtime and parade of war. The Spaniards, aided by the maritime powers, were more fortunate than they had been in the preceding campaign. They obtained ſome advantage in the field. But they beſieged Palamos in vain. The Engliſh fleet, which had wintered at Cadiz, could render no effectual aid to a nation labouring under feeble councils, a want of money, and every ſpecies of domeſtic decay. Admiral Ruſſel, having ſpent the ſummer to little purpoſe, on the coaſts of Spain and Provence, returned to Cadiz, in the end of September. The glory of inſulting the French coaſt, and of confining the fleet of the enemy in the harbour of Toulon, could ſcarce balance the extraordinary expence of the maritime powers, in their efforts to ſecond the feeble operations in Spain.

and Hungary.

A peace had been expected, on the ſide of Hungary. But the hopes of the allies vaniſhed, upon the acceſſion[n] of Muſtapha the Second, to the Ottoman throne. This Prince, poſſeſſed of more vigour than his predeceſſor, Ahmed the Second, reſolved to command his troops in perſon. He took the field, paſſed the Danube, ſtormed Lippa, and ſeized Itul. Falling ſuddenly on a conſiderable body of troops under General Veterani, he killed that officer, diſperſed his forces, and cloſed, with ſucceſs, a

[n] Jan. 24, 1695.

campaign

campaign which promiſed nothing but misfortunes. The Elector of Saxony, who commanded the Imperialiſts, was too late in taking the field. His army was ill provided, the ſeaſon was ſevere, the enemy too prudent to hazard that reputation which he had already acquired. Poland, torn as uſual with domeſtic faction, made no figure in the preſent year. France had increaſed, by her intrigues, the feuds between the nobles. She had gained, by her ſecret influence, the King. The deliberations of the diet were interrupted by every ſpecies of civil diſcord; and that aſſembly was diſſolved in confuſion [o].

1695.

Tranſactions and

THE operations of the combined ſquadrons in the ocean, were productive of no ſtriking events. The lord Berkeley commanded in chief the fleet deſtined to inſult the coaſt of France. He bombarded St. Maloes, with little effect, on the fourth of July. He came before Dunkirk on the firſt of Auguſt. The noted Meeſters, a Dutch engineer, applied again his infernals to the Riſbank, with the ſame want of ſucceſs as in the preceding year. Heats and animoſities prevailed between the Engliſh and Dutch. Complaints were made on every ſide. Meeſters withdrew from the ſquadron, with his machines, in the night. The Lord Berkeley retired, and proceeded to Calais. The enemy were prepared to receive his viſit; and having in vain diſcharged ſix hundred ſhells into the place, his lordſhip deſiſted from his attempt.

diſaſters at ſea.

THE naval efforts of the Engliſh in the Weſt Indies were attended with no ſucceſs. Wilmot and Lillingſton, who commanded an expedition againſt the French in Hiſpaniola, agreed to enrich themſelves, and quarrelled about the ſpoil. The intereſt of the public was neglected in their animoſities. But though the nation was diſgraced by their groſs miſmanagements, no inquiry was made into their conduct [p]. The commerce of the kingdom

[o] Hiſt. de Pologne, tom. ii.

[p] Journals.

CHAP. II. 1695.

was, at the ſame time, ill-protected, through the negligence of the commanders of the navy. Many veſſels from Barbadoes were taken by the enemy. Five Eaſt India ſhips, valued at a million, fell into their hands [q]. The misfortunes at ſea abated the joy of the people for the ſucceſs by land. Admiral Hopſon, appointed to ſcour the channel with a ſquadron, was either inactive or unſucceſsful. The Marquis of Caermarthen, ſtationed with ſome ſhips at Scilly, miſtook a fleet of merchantmen for the enemy's navy; and fled, with all his ſails, from the veſſels which he ought to defend [r].

Affairs of Scotland.

THE affairs of Scotland furniſhed nothing worthy of being recorded, after the prorogation of the parliament, in the year 1693. The ſame regency and the ſame meaſures continued throughout the ſucceeding year. The King, eager to derive all the poſſible aid from that kingdom, to maintain the war, demanded numerous levies from the heritors or proprietors of lands. In the ſpace of three months, three thouſand men were impreſſed and delivered to the officers of the government. Theſe, with five regiments, making in all ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, were embarked at Leith [s], and tranſported to Flanders. The ſurrender [t] of the Baſs, which had been hitherto held in the name of James, is a matter of greater ſingularity than importance. Two and thirty perſons had taken poſſeſſion of that poſt, and ſupported themſelves by manning their boat, and rifling ſuch veſſels as paſſed near their rock. In one of their predatory excurſions, eighteen of their number, having boarded a ſhip from Dunbar, were carried to Dundee, by the force of a ſtorm. They landed, and fled by different ways. But three were taken, tried, and condemned. To ſave their companions, thoſe who remained on the Baſs deſired to capitulate. The council agreed to their propoſals. The con-

[q] Burnet, vol. iii. [r] Burchet. [s] Apr. 22, 1694. [t] Apr. 21, 1694.

demned

demned were pardoned, and the reſt were permitted to depart, with their baggage and ſwords [u]. CHAP. II. 1695.

THE malecontents in Scotland found matter for fomenting a jealouſy of government, which rendered the meeting of the parliament of that kingdom dangerous to the authority of its regency. That aſſembly, therefore, was prorogued from time to time, till the neceſſities of the crown overcame the fears of its ſervants. The funds eſtabliſhed for the army had expired; and they had been diverted to other purpoſes, by a breach of public faith. To ſoften the oppoſition to the crown, a commiſſion was iſſued, under the great ſeal, to examine witneſſes upon the maſſacre of Glenco; as the memory of that act of barbarity ſtill inflamed the paſſions of the whole nation. Though this was an artifice to cover that infamous tranſaction by a private inquiry [w], it produced, by an appearance of juſtice, a favourable change in the minds of the people. But ſchemes ſtill more effectual had been previouſly formed to amuſe the nation, and to gain a majority in parliament. On the ninth of May 1695, the ſeſſion was opened by the Marquis of Tweedale, as King's commiſſioner. William, in his letter to the parliament, excuſed, by the continuation of the war, his not appearing in perſon in Scotland. He recommended to them moderation and union in matters of the church. He deſired, in the moſt ſoothing terms, a renewal of the ſubſidies that had juſt expired [x]. A ſeſſion of parliament.

SOOTHING expreſſions, however, were not the only means prepared, by the ſervants of William, to gain the Scots. One Paterſon, who had been the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the bank of England, had framed a mercantile project of an extenſive kind for Scotland. Such Engliſh merchants, as had been hitherto diſappointed in their ſchemes of forming a new Eaſt India com- The members gained.

[u] Burnet. James II. 1694. [w] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 156. [x] King's Letter.

CHAP. II. 1695.

pany, gave their countenance to Paterſon's plan; which, from views of their own, was adopted, with ardour, by the Scotiſh miniſtry. The project was to eſtabliſh one ſettlement at Darien, on the eaſt ſide of the iſthmus of America; and another on the oppoſite ſide, toward the South Sea. This ſcheme was laid before the King, by Secretary Johnſton. Inſtructions were prepared and ſigned, impowering the commiſſioner to give his aſſent to any bill for the encouragement of trade. That nobleman, accordingly, communicated the King's intentions to the parliament. The bait was greedily ſeized. The people loſt their reſentment, in a condeſcenſion, which flattered their hopes of wealth. The parliament itſelf was all ſubmiſſion. A vote of condolence, for the death of the Queen, was inſtantly paſſed. They gave, at once, all the neceſſary ſupplies. The ways and means were a general poll-tax, a ſix-months ceſs out of the land-rents, and an additional exciſe [y].

Proceedings.

BUT notwithſtanding this ſeeming complaiſance to the crown, the current of the nation, for an inquiry into the maſſacre of Glenco, was too ſtrong to be oppoſed. The artifice of the court-party could not conceal the ſhocking circumſtances of that barbarous affair. They, however, diverted, with ſome appearance of decency, the implication of guilt from the King himſelf to Dalrymple, his acting miniſter, upon that occaſion. The parliament voted the whole a murder. They addreſſed the King, for juſtice, on the offenders. But their application was couched, in terms, which ſeemed to demand no compliance with their requeſt. William, accordingly, paid no attention to their addreſs. He even continued his favour, without abatement, to the principal actors in the tragedy. The bill for eſtabliſhing a company for trading to Africa and the Indies, was the price of the blood ſhed at Glenco. The clamour and miſfortunes which this act produced, ſhall be

[y] Proceedings of Scot. Parl.

hereafter

hereafter explained. Together with this bill, two others of importance received the royal aſſent: An act for raiſing yearly nine thouſand men to recruit the Scotch regiments, in the ſervice abroad; and one for erecting a public bank in the city of Edinburgh. On the ſeventeenth of July, the commiſſioner adjourned the parliament to the ſeventh day of the following November [z].

Affairs of Ireland.

A KIND of tranquillity ſucceeded in Ireland, the ineffectual complaints, which the people of that kingdom laid before the parliament of England. Sir Henry Capel, created a lord, with other two lords juſtices, carried on the government with a degree of preciſion. Quarrels ſprung among themſelves. Capel abetted the intereſts of the Engliſh againſt the old Iriſh, without any ſtrict regard to equity [a]. He courted popularity at the expence of juſtice, and ſuffered himſelf to become the property of intereſted and deſigning men. His brethren in office were more ſevere and more juſt. They ſtudied to protect the old Iriſh, when oppreſſed [b]. They gained honour. But they loſt popularity. Capel, favoured by the Engliſh in Ireland, raiſed his views to the government of that kingdom. He promiſed to the King and his miniſters to carry every thing in a parliament, ſhould he be appointed lord deputy, with powers to diſplace ſome men in office. His propoſal was accepted; ſeveral were removed [c]; and a parliament was called [d].

A ſeſſion of parliament.

CAPEL opened the ſeſſion with a demand of money. The commons reſolved to grant an immediate ſupply to the King, to diſcharge the debts of the crown, and to maintain the eſtabliſhed government. They found it leſs difficult to make the grant, than to find the ways and means. They agreed, at length, on a poll-bill, and ſome additional cuſtoms. But as both were deemed inadequate to the ſum required, they reſolved to continue, to the end

[z] Proceedings of Scot. Parl. Burnet, vol. iii. Ralph, vol. ii. [a] Burnet, vol. iii.
[b] Ib'd. [c] Ib.d. [d] Aug. 27, 1695.

of

CHAP. II. 1695.

of the year 1698, the additional exciſe, which they had voted at the beginning only for a ſhort ſpace of time. A quarrel between the lord deputy and the chancellor, filled the reſt of the ſeſſion with debates, and a degree of confuſion. A motion was made by the party of the former, to impeach the latter for forming a new faction in the kingdom. But the chancellor was cleared of all imputation by a great majority. The ſeſſion, however, ended in tranquillity; and, upon the whole, favourable to the lord-deputy. He carried the projects of the Crown in parliament; and he was recommended as an excellent governor, in a ſpecial addreſs ſent by the commons to the King [c].

Inactivity of the late King.

THOUGH the death of Mary raiſed the expectations of the adherents of her father, that Prince ſhewed little inclination to avail himſelf of that event. He either reſigned a mind, depreſſed with misfortunes, to religious enthuſiaſm; or, diſguſted with the apparent coldneſs of the French miniſtry, left his hopes of a reſtoration to fortune. His friends in England ceaſed not, however, to urge him to an attempt on that kingdom. The Earl of Arran endeavoured to rouſe him with letters. The Earl of Sunderland, now much in the confidence of William, betrayed the councils of the latter Prince to his former maſter [d]. He informed the late King, early in the ſeaſon, that the Engliſh fleet were deſtined to attack Toulon. But he, at the ſame time, gave it as his opinion, that the enterpriſe would be dropt as impracticable [e]. The languor which had ſeized the belligerent powers, extended itſelf to the party of James in England, and to his councils in France. The latter kingdom was too much exhauſted by internal calamities, either to puſh the war with vigour on the continent, or to avail herſelf of a deſcent on the Britiſh iſles.

[c] Addreſs of the Commons.
[d] Arran to James, March 13, 1695.
[e] Sunderland's Correſpondence, Scot. Coll. Paris.

THE

CHAP. II.

1695.

THE more violent Jacobites, in the mean time, continued their zealous efforts in favour of their dethroned maſter. Strangers to the ſituation of the mind of James, and ignorant of the diſpoſition of France, they endeavoured to rouſe the firſt with every poſſible argument, to make a deſcent in England. The abſence of the reigning Prince, his unpopularity at home, and the feuds which ſubſiſted between him and ſome members of the great alliance abroad, were placed in the moſt flattering colours before the eyes of the late King. The manifeſt decline in the health of William, his loſs of influence in the death of Mary, the diſtreſs and conſequent diſcontent of the nation, their murmurs againſt the late heavy taxes, their fears of future burdens, were either magnified or recounted with ardour. James was aſſured, by his adherents, that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs and opinions, ten thouſand men would be ſufficient to eſtabliſh him again on his throne. They affirmed, that the whole force in England, conſiſted only of nine thouſand men. That the nation was divided into three parties. That one of theſe was in the intereſt of the late King; one affected the views and perſon of the Princeſs of Denmark; and the third, but the leaſt conſiderable, adhered to William [f].

Zeal of his adherents.

WHILST theſe zealots laid their propoſals with ſo much eagerneſs before James, his miniſter, the Earl of Middleton, maintained an intimate intercourſe with the principal men in England. The Earl of Sunderland continued his ſecret correſpondence. Even the Duke of Devonſhire and the Earl of Pembroke [g], the latter then lord-privy-ſeal, ſeemed to have liſtened to the court of St. Germains. The Dutcheſs of Devonſhire either following or leading her huſband, became an agent for James [h]. The Princeſs of Denmark and the Earl of Marlborough profeſſed themſelves his firm and unſhaken friends. The aſſurances made by perſons of ſuch weight and conſequence, kept alive the hopes of his friends,

His party increaſes in England.

[f] Stuart-papers, 1695. [g] Middleton to Mordant, June 6, 1695. [h] Ibid.

CHAP. II. 1695.

while he himſelf had fallen into a ſtate of indifference concerning his own fate[1]. Middleton, however, made, ſoon after, fruitleſs applications, in the name of his maſter, to the court of France. To induce the French miniſtry to undertake an invaſion of England, he communicated his intelligence and hopes from that kingdom. He repreſented, that the coaſt was left naked of ſhips of war. That the diſcontents which prevailed at preſent, were likely to increaſe, after the intended elections for a new houſe of commons. William, he ſaid, was to demand eight millions from parliament; and to alter the eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion, by preferring any children he might hereafter beget, to the Princeſs of Denmark and her ſon. But Middleton built moſt on the credit of Sunderland; "who," he continued, "had been always the firſt to deceive himſelf, and the foremoſt to betray others."

Situation of William,

BUT if James had friends in England, it is only in that kingdom he ſeems to have had friends. France, exhauſted by domeſtic calamities, as well as by the waſte occaſioned by a burdenſome war, was anxious to obtain peace upon any decent terms. The court of Rome itſelf had forgot the orthodoxy of James, in his puſillanimity in quitting his dominions without a blow. The ſucceſs of William, in ſeizing the throne of England, his inflexible perſeverance in all his plans, his courage in the field, his apparent prudence in the cabinet, his former obſtinacy in continuing an unſucceſsful war, and, at length, the reputation which he acquired in the preſent campaign, excited that admiration which invariably follows good fortune. He was, beſides, ſeen through a favourable medium, by the nations of Europe. The hazineſs which covered him at home, obſcured not his luſtre abroad. The aſtoniſhing exertions of England in the war, were aſcribed to his management. He was conſidered as the abſolute maſter of Holland; and not only the chain which united the

[1] James II. 1695.

grand

grand confederacy, but even the abſolute lord of the members of which it was compoſed [k]. CHAP. II. 1695.

His rival, if in his preſent diſtreſſed condition James deſerved that name, laboured under every diſadvantage in the eyes of the world. The enthuſiaſm which had deprived him of his throne, was conſtrued into an incurable folly, by the more ſenſible part of his own perſuaſion. A kind of WICKED policy, as the Pope, perhaps ludicrouſly, ſaid, had ſuperſeded every idea of religion among the Catholic powers, who were engaged in the grand alliance. Innocent the Twelfth himſelf, though he ſat in St. Peter's chair, was ſwayed by temporal views, from entertaining any favour for a Prince who had ſacrificed his crown to a blind attachment to the Romiſh faith. He received the Earl of Perth, who had been ſent in the character of ambaſſador, by James, with manifeſt coldneſs; or treated him with ſeeming ridicule. The utmoſt that the moſt preſſing ſolicitations could obtain from that Pontiff, amounted only to a compliment. He aſſured the Earl of Perth, that he would never concur in a peace, which tended to deprive a Catholic Prince of his juſt rights. But Innocent and all his court were in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria; and thus James, though a very faithful ſon of the church, loſt his influence with the holy Father, through his dependence on France [l]. compared with James.

William, having ſpent ſome time at Loo, repaired to the Hague, on the ſeventh day of October. Having, in an interview with the Elector of Brandenburgh, and in conferences with the States of Holland, ſettled the operations of the ſucceeding campaign, he returned to England; and arrived at Kenſington, on the twenty-firſt day of the month. In a council held on the King's progreſs.

[k] Perth's Correſpondence, Stuart-papers, 1695.

[l] Perth's Letter, Stuart-papers, 1695.

CHAP. II. 1695.

evening of his arrival, he reſolved to diſſolve the parliament; and to order another to meet, on the twenty-ſecond of November. The Earl of Sunderland, in concert with the court of St. Germains, adviſed this meaſure[k]. The former parliament, from their liberal grants to the Crown, were become odious to the people; and the latter, therefore, were not likely to chuſe again, repreſentatives ſo compliant to the views of the King. But William beheld the matter in another light. The popularity which he thought he derived from the glory of a ſucceſsful campaign, induced him to hope for a return of members more favourable to his intereſt, than thoſe who had lately puſhed their inquiries ſo far. To improve to his advantage the preſent good humour of the people, the King reſolved to make a royal progreſs. But his want of affability, his frigid manner, and dry addreſs, were not calculated either to gain the favour of the populace, or to retain it when gained. A viſit which he paid to the Earl of Sunderland at Althorp, was conſtrued, by his enemies, into gratitude for former favours; while his precipitate retreat from Oxford, for fear of being poiſoned[l] at an entertainment prepared by the univerſity, was conſidered as unworthy of his known prudence and uſual courage.

A new parliament.

In the elections for the new houſe of commons, the Jacobites were unſucceſsful, in proportion to the decline of their cauſe. Few of the known adherents of the late King were returned. But the abettors of the intereſt of the reigning Prince, were not implicitly choſen by the nation. Many of the firmeſt Whigs were elected: men who made a greater diſtinction between the principles of government, than between the perſons of kings. The two houſes met, on the twenty-ſecond of November. Foley, who had ſucceeded Trevor, in the office of ſpeaker, was again placed by the commons in the chair. The King, in his ſpeech from the throne, demanded the uſual ſupplies, to proſecute with

[k] Stuart-papers, 1695. [l] Publications of the times.

vigour

vigour the war. He complained that the funds which had been formerly given, were deficient. He repreſented, that the civil liſt was in a condition which rendered it impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, unleſs that matter ſhould command their immediate care. He recommended the French Proteſtants to their ſupport. He laid before them the bad ſtate of the coin. He expreſſed his wiſhes for a bill to encourage ſeamen. He concluded with aſſuring the commons, that he was entirely ſatisfied, with the choice which his people had made [m].

A bill for regulating trials.

THE commons addreſſed the King, on the twenty-ninth of November, and promiſed to aſſiſt him effectually in the proſecution of the war. But before any ſupply was voted, a bill was brought in, for regulating trials, in caſes of treaſon and miſpriſion of treaſon. A bill to the ſame effect had been often introduced before, and as often diſappointed. The adherents of the Court oppoſed it in its progreſs. The popularity of the meaſure, at length, prevailed. By this ſalutary law it was provided, that no perſon ſhould be tried for high treaſon, except an attempt to aſſaſſinate the King, unleſs the indictment be found within three years after the offence was committed. That the priſoner ſhall have a copy of the indictment, but not the names of the witneſſes, five days, at leaſt, before his arraignment. That he ſhall have a copy of the panel of jurors, two days before his trial; and that he ſhall have the ſame compulſive proceſs with the Crown, to force his witneſſes to appear [n]. A change of ſituation too frequently makes an alteration in the principles of men. Many who had ſuffered by the want of ſuch a law, in the two former reigns, oppoſed with vehemence the bill. They argued, that the ſecurity of the government, was the beſt proviſion for the ſecurity of the ſubject; and they urged, that the act, by giving every poſ-

[m] Journals, Nov. 23, 1695.

[n] Statute, 7 W.

CHAP. II. 1695.

ſible advantage to conſpirators, expoſed the kingdom to revolution and change.

A ſupply voted.

ON the ſecond of December, the commons voted the ſupply for the war. Two millions five hundred thouſand pounds were aſſigned to the navy[o]; two millions for the ſupport of an army of eighty-ſeven thouſand men. Though theſe ſums were great, they were leſs than the demands of the Crown. There was, beſides, an arrear of deficiency, for which no proviſion was made. But before the ſupply was fixed upon adequate funds, a matter of the laſt importance employed the attention of the commons. The act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament, to prevent the clipping and exportation of ſilver coin, had been found inadequate to the purpoſe. The evil had riſen to too great a height to be removed by ſlight remedies. The lords went firſt upon the buſineſs. They prepared an addreſs, to which they deſired the concurrence of the commons, to requeſt the King to put a ſtop, by proclamation, to the currency of clipped crowns and half-crowns. The commons choſe to proceed in their own way, and they went into a committee of the whole houſe, to deliberate on the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the current coin[p].

Debates

INDIVIDUALS differed much in their opinions, upon a ſubject in which the intereſts of all were ſo deeply concerned. It appeared, from various experiments, that the ſilver coins, on a medium, were diminiſhed at leaſt one third. In proportion as the intrinſic of ſilver ſunk beneath its nominal value, the gold roſe. Two evils, with equal violence, preſſed the nation on either ſide. A remedy muſt be inſtantly applied. The firſt queſtion propoſed to the commons was, whether it was expedient to re-coin the ſilver money. The houſe was divided upon the ſubject. The opponents of the Court oppoſed the re-coinage, with ſome ſpecious

[o] Journals, Dec. 6.

[p] Journals.

arguments.

arguments. They affirmed, that the preſent conjuncture was by no means fit for a meaſure, whoſe operations muſt give ſo general and ſo violent a ſhock to the nation. They obſerved, that the people, laboured under the calamity and expence of a burdenſome and doubtful war. That the nation as yet unſettled in their opinions with regard to the preſent eſtabliſhment, might be provoked by this new grievance to unhinge the government. That though things might be managed and accommodated at home, it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to maintain either commerce or war abroad. That a preſent re-coinage would moſt certainly ſuſpend all the operations of trade, for the want of mutual payments; and they concluded with affirming, that the people, in their deſpair, might be hurried into the moſt dreadful extremities.

on the coin-act.

THE neceſſity of a ſpeedy remedy was argued by the other ſide. They obſerved, that the bad ſtate of the coin, had turned the exchange of all Europe, in an alarming degree, againſt the nation. That, therefore, the ſupplies voted for the ſupport of the army abroad, would never anſwer their end. That guineas, by this growing evil, were already advanced to thirty ſhillings; and foreign gold in the ſame extravagant proportion. That all Europe ſent their gold, as the moſt valuable of all commodities, into our market. That gold, at laſt, would remain the ſole currency for trade in the kingdom. But that it could not be expected, that other nations would receive that commodity at the value which it bore in this kingdom. They concluded with affirming, that the evil would gather additional ſtrength every day. That the contagion had already ſpread through every vein of commerce; and that unleſs a ſpeedy and powerful remedy ſhould be applied, the certain diſſolution of the ſtate advanced with haſty ſtrides.

THE

CHAP. II

1695.

THE queſtion whether the ſtandard of the ſeveral denominations of the new money ſhould continue the ſame, produced many and vehement debates. Some affirmed, that as the price of ſilver was raiſed [q], the ſtandard ſhould be proportionably increaſed. They argued, that the meaſure would prevent the exportation of the coin, and the melting of it down, as had been practiſed for ſeveral years. They urged, at the ſame time, that people would be induced to bring their plate and bullion to the mint, from views of advantage. The majority, with more reaſon, aſſerted, that it was impoſſible the price of ſilver could either riſe or fall in reſpect of itſelf. That the alteration in the price of bullion, was merely relative to the diminiſhed money; and they affirmed, in ſupport of their poſition, that an ounce of bullion could be actually bought, at the very time, for five ſhillings and two pence of new-milled money. As to the exportation of the coin, they juſtly obſerved, that nothing could effectually prevent that evil, but a ſuperiority in trade over other nations. The arguments for a new coinage, on the old ſtandard, at length prevailed. The preſent inconvenience was deemed leſs dangerous, than the future evils which were juſtly to be apprehended. The commons reſolved to put a ſtop to the currency, and to proceed to a new coinage with the utmoſt attention and diſpatch [r]. A bill was accordingly brought in, for that purpoſe [s]; and twelve hundred thouſand pounds were voted, for ſupplying the deficiency of clipped money. This ſum was ordered to be raiſed by a duty, for ſeven years, on houſes and window-lights [t].

A bill paſſed.

Addreſs againſt the Scotiſh Eaſt-India company.

THESE meaſures, though ſpirited, appeared, from the event, to be too precipitate. A proclamation for ſtopping the currency of

[q] To fix ſhillings and three pence.
[r] Dec. 10.
[s] Dec. 17.
[t] Dec. 31.

the

the gold coin, was iſſued, before the mint had provided any quantity of new money for the purpoſes of trade. This evil was, in ſome meaſure, remedied by an act formed, upon ſubſequent reſolutions, in parliament. But the wiſdom of that aſſembly could not prevent a general loſs of credit, which ſhook the government, while it diſtreſſed the nation. Another affair of importance employed a part of the attention of both houſes during the debates on the coin. On the fourteenth of December [u], the lords ſent down to the commons an addreſs to the King, againſt an act paſſed in the Scotiſh parliament, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the Eaſt-Indies. The commons concurred with the peers. The two houſes attended the King with their addreſs. His anſwer was, that he had been ill-ſerved in Scotland. But that he hoped ſome remedy might be found to the evil of which they complained. This indefinite reply was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the commons. They reſolved, that the directors of the Scotiſh company ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors. That a council of trade ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by act of parliament, for the preſervation of the commerce of England. That the commiſſioners ſhould be nominated by parliament. But that none of them ſhould be members of the houſe [w].

A bill for a new council of trade.

AN attempt to eſtabliſh a new board, by act of parliament, was conſidered, by the adherents of the court, as a high encroachment on the rights of the crown. William himſelf was as fond of the prerogative as any of his predeceſſors in the throne. He conſidered the preſent meaſure as a precedent for future invaſions on the executive power of the King. He ordered his ſervants to oppoſe the bill, with all the influence of office. But the current of public opinion was turned toward new regulations, for the protection and encouragement of commerce. The waſte occaſioned by the war, the loſs by

[u] Dec. 14.

[w] Jan. 13, 1696.

captures

CHAP. II. 1696.

captures at ſea, and the late diſaſters on that element, had raiſed general complaints and produced many petitions. The enemies of William took advantage of the vehemence of the people. Even ſome of his ſuppoſed friends and actual favourites promoted a meaſure, which he avowedly diſapproved. The Earl of Sunderland, with all his adherents, declared for the bill. The King aſcribed the conduct of this nobleman to his fears from the popular party. But he was in a ſecret correſpondence with James; and he had promiſed to oppoſe the meaſures of William in parliament [x].

The commons addreſs againſt the Earl of Portland.

WHILE the commons ſeemed, thus, to encroach on the power of the crown, they puſhed an inquiry, which affected the perſon of the King. Bentinck, whom William had created Earl of Portland, retained in England that aſcendancy in the favour of his maſter, which he had acquired in Holland. He had obtained, from the King, a grant of the lordſhips of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, and a part of the ancient demeſnes of the Prince of Wales. The gentlemen of the county had oppoſed the warrant for the grant, in the treaſury. They followed it, with their oppoſition, to the office of the Earl of Pembroke, who was then lord-privy-ſeal. This nobleman was, at the time, in correſpondence with the late King. He heard the petitioners with a ſeeming candour which bordered on favour. The affair was permitted to lie dormant. But the warrant was not recalled. The gentlemen of Denbigh carried their complaints before parliament. Mr. Price, afterwards a baron of the exchequer, introduced the petition with a ſpirited, but vehement and bitter ſpeech. The houſe, warmed to a degree of fury, voted unanimouſly an addreſs againſt the grant. The King promiſed to recall the warrant. But he aſſured the commons, that he would find ſome other way of ſhewing his favour to the Earl of Portland [y]. He

[x] Stuart-papers, 1695.

[y] Journals.

performed

performed his promiſe in the moſt ample manner, in the ſucceeding May.

An incident favourable to William.

In the midſt of circumſtances ſo mortifying to William, a favourable event changed the whole face of his affairs. The reputation which he had acquired in Flanders, his weight and conſequence abroad, and his own perſevering policy at home, were not ſufficient to ſupply the loſs of influence which he ſuſtained in the death of Mary. The nation, diſtreſſed by an adulterated and diminiſhed currency, offended at the captures made upon their commerce at ſea, and oppreſſed with the enormous expence of the war by land, placed all their misfortunes to the account of the King's predilection for other intereſts than thoſe of England. His manner was better calculated to inflame than to allay the ferment which prevailed in the minds of his ſubjects. His enemies took every advantage of the ſtate of the public opinion. They increaſed the diſcontents of the people in general; and they found means to improve the ſame bad humour in the new parliament.

Preparations of James, for an invaſion.

The malecontents had foreſeen, in the preceding ſummer, the height to which the bad humour of the people was likely to riſe. They urged the late King, as has been already related, to undertake an invaſion. They promiſed inſurrections in England, whenever he ſhould appear on the coaſt. When the new parliament diſcovered ſymptoms of refractorineſs to the meaſures of William, the adherents of James redoubled their inſtances for an invaſion, early in the ſpring. They aſſured that Prince, that to land in England was to regain, without conteſt, his crown. That could he once come to London, or even to ſome conſiderable town, without any force, the greateſt part of the nation would riſe in arms, and reſtore him to the throne. Lewis the Fourteenth, flattered with theſe accounts, agreed to furniſh an army and every thing neceſſary for

CHAP. II. 1696.

a deſcent. He, however, inſiſted, that the Jacobites ſhould riſe in arms, before the French troops ſhould embark; and the Duke of Berwick was diſpatched, by his father, to England, to take the inſurgents under his command [z]. The preparations of France were carried forward with expedition and zeal. The troops, intended for the invaſion, began to draw near to Calais and Dunkirk. Four hundred ſail of great and ſmall veſſels were aſſembled, from different ports. James himſelf, urged by Lewis the Fourteenth, took poſt on the ſeventeenth of February; and he arrived, on the twentieth, at Calais. The Dutch became alarmed, for their own country. But an unaccountable ſecurity prevailed in Britain [a].

A conſpiracy againſt the King's life.

DURING theſe preparations for an invaſion from France, a conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating William was framed in England, by ſome zealous adherents of the late King. This ſcheme had been forming long. One Croſby had been ſent to the court of St. Germains to demand a commiſſion from James, for perpetrating the crime. But that Prince ſuſpected, from his earneſtneſs, that Croſby was employed by William himſelf, to perſuade him to conſent to a meaſure, which muſt for ever put an end to his hopes [b]. The zealous conſpirators had long endeavoured, but in vain, to argue James into an expreſs approbation of the attempt upon the perſon of the King. They, however, obtained at length a commiſſion, for a general inſurrection [c], againſt William and all his adherents. This commiſſion was placed [d] in the hands of Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of courage and an experienced ſoldier. Barclay arrived in London, in the month of January. He joined himſelf, in that city, to one Harriſon, a prieſt, to Charnock, who, from being a fellow of Magdalen college at Oxford, had become a Roman catholic, and a captain, to one Captain Porter, and to Sir William Perkins.

[z] James II. 1696. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. [d] Dec. 10, 1695.

THESE inconſiderate and daring men, under the pretence of a commiſſion from James, gained over ſome deſperate Jacobites to aid them, in their projected ſcheme. They firſt propoſed to ſurpriſe, ſeize, and carry William to France [e]. But this was deemed impracticable, ſhould they ſcruple to take his life [f]. They reſolved, therefore, to attack him, with an armed party conſiſting of forty men, in the midſt of his guards. The ſcene of the intended aſſault was the lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green, through which William uſually paſſed, upon his return from Richmond. The fifteenth of February was the day appointed for the execution of their purpoſe. But an unexpected diſcovery baffled, at once, their views. A Captain Fiſher, whom the chief conſpirators had reſolved to employ in the attack, communicated the whole to the Earl of Portland, on the thirteenth of February. The ſame evening, Pendergraſs, an Iriſhman, and one of the forty, confirmed the information of Fiſher. They were both examined by the King in perſon. He encouraged them to mix again with their friends. He kept at home on the fifteenth of February. The conſpirators fixed upon the twenty-ſecond of the month, to execute their ſcheme. The King again remained at home. A panic ſeized the whole party. Some fled. But others were ſeized, the next night [g], in their beds.

1696. The plot diſcovered.

THE day after the ſeizure of ſome of the conſpirators, the King informed his parliament of the danger which had threatened his life. He acquainted the two houſes, that preparations were made in France, for invading the kingdom. He aſſured himſelf, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould be omitted, on their part, that might be deemed proper for the preſent ſafety or the future ſecurity of his people. He told them, that he had not been wanting, in giving the neceſſary orders to the fleet. That he had commanded a conſiderable body of troops to be brought home. That ſome of the

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

[e] James II. 1696. [f] Ibid. [g] Feb. 26, 1696.

CHAP. II. 1696.

conſpirators againſt his perſon were already ſeized. That care was taken to apprehend the reſt; and that, upon the whole, all ſuch other orders were given, as the public ſafety, in the preſent conjuncture, ſeemed to require. The two houſes loſt, at once, their bad humour, in the danger to which the life of the King had been expoſed. They ſent a joint addreſs to the throne, full of expreſſions of the moſt unlimited zeal and loyalty. They declared to all the world, that, ſhould his Majeſty come to any violent death, they would revenge the ſame on all his enemies and their adherents. As an inſtance of their affection to William, they promiſed to give all poſſible diſpatch to the public buſineſs; and they made it their deſire to the King to ſeize, upon the preſent occaſion, all ſuch perſons as he ſhould think fit to apprehend [h].

Zeal of the two houſes.

THE commons followed their warm addreſs with various reſolutions of the ſame kind. They ordered in a bill to enable his Majeſty to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons. They prepared an addreſs, for commanding, by proclamation, all papiſts to retire from the cities of London and Weſtminſter. They drew up the form of an aſſociation, for the defence of the King's perſon. They acknowledged him the rightful and lawful Sovereign of England. They engaged themſelves to ſupport and defend the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to the act of ſettlement, paſſed in the firſt year of the preſent reign. Four hundred members placed their names to the aſſociation, in one day. Such as withdrew from the houſe, or were abſent with leave, were ordered to ſign that paper, or ſignify their refuſal, before the ſixteenth of March [i]. The ſame warmth of affection, and even vehemence of zeal, extended themſelves to the lords. The peers adopted, with little alteration, the aſſociation ſigned by the commons. The whole nation partook of the flame, which the diſcovery of the plot had kindled in the two houſes of parliament. Their objections to William were oblite-

[h] Journals, Feb. 24. [i] Ibid.

rated,

rated; at once, by their abhorrence of the conſpiracy againſt his life; and thus the imprudence of his enemies confirmed him in a throne, on which he tottered before. CHAP. II. 1696.

THIS unſucceſsful under-plot of a few zealots was ſufficient to ruin all the preſent projects of the late King. But the ſeeds of diſappointment were already ſown in France itſelf. A Mr. Powel had been ſent to St. Germains, from the Jacobites in England, to lay before James the ſtate of the deſigns in his favour in that kingdom. Powel ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, confidence, and zeal, that the late King ſuppoſed, that his party were reſolved to take arms, when they ſhould receive certain intelligence of his own preparations for an invaſion from France. He deſired Powel to put the whole in writing. But, before his commands were executed, James happened to meet and converſe with the moſt Chriſtian King. He told that Prince, that his friends in England were ready, upon the firſt notice, to take arms. He perceived his miſtake, when he read Mr. Powel's written account. But he was afraid of alarming the French miniſters, who were never his friends, by undeceiving the King. The preparations, for the expedition, proceeded upon this miſtake. The adherents of James had declared it impoſſible for them to riſe, till he himſelf ſhould land. Lewis gave poſitive orders, that not a ſingle veſſel ſhould ſail, till certain intelligence of an inſurrection ſhould arrive from England. The late King was perplexed beyond meaſure by this inſurmountable difficulty. He derived his whole hopes from fortune; and, as uſual, he was deceived [k]. Projects of the late King broken.

THE diſcovery of the plot in England, broke, in an inſtant, the whole ſcheme. The kingdom was in a ferment. The French court, who had not hitherto been undeceived, loſt all hopes of an inſurrection, and fell into their uſual languor. A ſtorm, which The inv. ſion laid aſide.

[k] James II. 1696.

ſhattered

CHAP. II. 1696.

ſhattered the tranſports as they came round from Havre, and an uninterrupted courſe of contrary winds, were added to the other misfortunes of the late King. He, however, remained on the coaſt of France. The tranſports lay in the port of Calais. Eighteen men of war, intended for their convoy, had anchored, for their own protection againſt the enemy, among the ſands of Dunkirk. The appearance of the Engliſh fleet put an end to a deſign, which ſeemed to be already broken. Admiral Ruſſel, upon the firſt certain intelligence of the invaſion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoiſted his flag, on board the Victory, and collected, with incredible diligence and expedition, a powerful fleet, he ſtood over to Graveline, and ſtretched along the coaſt to Calais. Calais was again bombarded, with little effect. To deſtroy the French men of war was found impracticable. But the enemy, inſtead of preparing for a deſcent on England, became anxious for their own coaſt. James, in a diſconſolate ſtate of mind, returned, at length, to St. Germains. He ſaw his project broken, his hopes blaſted, his friends ruined, by their purſuing meaſures contrary to his judgment and without his conſent [1].

Conſpirators puniſhed.

THE courts of juſtice were, in the mean time, employed in the trial of ſuch of the conſpirators as had fallen into the hands of government. Charnock, King, and Keys, were the firſt tried; and, upon poſitive evidence, condemned and executed. They declared, with one conſent, in papers delivered to the ſheriffs, that James was not only not privy to the deſign, againſt the perſon of William, but that he always rejected ſuch propoſals when offered. Sir John Friend, a wealthy citizen, and Sir William Perkins were, ſoon after, tried and condemned. The firſt for abetting the intended invaſion. The latter for concurring in the plot againſt the life of the King. Several other perſons of leſs conſequence

[1] James II. 1696.

and

and rank inferior, ſuffered death, for the ſame crimes. The evidence againſt the moſt of the priſoners was full and deciſive. The notoriety of the conſpiracy proved more fatal to a few, than the facts advanced by the witneſſes. The conſpiracy againſt the King was confounded, on the preſent occaſion, with the intended invaſion from France. The whole ſeemed to have been the exact counterpart of the conſpiracy in the year 1683; when the people, in their horror of the Rye-houſe-plot, transferred the guilt of aſſaſſins to men who meditated only an inſurrection. The criminals, on the preſent occaſion, died enthuſiaſts to their political principles. They confirmed their own minds in an opinion, which they endeavoured in vain to inculcate on James, that any attack, on an enemy, was a ſpecies of war[m].

CHAP. II. 1696.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the parliament proceeded in the ſame ſtrain of complaiſance to the crown, which the attempt on the life of the King had raiſed. Supplies were granted not only with liberality, but even without reſerve. Clauſes of loan were inſerted, in almoſt every money-bill. An act was paſſed, impowering the King to apprehend and detain ſuch perſons, as he might ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. The commons, in a body, preſented the aſſociation, at the foot of the throne, on the third of April. The lords, ſoon after, followed the example laid by the lower houſe. A bank, for the purpoſe of raiſing money for the uſe of the government, was eſtabliſhed by act of parliament. This new inſtitution obtained the name of the national land-bank, from its ſecurity lying on land. The meaſure was unadviſed, and proved miſchievous to public credit. Notwithſtanding the complaiſance of the two houſes, the King exerted his prerogative, in a manner that gave ſome offence to the commons. He refuſed his aſſent to a bill for regulating elections of members to ſerve in parliament. The pro-

Proceedings of parliament.

[m] Stuart-papers, 1696.

jectors

CHAP. II. 1696.

jectors of the bill made a motion, that thoſe who had adviſed his Majeſty to put a negative on the bill, were enemies to the King and kingdom. But the current of the times ran, with violence, in favour of government; and the motion was rejected, by a great majority [n]. The buſineſs of the crown being brought to a concluſion, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, the King put a happy end to a ſeſſion, which promiſed, at the beginning, but little complaiſance to his views.

[n] Journals.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Exhauſted ſtate of France.——Her intrigues, and deſire of peace.——Campaign of 1696.*——Advances toward a treaty.——Domeſtic affairs.——Proceedings of parliament.——Fenwick's caſe.——An obſequious ſeſſion.——Congreſs at Riſwick.——Peace oppoſed by the Emperor.——Intrigues for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.——Campaign of* 1697.*——Crown of Poland offered to King James.——Secret views of that Prince.——William haſtens the peace.——He agrees that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the throne.——Reflection.——The propoſal rejected by James.——France peremptory in her demands.——The treaty of Riſwick ſigned.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Views of parties.——The army diſbanded.——The King diſguſted.——Proviſion for the civil liſt.——The commons refractory.——Parliament diſſolved.——Negociations for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.——Firſt treaty of partition propoſed.——The King in Holland.——Scotiſh and Iriſh affairs.——Treaty of partition ſigned.——A new parliament.——The commons refractory.——The army again reduced.——William threatens to abandon the government.——He yields to the commons.——Solicits them in vain for his Dutch guards.*

CHAP. III.

1696. Exhauſted ſtate of France.

THE glory aſſumed by France, for having ſuſtained herſelf ſo long againſt the reſt of Europe in confederacy, was more than balanced by her domeſtic diſtreſs. Her great exertions had impoveriſhed her ſubjects, by enormous taxes and impoſts. An earneſt deſire for peace prevailed throughout the kingdom. Paſt diſappointments, and the fear of future misfortunes, had abated the ambition of the King. He had loſt his beſt generals in the courſe of the war; and a great part of the reputation of his arms, in the preceding campaign. A deficiency in reſources de-

CHAP. III. 1696.

prived him of every hope of making any ſucceſsful efforts in the preſent year. He had even ſome reaſon to fear, he could not retain what he had already gained; and that, inſtead of puſhing the enemy in their territories, he would find it difficult to defend his own.

Her intrigues,

FRANCE, however, endeavoured to ſupply with addreſs what ſhe wanted in point of power. To provide againſt the misfortunes dreaded from the continuance of a burdenſome war, Lewis extended, with ſucceſs, his intrigues to the different courts of Europe. In Turkey, he induced Muſtapha the ſecond to fruſtrate all the attempts made by the maritime powers to facilitate a peace. He ſecured his influence in Poland, by a penſion to the Queen. He gained the confidence of the courts of Italy, by profeſſing a concern for the repoſe and proſperity of a country haraſſed by the exactions of the allied powers. He diſconcerted the meaſures of the Germanic body, by fomenting the feuds, and ſupporting the pretenſions of the various princes. He placed ſpies, and eſtabliſhed penſioners in Spain. He gained the good offices of the King of Sweden, by flattering his pride; and, in Holland, he renewed his ancient correſpondence with the heads of the Republican party.

and deſire of peace.

IN the midſt of meaſures for ſupporting the war with vigour, the French King thought ſeriouſly of the means of obtaining peace. He endeavoured, in the preceding year, through the channel of Denmark and Sweden, to negociate a treaty for the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of Europe. He had, in ſome meaſure, agreed to a preliminary of the Imperial court, that the affair of England ſhould be ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the Prince of Orange. He even aſcribed the continuance of the war, to William's hopes of regaining, in one campaign, the laurels which he had loſt in the war. During the winter, the court of France continued to make

CHAP. III. 1696.

advances toward a peace. To facilitate a treaty, they propoſed to the States of Holland, that, in caſe the affair of England was not ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the Prince of Orange, the whole negociation ſhould be void. They agreed to admit the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen as the baſis of the expected peace. But theſe advances, on the ſide of France, were not anſwered with equal warmth by the allied powers. In proportion to the eagerneſs of Lewis for peace, they roſe in their demands; and thus, throughout the ſummer, the whole affair remained in ſuſpence.

An inactive campaign in Flanders.

WILLIAM, having left London on the ſecond of May, arrived at the Hague on the ſeventh of that month; but he joined not his troops till the ſixth of June. The French had taken the field, with two armies; one under Mareſchal de Villeroi, was poſted between Mechlen and Deynſe. The Mareſchal de Boufflers commanded another, between Flerus and Sombref. King William oppoſed, in perſon, the enemy at Mariekirke, with one army; while the Elector of Bavaria aſſembled another in the neighbourhood of Louvain. The whole ſummer either paſſed in inaction, or was waſted in motions, which neither promiſed nor produced any important event. Though no congreſs was opened, the expectations of peace ſuſpended the operations of war. The allies were in no condition to puſh, with vigour, the advantages which they had obtained in the preceding campaign; and France, in her preſent condition, conſidered her being able to protect her conqueſts, an advantage equal to the glory of a victory.

Operations on the ſide of Spain.

To avail himſelf of the weakneſs of Spain, the French King bent his principal efforts towards that ſide. A diſpute with the Court of Madrid, on account of a Jew, who had ſerved him in quality of an agent, had contributed to induce William to withdraw all the naval force of the Engliſh from the Mediterranean.

CHAP. III. 1696.

But the French, having ordered the ſquadron at Toulon to ſail into the ocean, were incapable of inſulting the coaſt of Spain, though expoſed. They, however, puſhed with ſome vigour their operations by land. The Duke de Vendôme, who commanded in Catalonia, was ordered to take the field. He paſſed the Ter, on the thirtieth of May. He attacked the Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, on the banks of that river, and forced him to retire with loſs under the cannon of Oſtalric. An inactive campaign ſucceeded this undeciſive engagement. The hopes of an immediate peace, and the proſpect of future advantages, roſe to France on the ſide of Spain. The Queen-mother, who, as a daughter of Auſtria, had carried the animoſities of her family againſt France, into the counſels of Charles the Second, was lately dead. Lewis the Fourteenth had his agents at Madrid; and he, even then, entertained hopes of practiſing to advantage on the weakneſs of the King of Spain [a].

Naval tranſactions.

NOTHING of any moment happened on the ſide of Germany. The French and Imperialiſts alternately paſſed and repaſſed, to little purpoſe, the Rhine. The efforts of the maritime powers at ſea, were as languid and undeciſive as the operations by land. Sir George Rooke, upon his return from Cadiz, where he had wintered with his ſquadron, was appointed commander in chief of the combined fleet. Having, in vain, endeavoured to intercept the French fleet, upon its way from Toulon, to Breſt, he returned to Torbay, on the twenty-third of May, and he was recalled by the lords of the regency from his command. The lord Berkley, who ſucceeded Rooke, performed nothing of any importance. The moſt remarkable tranſaction of this ſummer at ſea, was performed by Du Bart; who had ſailed with a French ſquadron from Dunkirk, in the end of May. He fell in, on the eighth of June, with a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, from the Baltic, under the convoy of five men of war. The latter he took, after an obſti-

[a] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne.

nate

nate reſiſtance; and thirty of the former fell alſo into his hands. Having performed this important ſervice, he eſcaped the vigilance of an Engliſh ſquadron, and returned with his booty to France [b].

Military affairs. Deſertion of the Duke of Savoy.

On the ſide of Hungary, an undeciſive battle between the Ottomans and the Imperialiſts, near Temeſwaer, comprehended the whole operations of the campaign. The Poles were, as uſual, inactive. But the death of the King, John Sobieſki, converted their country into a ſcene of intrigue for the ſucceſſion to the crown [c]. The Czar of Muſcovy, by the taking of Aſoph, on the Tanais, rendered himſelf, for the firſt time, an object of attention to the courts of Europe. A peace, between the French and the Duke of Savoy, changed the whole face of affairs in Italy. This pacification, which greatly diſconcerted the allies, had been long negociated by the Count de Teſsè, as intermediate agent between the Duke and the Mareſchal de Catinat, who commanded the French troops on the ſide of Savoy. Catinat made the firſt offer of peace, on the ſixth of June; but the Duke, willing to ſecure the ſupplies of the year from England and Holland, concealed, for ſome time, the treaty, after it was actually ſigned [d]. When he profeſſed to avow the conditions, they only ſeemed to comprehend the neutrality of Italy. He ſuppreſſed the terms, which concerned his own intereſt. But to convince the confederates of his determination to adhere to his agreement with France, he laid ſiege, on the thirteenth of September, to Valentia, in conjunction with the Mareſchal de Catinat [e].

Advances toward a peace.

The defection of the Duke of Savoy, while it much offended all the confederates, rendered the maritime powers, in particular, very deſirous of peace. William had various reaſons to wiſh for an immediate pacification with France. The failure of the land-bank, on which he had ſo much credit, the conſequent difficulty

[b] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.
[c] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.
[d] May 30th.
[e] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

of

CHAP. III. 1696.

of preſent remittances, the uncertainty of future ſupplies, the example of Savoy, for further deſertions from the common cauſe, the diſpoſition of the States againſt the continuance of a burdenſome war, the clamours of the Engliſh, under their heavy taxes, all combined to make the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of Europe an object of importance to the King. He, therefore, proſecuted with ſincerity every meaſure to accompliſh his views. He concurred with the States, in appointing Dykveldt to confer with Callieres, who had, for ſome time, carried on in Holland ſecret negociations leading to a peace. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, Dykveldt communicated the whole proceedings to the deputies of the States for foreign affairs. The deputies made their report, on the third of September, to the States-General; who came to a reſolution, that the conceſſions of France to the demands of the Emperor, were ſufficient grounds for accepting the mediation of Sweden in concluding a general treaty of peace. The houſe of Auſtria, in neither of its branches, ſeemed willing to cloſe with the propoſal of the maritime powers. The court of Spain was offended with William; and the Emperor had an intereſt in continuing the war *.

Engliſh, Scotiſh, and Iriſh affairs.

In England, nothing of importance happened during the ſummer. The lords of the regency applied their chief attention to the re-coinage of the ſilver money; and to the operations of the fleet at ſea. In Scotland, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, on the eighth of September. The Lord Murray, eldeſt ſon of the Marquis of Athol, being created Earl of Tullibardin, was appointed commiſſioner. The Earl of Arran, and other malcontents, took the oaths, for the firſt time, and their ſeats in the houſe. A ſupply was voted, for one year's ſervice, to maintain the ſtanding forces: a meaſure calculated to induce the government to hold an annual ſeſſion for its own ſupport. An ill-humour had crept into parliament. The people were diſtreſſed with a

* De Torcy, tom. i.

general

CHAP. III. 1695.

general ſcarcity, which rendered them clamorous and diſcontented. The commiſſioner, therefore, thought proper to put an end to the ſeſſion, on the ninth of October. The Lord Capel dying in Ireland, the government of that kingdom devolved, by the choice of the council, on the chancellor, Sir Charles Porter; in terms of an old act of parliament [b]. Nothing material happened, in a parliament which met, by adjournment, ſoon after his elevation to that dignity [c]. In the end of July, the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda were aſſociated with Porter in the government of the kingdom.

Parliament meets.

ON the ſeventh of October, the King arrived from Holland, at Kenſington, and on the twentieth of the ſame month, the parliament met at Weſtminſter. William, in his ſpeech from the throne, expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that no diſorder had happened at home, and no diſadvantage abroad, in the courſe of the preſent year. He aſcribed this happineſs to the good diſpoſition of his army, and the ſteady affection of his people for his perſon. He recommended unanimity, on account of the magnitude and importance of the buſineſs which they had to tranſact: the ſupplying of former deficiencies, and the providing for the ſervice of the enſuing year. He informed them of overtures made for a general peace. But that the only means to re-eſtabliſh the public tranquillity, was to ſhow themſelves prepared for a vigorous and effectual war. He earneſtly deſired the commons to raiſe ſpeedily the neceſſary ſupplies, which ought not to be leſs than the ſum intended for the preceding year. He recommended the civil liſt to their ſupport, the French Proteſtants to their commiſeration. He deſired them to conſider, whether ſome inconvenience did not ſtill remain with regard to the coin. He requeſted them to find the beſt expedient for the re-eſtabliſhment of credit: a circumſtance as neceſſary for trade as for the ſupport of the war [d].

[b] 33 Hen. VIII. [c] June 27th. [d] Journals, Oct. 20, 1696.

THE

CHAP. III.

1696.

Diligence of the commons.

THE commons, with perfect unanimity, agreed immediately to reſolutions which anſwered the chief demands of the King's ſpeech. In a ſpiritual addreſs, they promiſed, in the name of the people of England, to ſupport his Majeſty, in obtaining, by war, a ſafe and honourable peace [e]. They pledged the faith of the houſe, that a ſupply ſhould be granted for carrying on with vigour the war; and that the deficiencies of the parliamentary funds ſhould be made good [f]. They applied themſelves with the utmoſt diligence to this neceſſary buſineſs. The ſums to be raiſed were immenſe. The deficiency of former funds amounted to more than ſix millions. Two millions and a half were found neceſſary for the navy; and a ſtill greater ſum for the ſervice by land. Public credit had, in the mean time, ſunk ſo low, that bank-notes were at twenty per cent. diſcount, and exchequer tallies at ſixty per cent. The commons turned their immediate attention to the ſilver coin. They reſolved, that the hammered money ſhould be received only by weight. That an allowance of four pence an ounce ſhould be made on all loans and plate brought to the mint, before the firſt of January [g]. To anſwer the moſt preſſing demands on government, they reſolved to transfer to the next aids, any loans, not exceeding ſix hundred thouſand pounds, that ſhould be advanced on the credit of the exchequer [h].

Public credit reſtored.

To reſtore the credit of the bank, which had, from various cauſes, fallen ſo low, the commons reſolved to extend the time of its continuance, and to augment the capital [i]. The new ſubſcriptions were wiſely ordered to be made, in the tallies, upon parliamentary funds, and in bank-notes. The firſt, in the proportion of four-fifths of the payments. The latter as having been ſubject to the leaſt diſcount, in that of one-fifth. Men of money, for the benefit of acquiring, at a low price, a capital in

[e] Oct. 22. [f] Oct. 28. [g] Nov. 3.
[h] Nov. 9. [i] Feb. 3, 1697.

the

CHAP. III. 1696.

the bank, purchaſed, with ſuch eagerneſs, the tallies and notes, that their price aroſe. The latter ſoon became equal to money. The diſcounts, on the former, fell rapidly, as a fund for the payments was fixed. To ſupply the ſcarcity of money, was as neceſſary for the purpoſes of commerce and government, as the recovery of the credit of the bank notes and tallies. Bills were ordered to be iſſued from the exchequer, to the amount of two millions, bearing intereſt at more than ſeven *per cent.* Theſe were received in the exchequer, with a ſmall diſcount, in the payments made of the revenue. This meaſure raiſed, at length, exchequer bills to an equality with money, and ſupplied, at preſent, the want of coin. Mountague, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, had the chief merit, in meaſures, which, for the time, relieved the nation from imminent diſtreſs.

Sir John Fenwick's caſe.

THE extraordinary caſe of Sir John Fenwick interrupted, in ſome degree, the deliberations of the commons, on the ſubject of public credit. Fenwick had been accuſed of being concerned in the plot againſt the King, and was taken, at New Romney, in the preceding June, in endeavouring to make his eſcape to France. He was committed to Newgate, and a bill found againſt him by the grand jury [k]. To preſerve, or, at leaſt, to prolong his life, he fell upon the expedient of obtaining a pardon, as a price of diſcoveries to the King. Through the means of the Duke of Devonſhire, he conveyed a paper to William, when he was in Flanders, containing an account of correſpondences and intrigues, carried on with the court of St. Germains, by the Duke of Shrewſbury, the Earls of Bath and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruſſel. Though this account is known, now, to be true, in every particular, it neither gained William's favour nor ſerved the deſign of Fenwick. The perſons accuſed were too powerful to be puniſhed. Beſides, Fenwick had refuſed to be an

[k] June 11, 1696.

CHAP. III. 1696.

evidence; and had he done otherwiſe, the proofs, which he could produce, were not ſufficient in law. His trial, however, was delayed, by various means, till the King's arrival in England. His friends, in the mean time, removed one of the two witneſſes, on whoſe oaths the bill had been found; and, according to the ſtatutes of treaſon, a ſingle witneſs was not ſufficient to condemn.

He is attainted and executed.

WILLIAM is ſaid to have entertained a perſonal enmity[l] againſt Fenwick, for ſome expreſſions, reflecting on his conduct, when he ſerved in the army in Holland. This diſpoſition, in the King's mind, combined with the reſentment of the accuſed perſons, contributed to puniſh, in a very irregular manner, that unfortunate man. Admiral Ruſſel, by the expreſs permiſſion of William, was the firſt, who laid before the commons the information of Fenwick, which reflected on himſelf and ſeveral other perſons of high rank. The priſoner was brought to the bar of the houſe, and required to confeſs all he knew[m]. He declined to obey, without aſſurances of pardon were firſt given. Upon a vote paſſed, on his own paper, a bill of attainder was introduced againſt Fenwick[n]. He was heard, by his council. But the weight of the crown and the intereſt of his enemies prevailed. The bill paſſed the commons, after violent debates[o]; and, though much oppoſed in the upper-houſe, it received the ſanction of the lords[p], and the aſſent of the King. On the twenty-eighth of January, he was beheaded, on Tower-hill. His behaviour, at his death, was more ſpirited, than his conduct in priſon. The precedent eſtabliſhed, in his caſe, was juſtly deemed dangerous; as nothing could be leſs excuſed, than the employing of the whole force of the legiſlature to take away the life of a man, whom the laws of treaſon could not condemn. The death of Fenwick was not of ſuch conſequence to

[l] James II. 1694. [m] Journals, Nov. 6. [n] Ibid. [o] Nov. 25, 189 againſt 156. [p] 68 againſt 61. Feb. 9, 1697.

the public quiet, as to juſtify this violent exertion of the ultimate power, repoſed in the ſtate [q].

Obſequiouſneſs of parliament.

AN uninterrupted complaiſance to the crown continued throughout the ſeſſion. The commons provided, with cheerfulneſs, for the ſervice of the year. They made good eight hundred and forty thouſand pounds, which the funds, for the laſt, had fallen ſhort [r]. Upon a meſſage from the King, they granted a ſupply of more than five hundred thouſand pounds, for the ſupport of the civil liſt. They, as the laſt gift of the ſeſſion, made proviſion for the payment of the debt, for the tranſports employed in the reduction of Ireland. The liberality of the commons raiſed, in ſome degree, the reſentment of the people. They were openly traduced as corrupt, by individuals. They were frequently beſieged, in their houſe, by mobs. The public buſineſs being finiſhed, on the ſixteenth of April, the King put an end to the ſeſſion, with a ſpeech from the throne. He thanked the commons for their large ſupplies. He informed both houſes, that he found it neceſſary to go for ſome time abroad. But that he would take care to leave the adminiſtration of government in the hands of perſons upon whom he could depend [s].

Sunderland in office.

AN event, which happened three days after the riſing of parliament, rendered remarkable the paragraph with which his Majeſty cloſed his ſpeech. To the aſtoniſhment of the nation, he raiſed the Earl of Sunderland to the office of lord-chamberlain, in the room of the Earl of Dorſet; who had ſuffered himſelf to be bought out of his place, with the public money. That this lord uniformly betrayed the late King to the views of the preſent, when Prince of Orange, is now known, and was, even then, ſuſpected, by the intelligent. There ſeemed, therefore, to have been a degree of imprudence, in the appointment, though the place,

[q] James II. 1696. [r] Feb. 9, 1697. [s] April 11.

CHAP. III. 1696.

which he held before in William's favour, entitled him to a part of the management of public affairs. On the twenty-ſecond of April, the earl was ſworn a privy-councillor, and, as ſuch, took his place at the board. He was comprehended in the commiſſion of lords-juſtices; and, though at the time in correſpondence with James [t], was one of thoſe perſons, on whom, William ſaid to his parliament, he could thoroughly depend.

Congreſs at Riſwick.

ON the twenty-fourth of April, the King left Kenſington, and arrived, on the twenty-ſeventh, at the Hague. The advances made toward a peace, in the end of the preceding ſummer, were improved in the winter. William had named, in the month of December, three plenipotentiaries to negociate a treaty. The French King had appointed two perſons, in the like capacity, to be joined to Callieres, who had long carried on a negociation at the Hague. The Emperor and the court of Spain threw various objections in the way. But theſe being, at length, over-ruled, by the reſt of the allies, a congreſs was agreed to be opened, under the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, King of Sweden. That Prince dying, in the mean time, the office of mediator was tranſferred to his ſon. The ambaſſadors of the belligerent powers met, on the ninth of May, at a houſe belonging to the King of England, in the neighbourhood of Riſwick, a village ſituated between Delft and the Hague.

The peace oppoſed by the Emperor and Spain.

FRANCE and the maritime powers ſeemed to find little difficulty, in defining their reſpective claims. England and Holland had ſcarce any farther concern in the treaty, than to ſettle a barrier in Flanders, and to procure an ample acknowledgment of William's right to the throne. Callieres, then ſole plenipotentiary for Lewis the Fourteenth in Holland, had conſented, as early as the tenth of February, to preliminaries, which declared, that

[t] Stuart-papers, 1696. James II. 1696.

Straſbourg

CHAP. III. 1697.

Straſbourg ſhould be reſtored to the Emperor, Mons, Charleroi, Dinant, and the whole dutchy of Luxembourg, together with the conqueſts in Catalonia to the Spaniards, the dutchy of Lorrain to its native Prince; and that the title of William ſhould be acknowledged, without any manner of difficulty, reſtriction, condition or reſerve. But that the claims of other Princes ſhould be left to be ſettled, by the treaty for a general peace, to be negociated under the mediation of the King of Sweden. The houſe of Auſtria, however, in neither of its branches, ſeemed willing to put an immediate end to the war. Though Spain was deſtitute of troops, of ſhips, of money, and of councils. Though the grandees, at variance among themſelves, poſſeſſed no credit at court nor authority among the people. Though the monarchy tottered through all its extenſive dominions, the influence of a haughty and imperious woman, who hated every body and was herſelf deteſted by all, ſwayed the timid mind of Charles the Second, to liſten to the court of Vienna, and to continue a war which he abhorred.

The cauſe of their obſtinacy.

THE cauſe of this obſtinacy, on the part of the Emperor Leopold, requires to be explained. Charles the Second, the laſt male of that branch of the houſe of Auſtria, which had ſat, for near two centuries, on the throne of Spain, was a prince, weak in body and feeble in mind; ſubject to melancholy, and a ſlave to paſſion; a ſtranger to buſineſs, timid by conſtitution, as well as through ignorance. His mother, who was ſiſter to the Emperor, had endeavoured to protract her own authority, as regent, by keeping him longer a child in his underſtanding, than he was in his years. Don John of Auſtria, the natural ſon of Philip IV. though he ſtript her of her power, followed her ſyſtem. The miniſters, who ſucceeded Don John, purſued the ſame principle. They kept their ſovereign a kind of priſoner, in his own palace; and governed, in his name, a kingdom long exhauſted by a ſucceſſion of wretched councils. The treaty of Nimeguen having eſtabliſhed a good

CHAP. III.

1697.

good underſtanding between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, the King married Maria-Louiſa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. This princeſs, unambitious of governing a weak huſband, left him, at firſt, in the hands of his miniſters; and her interference, at length, in favour of France, proved fatal to herſelf. In the beginning of the year 1689, England and Holland, in alliance with the Emperor, reſolved to draw Spain into the war againſt Lewis the Fourteenth. The Queen died ſuddenly. Mansfeldt, the Imperial ambaſſador, and the Count of Oropeza, were at no pains to conceal, that they had removed, by a wicked piece of policy, a perſon, who was likely to obſtruct their views [u].

Intrigues for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

A DAUGHTER of the Duke of Neubourg ſucceeded the unfortunate Queen, in the bed of Charles the Second. Being ſiſter to the Empreſs, ſhe was firmly attached to the allies, and ſhe governed Spain. She entered into the views of Leopold, for preſerving the ſucceſſion of the crown in his own family, in excluſion of the female line. Her object was to induce her huſband to ſend for her nephew, the arch-duke, to Madrid, to be educated, as the ſole heir of Spain. The King, for ſome time, reſiſted her importunities. But, in the year 1696, he yielded to his own fears. Alarmed at the progreſs of the French, in the heart of his kingdom, he promiſed to invite the arch-duke to Spain, upon condition that the Emperor ſhould ſend twelve thouſand of his troops to oppoſe the enemy in Catalonia. The ſlow councils of the court of Vienna obſtructed this deſign, till mutual advances, toward a peace, were made, by France and the maritime powers. The Emperor, therefore, endeavoured, when too late, to protract the war, as favourable to his own views on the Spaniſh ſucceſſion [w].

Operations in Flanders and Catalonia.

WHILE the Emperor and his influence, by means of the Queen, over the councils of Spain, obſtructed the treaty, with new de-

[u] Torcy's Memoirs, vol. i. [w] Ibid.

mands,

CHAP. III. 1697.

mands, Lewis the Fourteenth declared his reſolution to adhere to the articles of the preliminaries. His miniſters ſignified in form, that the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen muſt be the baſis of the future peace. That it remained with the allies to agree to terms or to proſecute the war. This declaration at the congreſs was ſtrengthened by operations in the field. The Mareſchal de Catinat inveſted and took Aeth. William was either indifferent, as to the fate of the place, or unprepared to raiſe the ſiege. He joined the army, in perſon, on the twenty-fourth of May. The Mareſchals de Villeroi and Boufflers were poſted too advantageouſly to be attacked. He, however, diſappointed the deſigns of the French upon Bruſſels and the fortreſs of Trois Trous. But the chief efforts of Lewis were made on the ſide of Spain, to extricate, by diſaſters, the timid mind of Charles the Second from the intrigues of the Emperor. The Duke de Vendôme laid ſiege to Barcelona, by land. The Count d'Eſtrées blocked up the place by ſea. The Count de Velaſco, dividing the force, with which he propoſed to raiſe the ſiege, was ſurpriſed, in both his camps, and put to flight. The city capitulated, on the laſt day of July; and that conqueſt determined the Emperor and Spain to liſten to the propoſals of a general peace [x].

Crown of Poland offered to James.

THE ſucceſs of the arms of France was balanced, by the defeat of her negociations in Poland. The death of King John Sobieſki, on the eighth of June, in the preceding year, had opened a ſcene of intrigue for the crown of that kingdom. The predilection of the Queen, for her younger ſon, Alexander, in oppoſition to James, the elder, divided the friends of the late King, and ruined the influence of his family. Many of the Poles had turned their eyes to another quarter. The Abbé de Polignac, ambaſſador of France in Poland, wrote to his maſter, that thoughts were entertained of the late King of England, in the new election, for filling the

[x] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii.

throne;

CHAP. III. 1697.

throne; and that he had been already named by ſome of the diets. Lewis was eager to ſeize an opportunity of ridding himſelf, with honour, of a Prince, whoſe pretenſions he could no longer ſupport. He ſent M. de Pomponne to St. Germains. The friends of James were ſanguine for the project; but he rejected it himſelf. He told M. de Pomponne, "that he would ever retain a grateful remembrance of his friends in Poland; that, however, he would not accept of the crown, had it actually been offered; much leſs would he endeavour to obtain by ſolicitation any throne, that was not his due. That his acceptance of any other ſcepter would amount to an abdication indeed of that which he deemed his right; and that, therefore, he was reſolved to remain, in his preſent forlorn condition, poſſeſſing leſs hopes than ever of being reſtored, than to do the leaſt act to prejudice his family [y]."

Conferred on the Elector of Saxony.

THE ſelf-denial of James induced Lewis to turn his eyes to the Prince of Conti, as a fit candidate for the Poliſh throne. The character of that Prince, and above all, the bribes and promiſes diſtributed by the Abbé de Polignac, ſeemed to have conciliated the ſuffrages of the whole nation. But in the midſt of theſe flattering hopes, a new and powerful candidate appeared. The Elector of Saxony, ſupporting himſelf with an armed force, advanced to the frontiers of the kingdom and demanded the crown. He had removed all objections to his religion, by previouſly abjuring the Lutheran faith. He added the force of bribery, to leſs powerful claims. On the night before the election, a very large ſum was diſtributed in the camp, to fortify his party. But the majority ſtill adhered to the French. The Prince of Conti was declared duly elected, by the primate. On the other hand, the biſhop of Cujavia alſo nominated Frederick Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony, King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania. The reſult of the whole was, that the Elector promoted his own intereſt,

[y] James II. 1696.

to

CHAP. III.

1697.

to ſuch advantage, that the Prince of Conti, on his arrival in the road of Dantzic, on the fifteenth of September, found that he came too late to ſupport his pretenſions to the crown [z].

The maritime powers and France reſolve on a peace.

THOUGH the ſucceſs of the Elector of Saxony, in Poland, flattered the pride of the Emperor, it contributed little to his deſigns of obſtructing the negociations at Riſwick. The maritime powers were now abſolutely under the direction of the King of England, who had all along been the life and ſoul of the confederacy; and he had ſcarce any thing, except her acknowledgment of his own right to the throne, to ſettle with France. Lewis the Fourteenth had long determined to prefer the benefits of a neceſſary peace, to his engagements to the late King. That unfortunate Prince had laid aſide all expectations from the aid of France, ever ſince his diſappointment in the projected invaſion of the preceding year. He flattered himſelf, in his loſt condition, with other hopes. He was aſſured, from England, that William was in a declining ſtate of health. That he was dropſical in his habit of body; and that his diſſolution ſeemed to advance with haſty ſtrides. James had formed a new ſcheme, upon the event of his nephew's death. He reſolved to return to England, though three men ſhould not follow him; and to throw himſelf on the good nature of the Engliſh nation [a]. "It could not enter into his mind," he ſaid, "that the people of England would treat him with indignities;" and he knew, that the majority were determined to preſerve all the juſt prerogatives of the crown [b].

Secret views of the late King.

The hopes derived by James from the death of William, were daſhed, from a quarter, where no check to his views was then feared. The Princeſs of Denmark had, for ſix years, maintained a fair correſpondence with her father, full of aſſurances of duty

[z] James II. 1696. [a] James II. 1696. [b] Ibid.

CHAP. III. 1697.

and expreſſions of repentance. The bad health of King William had awakened her ambition, with the proſpect of the crown. She wrote to her father upon this ſubject. She deſired to know his pleaſure, whether he would permit her to aſcend the throne, according to the act of ſettlement, ſhould the Prince of Orange, ſo ſhe called King William, happen to die. She accompanied this requeſt, with expreſſions of duty and a ſeeming readineſs to make reſtitution, when opportunity ſhould ſerve. She inſinuated, that ſhould he refuſe to accede to this expedient, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the kingdom, he would remove himſelf further from the hopes of recovering his throne; as the ſcepter, ſhe ſaid, would fall into worſe hands, out of which it could not be ſo eaſily recovered. The reaſoning of the Princeſs was too refined, for the temper of her father. He told his friends, that though he could ſuffer injuſtice, he could never be perſuaded to give it countenance. He knew, he ſaid, that of all reſtitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown. He, however, excuſed himſelf to his daughter; and his declared adherence to the reſolution of placing himſelf in the hands of his former ſubjects, put an end to the propoſal [d].

He is alarmed at the congreſs.

The late King was no ſtranger to the endeavours of France to put an end to the war. But he could never believe [e], he ſaid, that Lewis would wholly neglect his intereſt, in the terms of the peace. In the courſe of the preceding campaign, he was, for the firſt time, alarmed. He preſſed, in perſon, the French King, on the ſubject. His adherents argued the matter with the miniſtry, in vain [f]. In the preceding December, he ſent an agent to the court of Vienna. The Emperor was deaf to his entreaties [g]. He diſregarded, at once, his misfortunes and his claims upon himſelf, as a Catholic Prince, on the ſcore of religion. Notwithſtanding this repulſe from Leopold, he reſted ſome faint hopes on the generoſity of

[d] James II. 1697. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

Lewis the Fourteenth. But when the two French plenipotentiaries, de Harlay and de Creci, departed from Paris, in March, to join Callieres at Delft, he gave all his hopes away [h]. The event, however, may ſerve to ſhew, that Lewis deſerved to be more truſted; and that he yielded to neceſſity only, when he ſeemed to the world to neglect the intereſt of the abdicated King.

William haſtens the peace.

THOUGH the views of the Emperor were diſappointed, by the apparent reſolution of the maritime powers, to reſtore the public tranquillity, his miniſters, at the congreſs, diſcovered no inclination to bring the conferences to a ſpeedy iſſue. It was reſerved for William, who had been the ſoul of the war, to conclude, with a deciſive ſtroke, the peace. The two armies, after the ſurrender of Aeth, lay oppoſed to one another in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels. The allies, under the King, were encamped at Cockleberg. The Mareſchals de Villeroi, de Catinat, and de Boufflers, commanded the French army at Pepinge. The Earl of Portland, on the part of the King of England, and de Boufflers, in the name of Lewis, met between the armies and held a conference, in the open field, on the tenth of July. They met again, on the fifteenth and twentieth of the ſame month, in the ſame manner. But, on the twenty-ſixth of July and the ſecond of Auguſt, they retired to a houſe in the ſuburbs of Hall; and reduced to writing the terms to which they had agreed in the field [i].

Agrees that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed him in the throne.

THE world have hitherto been no leſs ignorant of the object of theſe interviews, than Europe was then aſtoniſhed, at ſuch an uncommon mode of negociation. As William truſted not his three plenipotentiaries at the Hague, with his agreement with France, mankind juſtly concluded, that a ſecret of the laſt importance had been for ſome time depending between the two kings. Time has, at length, unraveled the myſtery. Lewis, unwilling

[h] James II. 1697. [i] Depôt des Affaires Etrangeres à Verſailles.

CHAP. III. 1697.

to deſert James, propoſed that the Prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, after the death of William. The King, with little heſitation, agreed to this requeſt. He even ſolemnly engaged, to procure the repeal of the act of ſettlement; and to declare, by another, the Prince of Wales his ſucceſſor in the throne[k]. This great preliminary being ſettled, other matters of leſs importance followed of courſe. The fifty thouſand pounds a year, ſettled as a jointure upon King James's Queen, was agreed to be paid; though the money was afterwards retained upon various pretences. On the third of Auguſt, the King left the army and retired to Dieren. He ſent from thence the Earl of Portland, to acquaint the miniſters aſſembled at the congreſs, that he had ſettled his own affairs, and thoſe of his kingdoms, with France; and that he earneſtly preſſed the allies, and particularly the Emperor, to haſten the concluſion of the great work of peace.

Reflections on that tranſaction.

THOSE who aſcribe all the actions of William to public ſpirit, will find ſome difficulty in reconciling this tranſaction to their elevated opinion of his character. In one conceſſion to France, he yielded all his profeſſions to England; and, by an act of indiſcretion, or through indifference, deſerted the principles to which he owed the throne. The deliverance of the nation was not, however, the ſole object of this Prince. Like other men, he was ſubject to human paſſions; and, like them, when he could gratify himſelf, he ſerved the world. Various motives ſeem to have concurred, to induce him to adopt a meaſure, unaccountable on other grounds. The projected peace was to ſecure the crown in his poſſeſſion for his life. He had no children, and but few relations; and thoſe he never loved. The ſucceſſors provided by the act of ſettlement, he either deſpiſed or abhorred; and he ſeems hitherto not to have extended his views beyond the limits

[k] James II. 1697.

of

of that act. Though James had diſpleaſed the nation, he had not injured William. The ſon had offended neither. He might excite compaſſion, but he could be no object of averſion. The ſuppoſed ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, had been only held forth to amuſe the vulgar; and even theſe would be convinced, by the public acknowledgment intended to be made by the very perſon whoſe intereſt was moſt concerned in the ſupport of that idle tale.

The propoſal rejected by James.

BUT the ſame imprudence which loſt to the late King the crown, excluded, for ever, his poſterity from the throne. He told his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who had made the firſt overture to him, on this important ſubject, that though he could ſuffer with patience the uſurpation of his nephew upon his right, he would never permit his own ſon to be guilty of the ſame injuſtice [1]. He urged, that ſhould the ſon reign in his father's life-time, that circumſtance would amount to a formal renunciation. That the Prince of Wales, by ſucceeding to the Prince of Orange, would yield his ſole right, which was that of his father; and being obliged to the people for his elevation, the hands which had raiſed him, might, at any time, juſtly pull him down from his throne. That ſhould he himſelf be capable of conſenting to ſuch a diſgraceful propoſal, in favour of his ſon, he might be juſtly reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. Beſides, that though he ſhould conſent to ſacrifice all that he reckoned dear, to a mortal enemy, the Prince of Orange could only promiſe a thing, which he was not, perhaps, able to perform. That the ſame parliament that had conferred the royal authority on himſelf, had ſettled the reverſion of the crown on the Princeſs of Denmark; and that, therefore, by reverſing the act of ſettlement, he diſjointed the whole chain which bound the people to

[1] James II. 1697.

CHAP. III. 1697.

his government. But that ſhould even the Prince of Orange induce the parliament of England to repeal the act of ſettlement, it would be always on condition of having the Prince of Wales placed in their hands, without their being able to give any ſecurity either for his perſon or his conſcience [l].

France more peremptory in her demands.

THE laſt conſideration was not, perhaps, the leaſt motive of this deluded Prince, for rejecting the only certain proſpect that had ever offered itſelf for reſtoring his family to the throne. The French King, perceiving his obſtinacy, urged not further a point, of which James himſelf could be the only judge. The latter endeavoured, in the mean time, to ſtop the progreſs of a treaty, with vain proteſts, and with unavailing memorials and remonſtrances to the confederate Princes. The demand of France, for the eventual ſucceſſion of the Prince of Wales, being removed, the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, between Lewis and William, became abſolutely certain. The firſt, therefore, became more peremptory in his negociations with the Empire and Spain, as the allies were already apparently diſunited. He ordered his miniſters, at the congreſs, to deliver in the project of a general peace, upon the footing of the preliminaries [m]. The project was accompanied with a declaration, limiting the time of its being accepted, to the laſt day in Auguſt. The houſe of Auſtria were as dilatory in their motions toward a peace, as they had been ſlow in proſecuting the war. They paid no regard to the limitations offered by France, though they were in no condition for maintaining themſelves ſingly againſt her power. Spain had added to her misfortunes at home, a diſaſter of an alarming kind abroad. A French ſquadron, under De Pointis, had, with the aſſiſtance of the buccaniers, taken Carthagena in America, plundered the place of an immenſe treaſure, and having eſcaped the utmoſt efforts and vigilance of the Engliſh fleet, arrived ſafely at Breſt, on the nineteenth of Auguſt.

[l] Memorial to the Pope, 1697. Mem. to the Elector Palatine, MS.

[m] July 20.

THIS

CHAP. III.

1697.

THIS freſh misfortune ſucceeding the capture of Barcelona, haſtened greatly the concluſion of the treaty, on the part of Spain. The Emperor, however, continued obſtinate, and he was deſerted by the reſt of the allies. William having ſettled his own concerns with France, had left the army, on the third of Auguſt, and retired to Dieren. He diſpatched from thence the Earl of Portland to the Hague. He ordered him to acquaint the congreſs, that he had adjuſted matters in ſuch a manner with Lewis the Fourteenth, that no delay, in the general peace, ſhould ariſe from his concerns. That, therefore, he earneſtly preſſed the allies, and particularly the Emperor, to contribute all that lay in their power toward concluding ſo great a work. This declaration of the King, was regarded as a command. The plenipotentiaries of the States ſigned the treaty, on the ninth of September, about mid-night. Their example was taken, in an hour after, by the ambaſſador of Spain; and he was followed by the plenipotentiaries of England. The treaties of Munſter and Nimeguen ſerved as a baſis for that with Holland. The places taken in Catalonia, the dutchy of Luxembourg, the county of Chinei, Charleroi, Mons, Aeth, Courtrai, and all places united to France, by the chambers of Metz and Briſac, were reſtored to Spain. The King of England agreed to pay fifty thouſand pounds a year, by way of jointure, to King James's Queen; and Lewis the Fourteenth engaged not to diſturb William in the poſſeſſion of his kingdoms [n].

Treaty ſigned Sept. 10.

ROOM was left for the Emperor to accede to the treaty; and an immediate armiſtice was procured. France, having diſunited the allies, entertained no doubt of forcing the Emperor and empire into a peace. Leopold having complained of being a ſecond time deſerted by the Dutch, in a pacification with France, thought proper, at length, to comply. On the twentieth of

Peace between France and the Emperor, Oct. 20.

[n] Vid. Treaty.

October,

CHAP. III. 1697.

October, his ambaſſador ſigned alſo the treaty of Riſwick. The terms were regulated by thoſe of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen. Fribourg, Briſgau and Philipſburgh were reſtored to the Emperor. The dutchies of Lorrain and Bar were, on conditions, rendered back to his nephew, the Duke of Lorrain[o]; and thus a general tranquillity, though not deſtined to laſt long, was re-eſtabliſhed in the North and Weſt of Europe. Objections have been made to the conduct of the King of England, in ſigning a ſeparate peace, againſt both the letter and ſpirit of the grand alliance. But the diſtreſſes which would have been brought upon the kingdom through the continuance of a war, that ceaſed, with regard to England, to have any object, and the impotent obſtinacy of the court of Vienna, ſufficiently juſtifies William, in forcing, in a manner, the Emperor to the acceptance of reaſonable terms.

The bloody battle of Zenta.

THE Emperor had ſcarce agreed to the treaty of Riſwick, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks at Zenta[p], a ſmall village on the weſtern bank of the Theyſſe, in the kingdom of Hungary. The famous Prince Eugene of Savoy had ſucceeded the Elector of Saxony in the command of the army; and to his ſpirit and conduct was owing the compleat victory which the Imperialiſts had obtained. The ſlaughter, rather than the fight, laſted from ten in the morning, till late at night. The two preceding ages, though remarkable for battles, had not produced ſo bloody a combat. The Ottomans, broken by the enemy in front, were at the ſame time attacked in the rear. In leſs than an hour, reſiſtance was over, on the ſide of the Turks, but the reſt of the day was ſpent in butchery and blood. All endeavoured to gain the bridge, but it was rendered impaſſable, by the heaps of the ſlain. To avoid the fury of the ſword, thouſands threw themſelves into the river, and were drowned. Thirty thouſand were ſaid to lie dead on the field,

[o] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

[p] Sept. 11.

before

before the coming of night ſaved a few fugitives from death. The camp of the enemy, the magnificent pavillion of the ſultan himſelf, the ſtores, the proviſions, the ammunition, all the cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of Prince Eugene. The grand Vizier was killed, the ſeal of the empire taken; the Aga of the Janizaries, and twenty-ſeven Baſhaws were found among the ſlain. Never was victory more complete. But the advanced ſeaſon, and the want of reſources, in the court of Vienna, prevented it from having any immediate or ſtriking conſequences [q].

King returns to England. Nov.

ON the thirteenth of November, the King embarked for England, under the convoy of a ſquadron of men of war; and on the fourteenth arrived at Margate. He entered London on the ſixteenth, amid the acclamations of the populace. Intemperance and riot were mixed with ſolemn thankſgivings; and as every individual had ſuffered by the waſte of the war, the whole nation ſeemed ſincerely to rejoice at the return of peace. The parliament had been ſummoned by the lords of the regency, to meet on buſineſs, on the twenty-third of November. But that aſſembly was further prorogued to the third of December. An object of the utmoſt conſequence, and, in the ſtate of the times, of the greateſt difficulty, had been communicated by the King to the miniſtry, before his return to England. He wiſhed to retain a great part of the ſtanding army in pay, after the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. His ſervants felt the pulſe of the nation, by publications on that ſubject. But inſtead of perſuading the people into the views of the Crown, they alarmed their fears. The reſentment of mankind in general, was added to their aſtoniſhment. They ſaw, with a degree of indignation, that thoſe who had moſt violently oppoſed a ſtanding force in former times, were the chief ſupporters of that unpopular meaſure in the preſent reign.

[q] Hiſt. d'Allemagne.

CHAP. III.

1697. Aſſion of Parliament.

THE ſeſſion at length was opened, on the third of December, with a ſpeech from the throne. The King informed his parliament, that the war, into which he had entered by the advice of his people, was now terminated, in its object, an honourable peace. That, however, he was ſorry his ſubjects could not find at firſt that relief from the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, which either he could have wiſhed or they have expected. The funds, intended for the preceding year, he told them, had failed. There was a debt, on account of the fleet, and on the part of the army. The revenues of the crown, he ſaid, were anticipated for the public uſe. He himſelf was wholly deſtitute of means to ſupport the civil liſt. He told them, that he truſted their providing for him during his life, in a manner ſuitable to his honour, and the dignity of government. He informed them, that the increaſe of the navy, ſince his acceſſion to the crown, had proportionably augmented its charge. That the intereſt and reputation of England, rendered neceſſary a great force at ſea. The circumſtances of affairs abroad, he ſaid, were ſuch, that he aſſured them, England could not be ſafe without a land force. He expreſſed his hopes, that they would not give an opportunity to the enemies of the nation to effect, under the notion of a peace, what they could not accompliſh by a war; and he therefore deſired the commons to conſider the matter, in ſuch a manner as to provide the neceſſary ſupplies [r].

Views of parties.

THIS ſpeech was conſtrued, by the different parties in parliament, as they themſelves were variouſly inclined. The diſaffected deeming it haughty, and even inſolent, in its whole ſtrain. Some wiſhed to eaſe the ſubject, by reducing, to a low degree, the peace-eſtabliſhment. Some, who loved their country, were afraid of a ſtanding army. The adherents of James, were reſolved to diſtreſs William on popular grounds. The few who

[r] Journals, Nov. 3.

harboured

CHAP. II. 1697.

harboured in ſecret republican opinions, oppoſed, from principle, a meaſure calculated to place an uncontrollable power in the hands of the King. The different views of all the parties centered in one point; and were ſupported by the people, in their oppoſition to the Crown. The nation was exhauſted with late taxes. They were alarmed at the continuance of preſent burdens, and terrified at future impoſts. The kingdom had derived no advantage from the peace, except the proſpect of eaſe from the diſcontinuance of the war; and the people, diſappointed in their reaſonable hopes, became diſcontented, violent, and clamorous. A more ſteady, but a no leſs determined conduct was obſerved by the commons. They addreſſed the King on his ſpeech, in terms full of reſpect, but with great reſerve [s]. They aſſured his Majeſty, that as the houſe had effectually enabled him to carry on the war, they were ready to aſſiſt and ſupport him in the time of peace. On the ſeventh of December, the addreſs was read, and ordered to be preſented by the whole houſe [t].

The army ordered to be diſbanded.

THE firſt reſolutions of the commons bore the appearance of moderation, though they promiſed not implicit compliance. On a diviſion of the houſe, the friends of the court carried a vote of ſupply [u]. Having inquired into the deficiencies of the aids of the preceding year, they reſolved, that a ſum, not exceeding ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed on the credit of the exchequer, ſhould be transferred to the ſupplies of the next ſeſſion of parliament. On the tenth of December, they received the King's anſwer to their addreſs. Though he perceived the deſign of the commons, he receded not from his own purpoſe. He told them, as they aſſiſted him beyond expreſſion in the war, he had no doubt of an equal zeal in the houſe to maintain the peace [w]. This anſwer, ſignifying plainly the King's wiſhes to retain

[s] Nov. 3.
[t] Journals, Dec. 7.
[u] Dec. 9.
[w] Dec. 10.

CHAP. III. 1697.

a conſiderable ſtanding force in his pay, haſtened the diſcuſſion of that important point. In a committee of the whole houſe, it was reſolved, without a diviſion, the next day [x], that all the land-forces raiſed ſince the twenty-ninth of September 1680, ſhould be paid and diſbanded.

Arguments for the queſtion.

THE court-party urged various arguments for carrying a point, in which the King had ſignified himſelf to be much concerned. They urged, that as France had not yet diſbanded any of her troops, it would be dangerous, as well as abſurd, to truſt to the faith of a treaty for the ſafety of the nation. They affirmed, that to truſt the navy with the protection of the kingdom, was to leave the fate of its independence to fortune. They averred, from the example of the late revolution, that a wind might ariſe, which could carry an enemy out of their ports, and, at the ſame time, confine the ſhips of England to their own harbours. They freely owned, that ſome dangers might ariſe to the liberties of the people from a ſtanding army. But they denied it to be true, that public freedom was always ruined by armies. They produced Venice and the States of the United Provinces, as examples of this poſition; and they endeavoured to prove, that the liberties of France fell, through the dark policy of Lewis the Eleventh, and not by the means of a military force. They attempted to raiſe the fears of the people, by explaining the facility with which the late King might return. They repreſented the diſaffection of a part of the nation, as too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed without the terrors of a ſtanding army. They concluded with obſerving, that as the power of the purſe was in the hands of the nation, the Crown might, without danger, be truſted with any degree of the power of the ſword.

General arguments.

ON the other ſide, it was urged with vehemence, that an iſland like Britain had little to fear from an enemy whoſe naval

[x] Dec. 11.

force

force was inferior to its own. They affirmed, that the fitting out of a fleet was a work of time. That the preparations of the kingdom might, in a great meaſure, keep pace with thoſe of the invaders. That the confederates would either call the attention of France to another quarter, or ſhe might be oppoſed with effect, on the coaſt of England, by troops called from Scotland and Ireland. They affirmed, that no wind could ariſe more favourable to the French, in quitting their principal ports, than to the Engliſh in ſailing from their own. Beſides, that, merely for the bare poſſibility of ſuch a circumſtance, no Prince could be ſuppoſed to hazard a vaſt expence, upon one improbable contingency. That the examples of Venice, Holland, and France, were inapplicable to the preſent argument. That the two republics kept their ſtanding forces only in their conquered countries. That though Lewis the Eleventh invaded the liberties of his ſubjects, without public violence, a ſtanding army was ſoon found neceſſary to ſupport the uſurpations of the crown, on the natural rights of the people. They urged, with great force of argument, that a militia was the moſt natural and leaſt dangerous protectors of the kingdom; as the gentry, freeholders, and traders of England, were more concerned in the freedom and ſafety of their country, than ſoldiers, whoſe only motive to action was their pay.

Particular reaſons againſt it.

THEY deſcended from general to particular arguments. They averred, that the moſt likely way to reſtore the late King, was to ſupport a ſtanding force to defeat his deſigns. To prove this poſition, they affirmed, that the affection of the people was the only rock on which the throne of the Prince could remain firm. That when it leans on a ſtanding force, it depends on the unſteady humours of the ſoldiery. Revolution and change, they ſhewed, from the examples of former ages, had proceeded oftener from the caprice of an army, than from the violence and inconſtancy of the multitude. They alleged, that the fate of the kingdom would

CHAP. III. 1697.

would depend on the political principles, or the avarice of the chief officers. That one might be ſwayed by an affection for the late King, another gained with French money. They deſcended to all the inconveniences, ariſing from ſtanding armies. They mentioned quarrels, aſſaſſinations, robberies, the diſhonouring of women, the inſolence to men, their injuſtice to mankind in general, the licence derived from the pride of their ſtation, their contempt for laws, by which they ceaſed to be confined. They, however, concluded, that it was, by no means, their deſign, to ruin, by the peace, thoſe who had deſerved ſo well of the nation, by their courage, fidelity, and conduct in the war. That their arguments were directed againſt the thing itſelf, and not againſt particular men; and that, therefore, the officers ought to receive, from the parliament, a recompence for the loſs of their commiſſions [y].

The oppoſing members prevail.

THE adherents of the crown propagated rumours of danger, without doors, to ſtrengthen their arguments within. They affirmed, that the French ambaſſador was ſtopped; that the King of Spain was dead; that Europe was ready to plunge again into a war. They endeavoured to gain the intereſted with promiſes, and to impreſs the minds of the feeble with fears. But theſe artifices produced no effect on the country party. Some of the latter, in the courſe of their arguments, upbraided the King himſelf with a breach of faith to the nation. They obſerved, that, in his declaration when Prince of Orange, he promiſed, upon the ſettlement of the nation, to ſend back all his foreign forces. But that, inſtead of adhering to his ſolemn engagements, he ſtill retained a great number of aliens about his perſon. That of his countrymen, the Dutch, he had a troop of horſe, of two hundred and twenty men; and one regiment of body-guards of the ſame nation, conſiſting of four battalions, amounting to more than two thouſand

[y] Journals.

ſix hundred ſoldiers. That he had alſo, in the ſame capacity, one regiment of Scots, conſiſting of one thouſand ſix hundred men; and that of French refugees, who depended on himſelf alone, he had two regiments of dragoons and three of foot, falling in all little ſhort of five thouſand men. The diſaffected exaggerated greatly the dangers to be apprehended from theſe troops. They compared them to the pretorian bands, who executed the tyrannical decrees of the worſt Emperors of Rome; and even to the Turkiſh Janizaries, who, by being cut off, in their infancy, from all connexions with the reſt of mankind, know no umpire but the ſword, and own no ties but an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the will of the reigning Prince [z].

The King diſguſted.

THE warmth expreſſed in theſe debates, excited diſguſt on both ſides. The King was highly diſpleaſed, with the conduct of the commons. A majority of the commons were almoſt diſſatisfied with the choice they had made of a King. William was at no pains to conceal his ſentiments. He complained, that by reducing his army, the commons had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of Europe; that he was doubtful, whether he could ſupport either his government at home or any of his alliances abroad, in his preſent deſpicable ſtate; that had he foreſeen ſuch returns for his ſervices, he would never have meddled with Engliſh affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation, who, through their jealouſy of the crown, expoſed their ſovereign to contempt and themſelves to danger [a]. But when the King vented his reſentment in complaints, his chief adviſer, the Earl of Sunderland, yielded to his own fears. He had ſupported, with all his eloquence, the arguments for a ſtanding army. He even was deemed the author of the meaſure. He found that the Whigs and the Tories were alike his enemies. That the firſt hated him for his meaſures in the reign of James. That the latter abhorred him for his treachery

[z] Trenchard's Remarks. [a] Burnet, vol. ii.

to

CHAP. III. 1697.

to that Prince. He, therefore, reſolved to prevent the falling of the ſtorm, by reſigning the office of lord-chamberlain [b], and retiring into the country. The anxiety of William to keep Sunderland near his perſon [c], was conſtrued, by his enemies, into a kind of criminal gratitude, for that lord's betraying the councils of his predeceſſor.

The large proviſion for the civil liſt.

THE reſolution, for reducing the army to ſeven thouſand men, being carried, the commons brought a bill [d] into their houſe, for regulating the militia, and for rendering them ſerviceable to the nation. They voted, the next day [e], that ten thouſand men were neceſſary for a ſummer and winter guard at ſea. They reſolved, that a ſum, not exceeding ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for the ſupport of the civil liſt [f]. They, at the ſame time, paſſed a bill, againſt correſponding with the late King and his adherents. They agreed to an act, for continuing the impriſonment of ſeveral perſons accuſed of being privy to the late conſpiracy againſt the life of the King. They voted three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for maintaining guards and garriſons, for the year 1698 [g]. They granted a ſupply not exceeding two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to anſwer and cancel all exchequer bills. To reconcile the army to the projected reduction, they ordered a gratuity to the common ſoldiers; and half-pay to ſuch officers as were natural-born ſubjects of England, till they ſhould be provided for in ſome other manner [h]. They provided for the deficiencies of former funds [i]. They reſolved to pay the ſums due for ſubſidies to the allies [k]. They conſidered the ſtate of the national debts; and voted that all arrears ſhould be gradually paid.

1698. Obtained by an artifice of the King.

THE King is ſaid to have owed the large ſum, for the ſupport of the civil liſt, more to his own management, than to the gene-

[b] Dec. 26. [c] Burnet, vol iii. [d] Dec. 17. [e] Dec. 18. [f] Dec. 20.
[g] Jan. 14, 1698. [h] Jan. 18. [i] Jan. 22. [k] Feb. 10.

roſity

CHAP. III. 1698.

roſity of the commons. The leading members had deſigned to give only ſix hundred thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. But William told the adherents of the Princeſs of Denmark, that he intended to form a houſhold for her ſon, the Duke of Glouceſter; and that the eſtabliſhment would require fifty thouſand pounds [l]. He inſinuated, at the ſame time, to ſuch members as ſtill retained ſome regard for the late King, that he had promiſed to pay to the exiled Queen her jointure, amounting to fifty thouſand pounds, in conſequence of an agreement with France at the treaty of Riſwick. This precaution facilitated the grant of an addition of one hundred thouſand pounds a year to the civil liſt. He, however, found means to retain, in his own hands, the money deſtined for the Queen. The Earl of Portland, being ſent ambaſſador to Paris, in the beginning of the year, inſiſted that, in the conferences between himſelf and the Mareſchal de Boufflers, the latter had promiſed ſecretly, that King James ſhould be removed from St. Germains. He averred, that this removal was the condition of the payment of the jointure. Boufflers denied the fact. But Lewis the Fourteenth was not in a diſpoſition to argue the matter with William [m]. The King obſerved the ſame ſtrain of œconomy with regard to the duke of Glouceſter. An eſtabliſhment for that Prince was not made for ſome time after the proviſion for the civil liſt was granted; and when his houſhold was at length formed, fifteen thouſand pounds a year were only given [n].

An inquiry into grants and fraudulent indorſements of exchequer bills.

An attempt made [o] by the oppoſition in the houſe of commons, to apply a part of the forfeited eſtates, to the uſe of the public, was diſappointed by the art of the court party. The latter inſiſted, on beginning with the grants of the two preceding reigns. The perſons affected by the amendment oppoſed the motion. They joined their influence with thoſe who had received grants from the reigning Prince. Petitions were preſented on every ſide. Difficulties were

[l] Ducheſs of Marlborough. Burnet.
[m] James II. 1697.
[n] Ducheſs of Marlborough.
[o] Jan. 11.

CHAP. III. 1698.

raiſed; and the whole matter was dropt, as the intereſts of all parties were concerned in defeating the meaſure. During this attempt toward a kind of reſumption of grants, another inquiry of ſome importance employed a part of the attention of the commons. The exchequer bills upon their being firſt iſſued, bore no intereſt. But on their being paid in upon any of the taxes, and iſſued a ſecond time, they were entitled to ſeven and a half *per cent.* intereſt. This circumſtance induced ſome of the King's officers, in the exchequer, cuſtoms, and exciſe, to place falſe indorſements on the bills, before they had been circulated at all. One Duncomb, who was receiver-general of the exciſe, had amaſſed a fortune, by this fraudulent practice, ſufficient to protect himſelf and the partners of his guilt from juſtice. He was expelled the houſe [p]. A bill fining him, in half his eſtate, valued at the enormous ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds, paſſed the commons. The lords were equally divided. But the duke of Leeds, being in the chair of the committee, rejected the bill, by his caſting voice. The wealth of Duncomb and the character of Leeds, gave riſe to reflections leſs improbable, than difficult to be aſcertained.

A new Eaſt-India company eſtabliſhed.

DEBATES on the expediency of enlarging the ſtock of the Eaſt India company, employed the latter part of this long ſeſſion of parliament. The company, by bribing the King and corrupting his ſervants, had obtained, in September 1694, a new charter, excluſive of the interlopers on their trade. Theſe interlopers, conſiſting of ſome capital merchants, had been, for ſeveral ſeſſions, ſupported, in their pretenſions, by various votes of the commons. The old company, by the ſuggeſtion, of ſome perſons in power, offered ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, at four *per cent.* for the ſervice of government, upon condition of having their own excluſive charter confirmed by an act of parliament. The other merchants, protected by Mountague, chancellor of the exchequer,

[p] Journals.

propoſed

CHAP. III. 1698.

propoſed to the houſe of commons, to advance two millions at eight *per cent.* in conſideration of an excluſive trade, to be veſted in the ſubſcribers. A bill was ordered to be brought in, upon this offer, for ſettling the commerce to the Eaſt Indies. The old company petitioned, in vain, againſt the bill, in the lower houſe [q]. They followed it to no purpoſe to the lords. The royal aſſent was given, on the fifth of July; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the nation to employ their money, in the ſtock of the new company, that the ſubſcription of two millions was filled in the ſpace of three days.

Parliament diſſolved.

The two houſes having finiſhed the public buſineſs, were prorogued, on the fifth of July; and two days after, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the parliament, in terms of the triennial act. The King's ſpeech had been leſs ſuitable to his temper, than to ſound policy. He congratuled his parliament on the aſſociation, on their remedying the corruption of the coin, on their reſtoring public credit. He thanked them for their ſupplies for the war, their proviſion for maintaining the peace, and ſatisfying, with the leaſt burden poſſible to his people, the debt of the nation. He told the commons, that he deemed himſelf perſonally obliged to their houſe, for their regard to his honour in eſtabliſhing a permanent revenue for the civil liſt. He aſſured both houſes, that he valued nothing ſo much as the eſteem and love of his people; and that, as for their ſake, he had avoided no hazard in war, he ſhould make it his whole ſtudy and care to improve and continue the advantages and bleſſings of peace [r].

Embaſſy of Portland to France.

THOUGH William pretended to part, on the beſt terms, with his parliament, the rigid behaviour of the commons, with regard to the army, made a laſting impreſſion on his mind, and even affected his conduct. Deeming himſelf left at the mercy of his ene-

[q] Journals. [r] Ibid. July 5.

CHAP. III. 1697.

mies, by the reduction of his forces, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf againſt France, by gaining her confidence, and flattering her favourite views. The Earl of Portland, who had declined in favour, though he ſtill retained the eſteem of the King, was ſent with a ſplendid equipage, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Verſailles. He made his public entry into Paris, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, with a pomp more ſuitable to the vanity of Lewis, than the gravity of his own maſter. The court of France anſwered the advances made by the King of England, with equal ardour, from views of their own. The pretenſions of the houſe of Bourbon, on the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, had employed the mind of the French King, ever ſince the ſigning of the treaty of Riſwick. The diſtreſſes brought upon his kingdom by his exertions, in the war, joined to a decline in his own ambition, rendered him extremely anxious, for the continuance of the peace; and he was willing to relinquiſh, in a great meaſure, the claims of his family, to obtain that deſirable end.

Intrigues for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. March.

THE relapſe of Charles the Second into one of thoſe fits of illneſs, which were ſo common to his feeble conſtitution, gave freſh ſpirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. The only pretenders to the ſucceſſion, prior to the treaty of Riſwick, were the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria. The firſt, as the male repreſentative of the family of Auſtria. The latter, as the huſband of an Arch-ducheſs, the only ſurviving child of the Emperor, by the ſecond daughter of Philip the Fourth of Spain. The powers of Europe, from a jealouſy and fear of the houſe of Bourbon, had conteſted the right of the Dauphin of France, though the ſon of the eldeſt daughter Maria Thereſa. Philip himſelf, to her excluſion, had declared the deſcendants of her younger ſiſter Margaret, born of a ſecond bed, the heirs of his crown. The ſon of the Elector of Bavaria, in default of male iſſue by

by Charles the Second, would therefore have poſſeſſed the whole ſucceſſion, if either the teſtament of Philip the Fourth, or the renunciation of his eldeſt daughter, at her marriage with the French King, had been deemed valid and deciſive [s].

Negociations of France in Spain.

THE Elector of Bavaria, either diffident of his right or of his own power to ſupport his claims, had applied for the protection of Lewis the Fourteenth; and had deſired to know from that Prince, what part of the Spaniſh dominions he would chuſe to reſerve for himſelf. Lewis returned an evaſive anſwer; and in December 1697, ſent the Marquis d'Harcourt, in the character of ambaſſador, to learn the ſtate of parties in Spain, to inquire into the views of the court, the diſpoſition of the grandees; and, above all, to diſcover and traverſe the ſecret meaſures of the Imperial miniſters. Though he found that the party which favoured the lineal ſucceſſion, in the family of Bourbon, were the moſt numerous, they had the leaſt credit. The Queen and her creatures favoured the Emperor, and held the reins of government. When they deſpaired of the life of the King, they injured, with their eagerneſs, the cauſe which they wiſhed to promote. The Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who governed in Catalonia, ſupplanted the Spaniſh officers with Germans; and took every meaſure that ſeemed calculated to ſecure that province, for the houſe of Auſtria, while he ultimately diſobliged the Spaniards, without accompliſhing his own views [t].

A treaty of partition propoſed to William.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, ſoon after the arrival of the Earl of Portland at the court of France. Lewis the Fourteenth, wiſhing to preſerve the peace, was ſtill inclined to a partition of the dominions of Spain. Finding it needleſs to treat with the Emperor, he diſcovered an inclination to enter into treaty with the King of England. But the unexpected demands of Portland

[s] De Torcy, vol. i. [t] Ibid.

obſtructed,

CHAP. II. 1698.

obſtructed, for ſome time, the deſigns of Lewis. The Earl plainly told that Prince, that he did not expect to find King James at St. Germains. He complained of that circumſtance as a breach of a promiſe made by the Mareſchal de Boufflers, in their conferences in Flanders. The Mareſchal denied the whole affair. Portland continued obſtinate. But when William diſapproved of his conduct, he changed his tone. He proteſted, that agreeable to the intentions of his maſter, he would be glad to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding and even a perfect harmony, between that Prince and the French King. The latter was encouraged, upon theſe aſſurances, to propoſe to William a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, nearly on the ſame plan as that concluded with the Emperor Leopold, about thirty years before [u]. Portland ſent a courier to England, with the propoſals of the court of France. William was guarded and undeciſive, in his anſwer. But his language diſcovered that he was far from being averſe from the meaſure [w].

Negociations for that purpoſe in England.

LEWIS perceiving, that Portland was not ſufficiently inſtructed to conclude the treaty, on which he had fixed his mind, ſent the Comte de Tallard, with full powers to England. That miniſter arrived in London, on the nineteenth of March. William diſapproved of the mode of partition propoſed by France. But the defenceleſs ſtate, in which he had been left by his parliament, induced him to liſten to any terms, calculated to continue the repoſe of Europe. Beſides, his health was declining, and a feeble conſtitution had ſubjected him to a premature old age [x]. He was become inactive in his perſon; and his ambition and love of glory had declined in proportion as his unfitneſs for the field aroſe. The negociation begun in France, between Lewis and the Earl of Portland, was continued in England, between William and Tallard. Portland, in the mean time, was recalled; and ſucceeded in his embaſſy by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Jerſey.

[u] De Torcy, vol. i. [w] Ibid. [x] His Anſwer to the French Ambaſſador.

A friendly

A friendly correſpondence ſubſiſted, between the two courts, during the ſummer. But though the negociation advanced, it was not deſtined to be concluded, till William, by the diſſolution of his parliament, found leiſure to repair to Holland [y].

Earl of Marlborough reſtored to office.

AT the ſettlement of the revenue for the civil liſt, the King had engaged to the adherents of the Princeſs of Denmark, to form an eſtabliſhment for her ſon, the Duke of Glouceſter, who was now arrived at an age to be placed in the hands of men. The Earl of Marlborough had retained his influence with the Princeſs, during his diſgrace with the King; and William, who reſpected his parts, though he diſliked his principles, made uſe of the preſent occaſion to recal him to his preſence. The Earl had leſſened his profeſſions to the late King, in proportion as the views of reſtoration, entertained by that unfortunate Prince, declined. He, therefore, was under no difficulty in accepting William's returning favour. He was appointed governor of the Duke of Glouceſter, on the nineteenth of June; and on the ſixteenth of July, he was declared one of the lords-juſtices for the adminiſtration of government, during his Majeſty's intended abſence abroad [z]. The firſt officers of ſtate were named in the commiſſion. But the chief management of affairs reſted in the hands of the Lord Somers, then chancellor, admiral Ruſſel, who had been created Earl of Orford, and Mountague, a man of vivacity and ſcheming abilities, who had for ſome time ſerved with reputation as chancellor of the exchequer.

The King goes abroad.

WILLIAM ſailed from Margate, on the twentieth of July; and on the twenty-ſecond he arrived at the Hague. His leaving the kingdom was conſtrued by his enemies into an unjuſt preference given to Holland, over a country which had raiſed him to a throne. The nation was uneaſy under an unuſual burden

[y] De Torcy, vol. i.

[z] Gazette.

CHAP. III.

1698.

of public debt; and malcontents and deſigning men inflamed the paſſions of the people, to forward their own views. The preſs teemed with bold publications. Complaints were mixed with the converſations of the idle, the diſcontented, and the ſpeculative. The tumult and noiſe of a general election, furniſhed an ample field for declaimers, of every kind. The corruptions which had crept into parliaments, were a great topic of diſquiſition. Complaints were made, that one hundred and ſixteen members of the lower houſe were in office. That many more were devoted to the Crown, by means of ſecret penſions or expectations of reward. To this circumſtance the generality of mankind aſcribed their misfortunes; and they laid to the charge of the King, an evil which ſprung from the weight thrown by the increaſe of the public revenue in the ſcale of the crown [a].

Proceedings of

ON the day of the King's departure from London, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh. The Earl of Marchmont, then lord chancellor of that kingdom, was nominated commiſſioner; and the ſeſſion was opened with reading the King's letter in the uſual form. His Majeſty thanked them for their chearful aid in the war. He congratulated them upon the bleſſings to be expected from an honourable peace. He laid on the urgency of his preſent affairs, the blame of his not appearing in his kingdom of Scotland in perſon: an excuſe uniformly made every ſeſſion ſince he came to the throne. He informed them, that he judged it neceſſary for their preſervation, that the forces upon their preſent eſtabliſhment ſhould be continued. He recommended the raiſing ſupplies for making good the deficiencies in former grants, for paying the arrears of the army, and for repairing the forts. He concluded with aſſuring them of his care to maintain their laws, religion, and liberties; and of his royal favour and firm protection in all their concerns [b].

[a] State-Tracts.

[b] Letter to the Scot. Parl.

CHAP. III.

1698.

UPON the report of the committee for the ſecurity of the kingdom, the parliament voted, that there was a neceſſity for continuing the preſent ſtanding force. Notwithſtanding this complaiſance to the views of the King, the Scotiſh nation in general entertained a well-founded reſentment againſt the Crown. Their commercial company was not only diſcouraged by the miniſtry, but even injuriouſly treated by William himſelf. He had made his court to the parliament of England, by diſavowing, in ſome meaſure, the acts of the parliament in Scotland. He had even carried his oppoſition to the new commercial company, eſtabliſhed by the Scots, beyond the limits of his own dominions. In England, the two houſes of parliament had terrified the merchants from ſubſcribing to the funds formed by the Scotiſh company. The jealouſy of the Dutch prevented money from being found in their country. The King's reſident at Hamburgh had diſcouraged with menaces the merchants of that city, from performing their contract for furniſhing the deputies of the company with at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Their remonſtrances to the King, though favourably anſwered, produced no beneficial effect. His reſidents abroad were not hindered from obſtructing the ſubſcriptions ſolicited by the company. They even diſowned the authority of the acts of parliament, and the letters patent upon which the Scotiſh company was founded [b].

the parliament of Scotland.

THESE diſappointments ariſing from acts which were deemed unjuſt, rouſed the reſentment of the nation to an uncommon degree. But the majority of their repreſentatives were gained to the intereſt of the King, either by the poſſeſſion or expectation of the wretched pittance of offices in the gift of the Crown. The parliament, it is true, addreſſed the King upon the ſubject; but in terms, that, by ſoftening the complaint, ſeemed little calculated either to command or expect redreſs. The company were

On the affair of Darien.

[b] Petition of the gen. council to parl. 1698.

CHAP. III. 1698.

alſo induced by the miniſtry, to tranſmit a ſoothing petition of their own to William. In oppoſition to the public memorials preſented againſt their deputies in Hamburgh, they requeſted an intimation to be made to the ſenate of that city, that they might enter into commerce with the Scotiſh company. Inſtead of demanding that aſſiſtance from government, which had been ſolemnly promiſed by the King, they deſired, only, as a mark of the royal favour, the uſe of two of the ſmalleſt frigates that lay uſeleſs in the harbour of Burnt-iſland. Theſe unmanly repreſentations ſcarce deſerved any return; and they received none that was favourable. The parliament was, in the mean time, adjourned [c]. They ſeemed only to have raiſed the preſent expectations of their conſtituents, to aggravate their future diſappointments.

Affairs of Ireland.

SIR Charles Porter, lord chancellor of Ireland, dying at Dublin of an apoplexy, on the eighth of December, 1696, left the kingdom in a ſtate of tranquillity, under his two colleagues in the government, the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda. Iriſh affairs exhibited nothing remarkable in 1697; nor in the ſucceeding year till the parliament met, in the end of September. The lords-juſtices, in their ſpeech to that aſſembly, recommended to their care the ſettlement of the linen manufacture, as more advantageous than the woollen; the latter being the ſtaple-trade of England. They told them; that the King, ſince the peace, had ſent into that kingdom a part of the forces who had ſerved abroad during all the war. That he had diſbanded the greateſt part of the forces who had ſerved in Ireland, with a reſolution, however, to continue their ſubſiſtence to the officers. They concluded with informing them, that the King expected to be enabled to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment; and that, for that purpoſe an account of what the revenue produced for one year, from Midſummer 1697, ſhould be laid before the houſe of commons [d].

[c] Sept. 1698.

[d] Journals, Sept. 27, 1698.

ILL-

CHAP. II. 1693.

ILL-HUMOURS, which ſeemed to lurk in the lower houſe, were ſuppreſſed by a conſiderable majority in favour of the Crown. A ſupply was granted, for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment [e]. An attempt to addreſs the King, to diſband the five regiments of French Proteſtants, then in Ireland, was over-ruled. A tax was voted, on old and new drapery, that ſhould be exported. An impoſt of thirty thouſand pounds was laid upon lands, in addition to ninety thouſand already impoſed. Notwithſtanding this liberality to the Crown, the lords-juſtices adjourned the two houſes, without the uſual ceremony of a ſpeech of thanks. An act was paſſed in this ſeſſion, for confirming the eſtates and poſſeſſions held and enjoyed under the acts of ſettlement and explanation. A bill for the better ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and government was introduced; and after a debate rejected: and though the Crown had warmly recommended to the parliament, to encourage the linen, in preference to the woollen manufacture, as interfering with England, the commons annexed to their vote of ſupply, a reſolution to regulate the woollen trade of Ireland [f].

William in Holland.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Scotland and Ireland, the King was employed in Holland in conferences with the Comte de Tallard, on the ſubject of the partition treaty propoſed by the French King. William having, in ſome meaſure, reſolved, before his departure from England, to accede to the overtures made by France, communicated, in part, his deſign to the Lord Somers; the great ſeal of England being neceſſary to render valid the treaty which he propoſed to conclude. No other perſon born in England ſeems to have been truſted with a tranſaction, whoſe efficacy depended upon its being kept a profound ſecret. On the ſixth of Auguſt, the King arrived at Loo. He was followed to that place by Tallard; and on the fifteenth of the month, the

[e] Oct. 14. [f] Oct. 10.

CHAP. III. 1698.

King wrote to the lord chancellor for full powers, under the great ſeal, with blanks for names, to treat with the French ambaſſador. The deſire expreſſed by the King, when he wrote to Somers, to receive his advice on the ſubject of the negociation, ſeems to have been an unmeaning compliment; as the treaty itſelf was concluded [g] four days after the letter was ſent from Loo. To preſs the neceſſity of the treaty, and to urge the chancellor to haſten the ſeal, the King aſſured him, that according to all intelligence, the King of Spain could not outlive the month of October [h].

First partition treaty ſigned.

THOUGH the articles were ſettled on the nineteenth of Auguſt, the treaty itſelf was not concluded in form, till the firſt of October. It was ſigned by the Comte de Tallard, as ambaſſador of France to the King of England; by De Briord, as in the ſame capacity to the Republic of Holland, and by the miniſters of William and thoſe of the States. Upon the eventual demiſe of the King of Spain, his dominions were to be partitioned among the competitors for his crown, in the following manner. The Dauphin was to poſſeſs in Italy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuſcan ſhore, and the Marquiſate of Final; on the ſide of Spain, the province of Guipuſcoa, or, in more preciſe terms, all the Spaniſh territories on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, or the mountains of Navarra, Alava, and Biſcay. Spain, the Indies, and the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, were allotted for the electoral Prince of Bavaria; and in caſe of his death, to his father the Elector, who had no pretenſions whatſoever on the ſucceſſion of Spain. The dukedom of Milan formed the ſhare deſigned for the Arch-Duke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon [i].

[g] Auguſt 19.
[h] William to Somers, Auguſt 15, 1698.
[i] De Torcy, vol. i. p. 45.

THE

CHAP. III.

1698.

THE contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty a profound ſecret, during the life of the King of Spain. This condition, though neceſſary, was very difficult to be executed. The avowed deſign of the alliance, was the preſervation of the repoſe of Europe. There was, therefore, a neceſſity for the allies to ſatisfy the Emperor, at the ſame time that they limited his views. It was impoſſible to render him well pleaſed with a treaty which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. It was neceſſary to terrify him into a compliance. William, from a perſuaſion of his own influence with Leopold, undertook to communicate the treaty to that Prince, and to gain, by prudential conſiderations, his conſent. But when theſe views were in agitation, intelligence of the treaty of partition was conveyed, by ſome means or other, from Holland to Madrid. The King of Spain, reſenting a diviſion made of his dominions by foreigners, called a council of his whole miniſtry. The reſult was a will, inſtituting the electoral Prince of Bavaria his univerſal heir, according to the teſtament of Philip the Fourth, in favour of the deſcendants of his ſecond daughter, in excluſion of the houſe of Bourbon. The King himſelf unexpectedly recovered, in ſome degree, from his illneſs; and the hopes and fears of Europe were ſuſpended for the year.

Its effects on the Spaniſh court.

WILLIAM having remained in Holland till the firſt of December, arrived on the fourth of the month, at Kenſington. The parliament had been frequently prorogued, to wait the King's return. The people became diſcontented at his long abſence, as he had not now the excuſe of buſineſs and war. The new parliament met at length at Weſtminſter on the ſixth of December[k]. The commons choſe Sir Thomas Littleton for their ſpeaker, and the King having approved their choice, on the ninth of the month, made a ſpeech from the throne. He doubted not, he ſaid, but they

A new parliament.

[k] Journals, Dec. 6.

were

CHAP. III. 1698.

were met, with hearts fully diſpoſed to provide for the ſafety and to preſerve the honour and happineſs of the kingdom. Two things, he told them, ſeemed to demand their conſideration, to acquire that deſirable end: What ſtrength ought to be maintained by ſea? What force to be kept up by land? He obſerved, that the flouriſhing of trade, the ſupporting of credit, the quieting the minds of the people at home, and the weight and influence of England abroad, depended upon the opinion the nation and foreigners ſhould form of the ſecurity of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons, to make ſome farther progreſs in diſcharging the debts contracted in a long and expenſive war; and he concluded, with obſerving, that as the things he had mentioned were of common concern, he could not but hope for unanimity and diſpatch [l].

Reſentment againſt the King's ſpeech.

WILLIAM, however, was ſoon convinced, that his hopes of unanimity, in favour of his own views, were ill-founded. The bad grace, with which he had yielded to the reduction of the army, in the preceding year, his evaſive execution of the act paſſed for that purpoſe, his long abſence from the kingdom, without any important reaſon, a jealouſy ariſing to his people, from his apparent neglect of ſea affairs, which he owned he never underſtood [m], his known predilection for land forces, his freſh demand for an increaſe in their number, in England, the care he took to continue the military eſtabliſhments in his other kingdoms, were all calculated to raiſe the reſentment, and to awaken the fears of parliament. The commons, in particular, were ſo much incenſed at his ſpeech, that, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of their houſe, they voted no addreſs. Even the lords agreed not to their addreſs till the twenty-ſecond of December; and when preſented [n], it was found to be conceived in very general and undeciſive terms. His own ſervants ſeemed to have deſerted William, upon the pre-

[l] Dec. 9. [m] Burnet, vol. ii. [n] Jan. 3, 1699.

ſent

ſent occaſion. The current of the nation againſt a ſtanding army ran extremely high; and the miniſtry were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the rage of the people, by gratifying the King.

CHAP. III. 1698.

The army reduced to ſeven thouſand men.

WHEN the affair of the army came under debate in the houſe of commons, the ſervants of the crown produced no eſtimates, and they made no propoſals. The whole buſineſs devolved on the country-party. They propoſed ſeven thouſand men, as a ſufficient eſtabliſhment for guards and garriſons; and they carried their motion with little difficulty. On the ſeventeenth of December, it was reſolved, that all the land forces in England, in Engliſh pay, and theſe natural-born ſubjects, ſhould be forthwith paid and diſbanded. That all the forces in Ireland, excepting twelve thouſand men, and theſe alſo natural born ſubjects, maintained by that kingdom, ſhould be likewiſe diſbanded. A bill was immediately brought in upon this reſolution, and proſecuted with ardour. It was provided, by the firſt enacting clauſe, that the army in England and Wales ſhould be reduced, on or before the twenty-ſixth of March then next enſuing, except ſuch regiments, troops, and companies, not exceeding ſeven thouſand men, as, before the firſt day of the ſame month, ſhould be particularly expreſſed, in a proclamation under the great ſeal. The lords exhibited the ſame ſpirit and zeal, with the commons. An oppoſition to the bill was made by ſome of the adherents of the crown. But the attempt was ſo feeble and ill-ſupported, that it threw diſgrace on the cauſe that was meant to have been ſerved [o].

William diſpleaſed, threatens to abandon the kingdom.

THE oppoſition made by the friends of William, tended only to furniſh his enemies with an opportunity of being ſevere on his character and conduct. They inſinuated, that he neither loved the nation in general, nor placed any confidence in Engliſhmen.

[o] Burnet, vol. ii.

That

CHAP. III.

1698. That he had left the kingdom in the preceding ſummer, without any apparent excuſe for his abſence. That he was employed neither in the concerns of the people, as King, nor in the affairs of the States, as Stadtholder. That he went merely to enjoy a lazy privacy at Loo, with a few favourites and creatures, in a manner unworthy of his character, and unſuitable to his dignity[p]. Theſe open complaints and inſinuations of the ſame kind, rendered fretful the mind of William, naturally peeviſh, melancholy, and ſevere. His deportment, when he was humoured the moſt, was ſtiff, ungracious, and cold. But now, his reſentment had ſo far overcome his prudence, that he alternately yielded to fits of paſſion, or ſunk under a load of deſpondence. He is even ſaid to have formed a reſolution of abandoning the kingdom; and that he had prepared a ſpeech, in which he was to requeſt of the two houſes, to name ſuch perſons as they ſhould think fit, to manage a government, that he himſelf was reſolved no longer to hold.

1699. He yields to the commons. This ſpeech, intended to be pronounced on the fourth of January, was never publickly made. The private inſinuations of the King, were little regarded, as they were not deemed ſincere. He had, twice ſince his expedition into England, derived advantage from the ſame threat. But the expedient was now too ſtale, either to alarm the fears of the people, or to gain the favour of parliament. Prudence, at length, overcame ſome part of the reſentment of William. He reſolved to comply with a meaſure, to which the two houſes ſeemed determined to adhere. On the firſt of February, he came to paſs the bill for diſbanding the army, and made a ſpeech from the throne. He informed his parliament, that he came to paſs the bill, as ſoon as he underſtood it was ready to receive his aſſent. That though there appeared great hazard in diſbanding ſuch a number of troops, in the preſent ſtate of affairs; and that though he might think himſelf unkindly treated, in being deprived of thoſe guards who had come along with him from

[p] Burnet, vol. iii.

Holland

Holland to the aid of England, and who had attended him in all the actions in which he had been engaged, yet, being convinced of the fatal conſequences of any jealouſies that might ariſe between himſelf and his people, he was reſolved, for that reaſon only, to give his concurrence to the bill. He, however, informed them, that he thought himſelf obliged, for his own juſtification, and in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in his hands, to declare plainly his judgment, that the nation was left too much expoſed. He deemed it, therefore, incumbent upon them, as the repreſentatives of the people, to provide ſuch a force as ſhould be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe[q].

Solicits them for his Dutch guards in vain.

THE commons, in ſome meaſure, complied with William's deſire, with regard to the ſecurity of the nation. Though they were inflexibly reſolved to reduce the land-forces, they increaſed to fifteen thouſand men, the eſtabliſhment by ſea[r]. The neceſſary orders were, in the mean time, iſſued for diſbanding the army. But his predilection for his favourite Dutch guards, recurred again to the King's mind. On the eighteenth of March he ſent a meſſage written in his own hand, to the houſe of commons, by the Earl of Ranelagh, paymaſter-general of the forces[s]. He told them, that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards, who came with him to England. That he intended to ſend them away immediately from the kingdom, unleſs the houſe, out of conſideration to him, ſhould find means to continue them longer in his ſervice: a meaſure which his Majeſty would conſtrue into an act of great kindneſs. This condeſcending expedient produced no favourable effect on the commons. The queſtion, that a day ſhould be appointed for conſidering the meſſage, was carried, in the negative. A committee was appointed to frame an addreſs, repreſenting the reaſons why the commons could not comply. The addreſs was accordingly preſented, on

[q] Journals, Feb. 1, 1699. [r] Feb. 19. [s] March 18.

CHAP. III. 1699.

the twenty-fourth of March. The anſwer of William contained a recapitulation of his own ſervices to the nation, his confidence in their fidelity to his perſon, and his reſolution to preſerve entire the conſtitution which he had reſtored [t].

Parliament prorogued.

THE proviſion made by the commons, for the effectual reduction of the army, was the laſt buſineſs of importance in this refractory ſeſſion. The two houſes, however, continued to ſit till the fourth of May. Though William yielded to his prudence, he could neither conceal his reſentment nor ſuppreſs his complaints, for the unkind treatment which he had received from the commons. He furniſhed an example of both in his ſpeech from the throne, when he prorogued the parliament. In any light in which the ſubject is viewed, the King had little reaſon to be pleaſed. But the ſallies of paſſion, into which he is ſaid to have fallen, require better authorities than thoſe by which they are ſupported, to be implicitly believed. His diſappointments throughout furniſhed matter of triumph to his enemies. But they dwelt with moſt malevolence, on the ſuppoſed meanneſs of his meſſage to the commons, in favour of his Dutch guards. The conduct of the commons cannot, however, be diſapproved. Though no danger ought, perhaps, to be apprehended from ſuch an inſignificant number of foreigners; there was a kind of neceſſary dignity, in committing entirely to the natives, the ſecurity of a free country.

[t] March 24.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

A general tranquillity.——Second partition-treaty.——Inſolence of the Spaniſh ambaſſador.——Affairs of the North.——Scotiſh affairs.——Change in the miniſtry.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Iriſh forfeitures.——Violence of the commons.——Bill of reſumption.——King diſguſted.——Affairs of Scotland.——A petition in the name of the whole nation.——The King offended.——Miniſtry changed.——Character of Lord Somers.——William and France on good terms.——Affairs of the North.——Scotiſh affairs.——A general ferment.——Violence of the diſcontented.——Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.——Death and will of the King of Spain.——Reſentment of the Emperor.——Domeſtic affairs.——Scotiſh parliament gained.——A new parliament in England.——Steps toward a war.——Settlement of the crown.——Reflections.——Proceedings in parliament.——The King's prudence.——Various impeachments.——Proceedings.——Difference between the houſes.——Reflections.——Campaign in Italy.——Triple alliance.——Exhauſted ſtate of France and Spain.——Death of King James.——His ſon owned in France.——Preparations for war.——King declines in his health.——Conteſt between parties.——Affairs of the North.——A new parliament.——King's death.——His private character.—His public conduct.——Reflections.

CHAP. IV.

1699. State of Europe.

THE tranquillity of Europe was re-eſtabliſhed in the month of January 1699, by a treaty concluded at Carlowitz, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte. Though the bloody battle of Zenta had produced no ſtriking conſequences, both ſides, enfeebled by the waſte made by victories as well as defeats, began equally to wiſh for peace [a]. Leopold, having fixed his mind on the

[a] Hiſt. Ottomane, tom. ii.

CHAP. IV. 1699.

Spaniſh ſucceſſion, was anxious to diſengage himſelf from an enemy, who, though unſucceſsful, was far from being ſubdued; and Muſtapha the Second, ſurrounded with misfortunes at home, was reſolved to put an end, upon any terms, to a ruinous war abroad. The emptineſs of his coffers, the diſcontents of his ſubjects, the ſeditious humour of the Janiſaries, had involved the latter Prince in unſurmountable difficulties, and had rendered him utterly incapable of recovering in the ſummer of 1698, the laurels which he had loſt in the preceding campaign[b]. The eyes of both parties being turned to the ſame object, they contented themſelves with covering their reſpective frontiers with their armies. A ſimilar inactivity had ſubſiſted, during the ſummer, between the Ruſſians and the Porte, on the ſide of the Leſſer Tartary; and though the Venetians had obtained ſome advantages in the Archipelago, their operations produced no effect on the cordial deſire exhibited by all parties, for entering into conferences for reſtoring peace[c].

Peace between the Emperor and the Porte.

THE King of England and the States of the United Provinces had offered, by their ambaſſadors, their mediation to the belligerent powers. But the intrigues of Lewis the Fourteenth in Conſtantinople, had long diſappointed their views. On the ſeventh of November, the plenipotentiaries met at Carlowitz. De Feriole, who had ſucceeded Châteauneuf, in the management of the affairs of France at the Porte, made various but vain efforts, to perſuade the Turks to continue the war[d]. The treaty was ſigned, on the twenty-ſixth of January, by the plenipotentiaries of Muſtapha the Second, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Poland, and the Czar of Muſcovy; and ſoon after, by thoſe of the republic of Venice. All Hungary, on this ſide of the Saave, with Tranſylvania and Sclavonia, were ceded to the houſe of Auſtria. The Czar remained in poſſeſſion of Azoph. Caminiec was reſtored to the Poles. The Venetians were gratified with all the Morea, and

[b] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. [c] Hiſt. Ottomane, tom. ii. [d] Ibid.

ſeveral

ſeveral places in Dalmatia; and thus, a temporary tranquillity was reſtored, though the ſeeds of diſcord were already ſown in all the corners of Europe [e].

The first partition-treaty defeated.

The treaty of partition, which the King of England concluded with France, at the peril of the utmoſt reſentment of his ſubjects, was ſuddenly rendered uſeleſs, by a co-incidence of events. The King of Spain, contrary to the expectations of all Europe, recovered, in ſome degree, from his illneſs; and the electoral Prince of Bavaria, whom the treaty of partition and the will of Charles the Second, had deſtined for the throne of Spain and the Indies, died at Bruſſels, on the eighth of February [f]. The Elector, diſappointed in the views of his ambition, attributed the death of his ſon to more than his diſtemper. But, as he produced no proofs his ſuſpicions were aſcribed to grief, more than to any juſt grounds of complaint. Though proviſion had been made, by a ſecret ſtipulation, to ſubſtitute the father in the place of the ſon, upon the eventual death of the latter, that article of the treaty, as it was founded upon no pretenſions poſſeſſed by the Elector, was equally diſregarded by both the contracting powers. France ſhewed an inclination to propoſe a new convention to the King of England, on the plan of the former treaty. But though William entertained a deſign of renewing his engagements, the moment he heard of the death of the Prince [g], his embarraſſment, with regard to the diſagreeable proceedings of parliament, drove all other thoughts from his mind, during the ſitting of that aſſembly.

William liſtens to another.

THE leiſure neceſſary for the ſettlement of foreign affairs, was ſought after by William in Holland. Having made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry, and declared a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, he left Kenſington, on the firſt of June; and in the evening of the third, arrived at the Hague. On the

[e] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii. [f] N. S. [g] De Torcy, vol. i.

twenty-

CHAP. IV. 1699.

twenty-ſecond of June, he left that place and retired to Loo; where, and at Dieren, he ſpent the moſt part of the ſeaſon, in his favourite diverſion of hunting. Tallard, who had managed ſo ſucceſsfully the treaty of the preceding year, was ordered, by his court, to repair to Loo, in the beginning of July, to ſettle meaſures, as they were called, for preſerving the tranquillity of Europe. William, very early in the year, had given orders of the ſame kind to his ambaſſador at Paris. He approved, therefore, with little difficulty of the ſcheme propoſed by Tallard. That Spain and the Indies ſhould be left to the Arch-duke; that the dutchy of Milan ſhould be added to the portion intended for the Dauphin; and that the Netherlands ſhould be ſettled in ſuch a manner, as might entirely prevent either jealouſy in England or umbrage in Holland [h].

Intelligence of his views ſent to Spain.

THIS negociation though committed only to a few individuals, did not long continue a ſecret from the world. The Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague, ſent intelligence, by a courier, to Madrid. The court was alarmed. The King himſelf, in the midſt of his weakneſs, was highly offended at a meaſure which hurt his pride. He remonſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt the behaviour of William to his ambaſſador at Madrid. He ordered the Marquis de Canailles, his own miniſter at London, to repreſent in England his high diſpleaſure at the indignity offered to himſelf and his crown. The Marquis, in his memorial to the lords of the regency, followed the dictates of his own malignity, more than the intereſt of his ſovereign. He told them, his maſter had been informed, that King William, the Dutch, and other powers, were actually hatching new treaties, for the ſucceſſion of the crown of Spain; and, what was equally deteſtable, contriving the diviſion and repartition of the Spaniſh territories. That his Majeſty had given orders, to repreſent the injuſtice of their King, to the miniſters and

[h] De Torcy, vol. i.

lords

lords of England. That if ſuch things were allowed, no nation, no dominion could be ſafe, againſt the ambition of the ſtrongeſt, and the deceits of the moſt malicious. That ſhould ſtrangers be permitted to put their hands in the lines of ſucceſſion of Kings, no ſtatutes, no municipal laws would be obſerved. That no crown could be free from the attempts of aliens; and the crown of England leſs than any crown. That were men to lie watching for the indiſpoſitions of ſovereigns, no health could be conſtant, no life ſecure [1].

An inſolent memorial by the Spaniſh ambaſſador.

THE Marquis deſcended from general obſervations to particular facts. He informed the lords of the regency, that it ought not to have been preſumed, the King of Spain had not taken proper meaſures againſt all accidents that might diſturb the public peace, and break the repoſe of Europe. That unleſs a ſtop ſhould be put to theſe ſiniſter proceedings, theſe clandeſtine machinations, theſe unjuſt projects, an univerſal war muſt be the conſequence throughout Europe. That ſuch a misfortune would be highly prejudicial to the people of England, who had lately tried and felt the inconvenience of novelties, and the inſupportable burden of the conſequent war. That this latter circumſtance was ſo obvious, that the memorialiſt doubted not but it muſt be owned by the parliament, the nobility, and all the Engliſh nation. That the ſame nation muſt conſider their own intereſt, their trade and their treaties with Spain, the danger ariſing to theſe, from a diviſion and ſeparation of the Spaniſh monarchy; and that nothing can prevent theſe misfortunes but their diſappointing the project already begun at Loo, and their determining not to help forward novelties, ever ſupremely hurtful to all ſovereignties and empires. He concluded with aſſuring the regency, that the King his maſter, would render manifeſt to the parliament of England,

[1] Memorial, Auguſt 1699.

when

CHAP. IV. 1699.

when that aſſembly ſhould meet, the juſt reſentment which he now expreſſed to their lordſhips.

He is ordered to depart the kingdom.

THIS inſolent memorial was tranſmitted to the King, before any anſwer was made by the regency. William was not of a complexion either to admit of appeals from the prerogatives of the Crown to the repreſentatives of the nation, or to ſuffer any reflections againſt his own right to the throne. He ordered Mr. ſecretary Vernon to ſignify to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he muſt depart the kingdom preciſely in eighteen days. That, in the mean time, he ſhould confine himſelf to his houſe; and that no writing ſhould be any more received either from himſelf or any of his domeſtics. The king, at the ſame time, ordered his ambaſſador at the court of Madrid to complain of the affront offered to his perſon, and the reflections thrown on his government. He endeavoured to exempt the King of Spain from having any ſhare in the outrage committed by his ambaſſador. But that Prince made himſelf a party in the diſpute, by ordering the Engliſh ambaſſador to depart the kingdom within the ſame ſpace of time that had been limited by William to the Marquis de Canailles.

Affairs of the North.

THESE diſputes between William and Spain, neither haſtened nor retarded the ſecond treaty of partition, which that Prince concluded the next year with France. His attention was not confined to the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, though the declining health of Charles the Second threatened Europe with thoſe miſeries which it then feared, and ſoon after experienced from his death. The King employed his good offices in ſuppreſſing a flame, which ſeemed ready to be kindled in the North. Chriſtian the Fifth, King of Denmark, dying on the fourth of September, was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon Frederic the Fourth. Frederic inheriting the reſentment, and purſuing the deſigns of

his

CHAP. IV. 1699.

his father againſt the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, began to make great preparations, both by ſea and land, to reduce that Prince to thoſe terms which he pretended to have a right to exact. The Duke, on the other hand, had ſtrengthened his intereſt by a marriage with the Princeſs-Royal of Sweden. He himſelf was commander in chief of the troops of that kingdom; and he had obtained a force from his brother-in-law, Charles the Twelfth, to defend himſelf againſt the deſigns of Denmark. William, in his double capacity of King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces, conſidered himſelf as guarantee of the treaty of Altena; and, to ſecure the tranquillity of the North, he propoſed that the Swediſh troops ſhould retire from Holſtein. The King of Sweden and the Duke accepted the propoſal of the mediator. But the King of Denmark, having privately entered into an alliance, againſt Sweden, with the King of Poland, and Peter Alexiowitz, Czar of Muſcovy, exacted terms ſo exorbitant, that it was apparent he meant nothing leſs than to preſerve the peace[k].

Affairs of the Scotiſh company.

WHILE William extended his care to the intereſt of other nations, he neglected, in a ſcarce pardonable degree, the protection of a part of his own ſubjects. The Scotiſh company of adventurers, though labouring under various difficulties, had reſolved to ſend two ſhips to ſea. On board of theſe, and a few tenders, they embarked ſome goods for commerce, guns and military ſtores for ſervice, ſome proviſions, and twelve hundred men. A council of ſeven was appointed to direct the expedition. They were bound to the Iſthmus of Darien in America, to make an eſtabliſhment in a place of which the Spaniards held no part. This unadviſed plan was conducted with as many errors, as it afterwards incurred of misfortunes. One half of the ſcanty proviſions deſtined for the voyage, was conſumed before the adventurers weighed anchor. The two ſhips, though miſerably

[k] Hiſt. de Suede, tom. ii.

CHAP. IV. 1699.

provided, were allowed only one hundred pounds each, and each tender ten pounds, to relieve them upon any emergency. They had ſailed from the Frith of Edinburgh, on the ſeventeenth of July 1698; and, after having encountered many difficulties and ſuffered much miſery, arrived in America, about the middle of October [l].

They are diſcouraged by the King.

HAVING treated with the natives for a permiſſion to ſettle on the coaſt of Darien, the adventurers landed, on the fourth of November. The King, either ſwayed by the jealouſy of the Dutch, or to gratify the Engliſh, who had already ſignified their diſapprobation of the company, ſeemed reſolved to add to the misfortunes in which the Scots had involved themſelves. He ſent orders to the governors of the colonies, to iſſue proclamations forbidding his ſubjects in America to give any aſſiſtance to the adventurers, upon pain of his diſpleaſure, and of ſuffering the ſevereſt puniſhment. There was a degree of inhumanity, and a palpable injuſtice, in this conduct. The King himſelf had given his aſſent to an act, and ſigned a royal charter for the eſtabliſhment of the company. The Spaniards had not yet complained of any encroachments on their territories. William, by evaſive anſwers to the repreſentations of the Scots, had, in a manner, prevented them from providing againſt a hardſhip, which no ſubjects, acting under the authority of the law, had any reaſon to fear from their ſovereign. To complete the misfortune, the King liſtened to the complaints of the Spaniards [m], againſt an ill-fated body of adventurers, already periſhing in their own folly. They were now deſtitute of all things. A foreign Prince was preparing to expel them by force; and they were deſerted by their own.

Diſtreſs of the adventurers; a ferment in the nation.

THE ſurvivors among the Scotiſh adventurers being in diſtreſs, were forced to ſend a deputation to the Engliſh colonies, to obtain

[l] Defence of the Scots, &c.

[m] May 3, 1699.

from

CHAP. IV. 1699.

from the humanity of the inhabitants, the ſupply which the rigid edicts of government had denied. They ſailed to Jamaica; they directed their courſe from that iſland to New-York. They found no relief in either place; and they proſecuted their voyage to Europe. The company, and the whole Scotiſh nation, were inflamed at once, with reſentment and diſappointment. The firſt ſent an addreſs to the King. They followed the addreſs with a petition for a ſeſſion of parliament. Neither of the papers produced the deſired effect. The King, in his anſwer, by his ſecretary, the Earl of Seafield, regretted the loſs which the kingdom and the company had lately ſuſtained. He told them, that, upon all occaſions, he would protect and encourage their trade. That the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould always enjoy the ſame privilege, as formerly, to trade with the Engliſh plantations. But as for the parliament, that he had adjourned that aſſembly to the fifth of March; and that they ſhould be aſſembled, when he judged the good of the nation required their meeting. This new repulſe was conſtrued into a freſh injury. Deſpair was added to rage and reſentment; and a general ferment ſeemed to threaten a general revolt [n].

William returns. A change in the miniſtry.

THE King embarked for England, on the thirteenth of October; and having landed, on the ſeventeenth at Margate, arrived the next day at Kenſington. The obſtructions attending the ſervice of the Crown, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, had either prevailed with William to make a change among his ſervants, or induced ſome of themſelves to reſign. The Earl of Orford retired from the admiralty. The Earl of Jerſey ſucceeded the Duke of Shrewſbury as ſecretary of ſtate. The Duke of Leeds was removed from the head of the council; and the office of preſident was conferred on the Earl of Pembroke; whoſe place, as lord privy-ſeal, was filled by the Lord Lonſdale. A few days [o] after the King's return, the Duke of Shrewſbury came

[n] Enquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage at Darien.

[o] Oct. 25.

CHAP. IV. 1699.

again into office, as lord-chamberlain. Montagu, the chancellor of the exchequer, foreſeeing the difficulty of managing the affairs of the Crown, in a refractory houſe of commons, reſigned his place at the board of treaſury. Theſe changes in the higher departments, neither pleaſed the Whigs nor gratified the Tories. A ſullen humour prevailed through the kingdom; and though the two parties that divided the nation were implacable, with regard to each other, they ſeemed both to agree to oppoſe jointly the King[p].

Parliament meets.

In this ſtate of things and opinions, the parliament met, on the ſixteenth of November. The King made an elaborate ſpeech to the two houſes, full of expreſſions of affection for his parliament and care of the public good[q]. He, however, ſeemed to have ſtill retained a ſenſe of his diſſatisfaction with the proceedings of the commons in the laſt ſeſſion. The commons, on the other hand, brought back to their houſe, the ill-humour in which they had been prorogued. In the place of an addreſs of compliments and thanks, as had been uſual on ſuch occaſions, they preſented to the King, but after a long interval[r], a remonſtrance. They beſeeched William, from the neceſſity of a mutual confidence between himſelf and his parliament, to ſhew marks of his higheſt diſpleaſure, to ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings. They promiſed, in return, to diſcourage all falſe rumours and reports, reflecting on his Majeſty's perſon and government, as tending to create miſunderſtandings between the King and his ſubjects. William choſe to ſoften the rage of his commons, rather than to gratify his own reſentment. He ſeemed as if he underſtood not the ill-humour of the addreſs; and his anſwer, though guarded, was full of an appearance of kindneſs[s].

[p] Publications of the year.
[q] Nov. 16.
[r] Dec. 2.
[s] Dec. 24.

WILLIAM,

CHAP. IV.

1699.

WILLIAM, however, was too late in his ſcheme of conciliating the affections of the commons with ſoothing words. He was ill-ſerved in the houſe, by thoſe members who formed a part of his miniſtry. Montagu was not ſucceeded in the chancellorſhip of the exchequer, by a man of equal parts. Mr. ſecretary Vernon, if a member of abilities, was not ſufficiently truſted by the King, to acquire any conſiderable weight in parliament. The ill-humour, the induſtry, and the eloquence, were all on the oppoſing ſide. All the debates, and moſt of the reſolutions of the commons, were violent and hoſtile. They had appointed, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, ſeven commiſſioners, to inquire into the ſtate and grants of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. The lower houſe had repeatedly paſſed bills for applying thoſe eſtates to the public ſervice. But the bills had been defeated in the houſe of lords, by the influence of the Crown, and the intereſt of ſuch as had obtained grants from the king. The oppoſition founded ſanguine hopes of diſtreſſing the Court on a ſubject ſo popular. They called therefore for a report of the inquiry, which was accordingly laid before them, by Mr. Anneſley, one of the commiſſioners [t].

Inquiry into Iriſh forfeitures.

IN this ſingular report it appeared, that three thouſand nine hundred and twenty-one perſons had been outlawed, ſince the thirteenth of February 1689. That all the lands belonging to forfeited perſons, amounted to more than one million and ſixty thouſand acres. That the annual rent of theſe lands, amounted to two hundred and eleven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-three pounds; which, by computing ſix years purchaſe for a life, and thirteen for inheritance, amounted to the full value of two millions ſix hundred and eighty-five thouſand one hundred and thirty pounds. That ſome of the lands had been reſtored to the old proprietors, by the articles of Limerick and Galway; and

Report of the commiſſioners.

[t] Journals.

others,

CHAP. IV. 1699.

others, by a corrupt reverſal of outlawries, and by royal pardons, obtained by the favourites of the King. That ſixty-five grants and cuſtodiams had paſſed the great ſeal of Ireland. That the moſt conſiderable of theſe grants were made to perſons born in foreign countries; to Keppel, to Bentinck, to Ginckle, and to Rouvigny; who had been all dignified with peerages in one or other of the two kingdoms. That beſides, a grant had paſſed the great ſeal to Elizabeth Villiers, now Counteſs of Orkney, a woman peculiarly favoured by William, of all the private eſtates of the late King James, containing ninety-five thouſand acres, worth twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds a year: and that, upon the whole, the value of Iriſh forfeitures amounted to three millions three hundred and nineteen thouſand nine hundred and forty-three pounds [u].

1700. Violence of the commons.

THE commons having examined this report, reſolved, unanimouſly, on the fifteenth of December [w], that a bill ſhould be brought in, to apply all forfeitures in Ireland from the thirteenth of February 1689, to the uſe of the public. A clauſe was alſo ordered to be inſerted in the bill, for erecting a judicature for determining claims touching the ſaid forfeitures. But, at the ſame time, the houſe came to a reſolution, not to receive petitions from any perſon whatſoever. This uncandid mode of proceeding in the majority, offended the diſpaſſionate; while it alarmed the court, and diſguſted the King. While yet the bill remained in committee, another incident added uneaſineſs to reſentment in the breaſt of William. On the fifteenth of January, Mr. Montagu, in a fit of indiſcreet zeal, informed the commons, that a member of the houſe, in a letter to the commiſſioners, had directed them to make a ſeparate article of the Counteſs of Orkney's grant; becauſe that circumſtance would reflect on a CERTAIN PERSON. Montagu explained this certain perſon into the King. The houſe ordered him to make good his charge. He endeavoured,

[u] Journals. [w] Dec. 15, 1699.

in

in vain, to avoid an anſwer. But being threatened with the Tower, he named Methuen, lord-chancellor of Ireland, as the informer. Methuen denied the charge. Montagu became the victim of his own zeal; and the commons voted that his report was falſe and ſcandalous. They reſolved, at the ſame time, that the four commiſſioners, who had ſigned the report concerning the Iriſh forfeitures, had acquitted themſelves with underſtanding, courage, and integrity. They, at the ſame time, committed Sir Richard Leving to the Tower, as a perſon who had thrown a groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion on the four commiſſioners [x].

They tack the bill of reſumption to the ſupply.

THOUGH the court-party were, almoſt in every queſtion, the minority, they endeavoured to defeat, in part, the bill of reſumption, by propoſing a clauſe, for reſerving a proportion of the forfeitures to the diſpoſal of the King. The houſe, not content with putting a negative on this motion, reſolved that the adviſing, procuring, and paſſing the grants for the forfeited eſtates, and others in Ireland, had been the occaſion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and laying heavy taxes on the people; and that the paſſing of theſe grants highly reflected on the King's honour [y]. While the commons exhibited this ſpirit of refractorineſs, the affair of the ſupply for the current ſervice commanded a part of their care. The land forces were continued on the ſame footing, as in the preceding year. But the ſeamen were reduced to ſeven thouſand men. The ways and means were chiefly a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound, with a borrowing clauſe of near a million, with the ſurplus of the old ſubſidy, ending on the twenty-fifth of December, together with that of the funds for the civil liſt, which were to terminate at the end of the preſent year. In a narrow inſpection of every branch of the revenue, a great loſs to the public was diſcovered in the collection of the exciſe. A clauſe was inſerted in the bill of ſupply, to enable his Majeſty to farm

[x] Journals, Jan. 1700. [y] Jan. 18.

that

CHAP. IV. 1700.

that branch of the revenue; and it was at the ſame time provided, that no exciſe or cuſtom-houſe officer ſhould be capable, for the future, to ſit in the houſe of commons [x].

Their reſolutions hoſtile,

To ſecure the aſſent of the King to the reſumption of the Iriſh forfeitures, the bill was called a bill of ſupply; and tacked to that for the grants of the year. The money to be raiſed by the ſale of the lands, was appropriated to the diſcharge of the tranſport-debts, the arrears of officers, the ſums due for clothing, the intereſt upon tallies, orders, tickets, and exchequer-bills. During the debates on theſe ſubjects, the commons, in a grand committee, conſidered the ſtate of the nation [y]. In a queſtion, which tended to an animadverſion upon the King's ſervants, the court-party prevailed. But the houſe reſolved, on the fifteenth of February, to repreſent to his Majeſty in an addreſs, their reſolutions, relating to grants of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. William's anſwer expreſſed ſome part of the reſentment, which he entertained againſt the harſh proceedings of the commons. He told them that he was not only led by inclination, but even by juſtice, to ſhew favour to ſuch as had ſerved him well. That their ſervice in Ireland was, with peculiar propriety, rewarded out of the eſtates forfeited by the rebellion in that kingdom; and that the leſſening of the national debt, by juſt and effectual means, would, in his opinion, beſt contribute to the honour, ſafety, and intereſt of the kingdom [z]. The commons were ſo much offended with this reply, that they reſolved, that whoever had adviſed the anſwer to their addreſs, had uſed his utmoſt endeavour to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the King and his people [a].

and proceedings diſpleaſing to the King.

THIS ſeſſion of parliament was throughout hoſtile to the King. The grand committee for trade had examined into ſeveral piracies, committed in the Eaſt Indies, by one Captain Kidd and his

[x] Journals. [y] Feb. 14. [z] Feb. 22. [a] Feb. 26.

crew.

crew. On this examination it appeared, that William had inadvertently made himſelf a kind of party in the affair, by ſigning a warrant, for the granting of pirates-goods to the Earl of Bellamount and ſeveral others. The commons ſent an addreſs to the throne, that Kidd, who was ordered home from America, ſhould not be tried, diſcharged, or pardoned, until the next ſeſſion of parliament. This conduct in the houſe ſhewed a diſtruſt of the King, which raiſed his reſentment, as it hurt his pride. An inquiry into the ſtate of the commiſſions of the peace and lieutenancy, produced an addreſs [b], that was not grateful to the King. The houſe repreſented, that to reſtore gentlemen of quality and eſtates to theſe commiſſions, would much conduce to the good of the kingdom; and they deſired, that neither men of ſmall eſtates, nor diſſenting from the church of England, ſhould either be continued or appointed [c]. Theſe proceedings were more diſguſtful to the King, in their manner, than in themſelves repugnant to his authority or hurtful to his character.

They carry their point againſt him.

THOUGH a majority of the lords ſeemed to be in oppoſition to the meaſures of William, the peers treated him with more complaiſance than the commons. The complicated bill, comprehending the reſumption and ſupply, met with great oppoſition, in the upper houſe. Some had been gained by the ſervants of the crown. Many diſapproved of the precedent of tacking a foreign clauſe to a money-bill, as reducing the peers to a ſubſerviency to the factions and views of the commons. But the force of both parties, when joined, was not ſufficient to reject the bill. Amendments were, however, made with regard to the Iriſh forfeitures. But theſe amendments were unanimouſly diſapproved by the lower houſe. Conference ſucceeded conference. The commons were in a ferment. They ſpoke of impeaching the Earls of Portland and Albemarle. They ſhut themſelves up,

[b] April 1. [c] Journals.

CHAP. IV. 1700.

after the ſecond conference with the lords, till ten at night; and ſeemed determined on the harſheſt means to force the court-party into compliance. In this important interval, the houſe reſolved to addreſs the King, that no perſon, not a native of his dominions, except Prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted to his councils either in England or Ireland [d]. William was not of a complexion to give a favourable anſwer, nor was he in a condition to refuſe the demands of the exaſperated commons. He ſent a private meſſage to his friends among the lords, to ſuſpend their oppoſition. The bill was immediately paſſed, without amendments; and to prevent the falling of the threatened ſtorm, he came ſuddenly to the houſe, gave his aſſent to the act of reſumption, and prorogued the parliament [e], without any ſpeech from the throne.

Affairs of the Scotiſh company.

WHILE William was haraſſed in one of his kingdoms, by a violent and ſucceſsful oppoſition in parliament, he was perplexed in another, by vehement inſtances for redreſs. On the fourth of December 1699, the council-general of the Scotiſh company, informed the ſecretary of their nation in England, that they had prevailed upon the Lord Baſil Hamilton, to make a journey to London, to addreſs the King, in behalf of more than thirty perſons, wrongfully detained priſoners at Carthagena, by the Spaniards. William, ſeldom capable of concealing his reſentment, exhibited it upon the preſent occaſion, in a manner unſuitable to his dignity. He ordered the chancellor of Scotland to acquaint the council-general, that he had refuſed acceſs to Lord Baſil Hamilton, as he had not waited upon him when he was formerly in London; and that he had never ſince given any public evidence of his loyalty [f]. He, however, promiſed to demand, in the terms of treaties, the releaſe of the priſoners at Carthagena. That it was his firm intention to advance the trade of Scotland; and that the ſubjects of that kingdom ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty of com-

[d] April 10. [e] April 11. [f] Chancellor's Letter to the Directors.

merce, that others enjoyed in the Engliſh plantations. The company, however, were reſolved not to relinquiſh their purpoſe. They wrote to the chancellor. They ſent a letter to Lord Baſil Hamilton. They requeſted the firſt to uſe his beſt endeavours for obtaining admittance for the noble perſon whom they had employed. They approved of the conduct of Hamilton; and aſcribed their diſappointment to a diſlike to their own cauſe, more than to any objection entertained by the King againſt his perſon [g].

Oppoſed by the King.

EMBARRASSED with complaints and teazed by entreaties, William endeavoured to get rid of the Scots, with the ſanction of the Engliſh parliament. The commons being ſo refractory, the firſt application was made to the lords. Neither the influence of the crown, nor the prejudices of the houſe, againſt the new company, were capable of carrying the point againſt the Scots, without violent debates and long delays. An addreſs was, at length, ſent down to the commons, for their concurrence. But the commons were not in the humour of being complaiſant to the King. The enemies of William were pleaſed to ſee his affairs embroiled. Some apprehended, that there was a deſign to involve the two kingdoms in a quarrel; that the King might derive, from the neceſſity of the nation, that increaſe of the land forces, which had been ſo often denied to his earneſt ſolicitations to parliament. The leaders of oppoſition were, by no means, inclined to remove the general diſcontent which had ſoured the temper of the Scots, againſt the King. The diſaffected members, in the mean time, propagated a report, that the oppoſition of the King to the Scotiſh company, proceeded neither from a regard to foreign treaties nor domeſtic advantage, but from an affection for the Dutch, whoſe trade along the Spaniſh main was in danger of being ruined, by the eſtabliſhment of a new colony at Darien [h]. The commons, upon the whole, refuſed their concurrence to the addreſs; and, ſoon

[g] Letter to the Chancellor.

[h] Burnet, vol. iii.

after,

CHAP. IV. 1700.

after, they rejected a bill sent down from the lords, for appointing commissioners to treat with the Scots, concerning an union of the two kingdoms [i].

A petition in the name of the whole Scotish nation.

THE ferment continuing to rage in Scotland, the Marquis of Tweedale presented a petition to William, in the name of the whole nation [k]. They recounted the hardships of the company, both at home and abroad, their own feelings upon a subject so melancholy, and the promises of the King to favour, protect, and support the general trade of the kingdom. They requested him to order the parliament to sit; as nothing could more conduce to the support of the credit and interest of a company, in whose misfortunes and prosperity the whole nation were concerned, than the meeting of the representatives of the people. They reminded him of his promise of permitting that assembly to sit, whenever the good of the nation required that measure; and they assured him, that the good of the nation could, at no time, require their meeting more than on the present occasion. This irregular petition produced nothing but an additional disappointment. The King made answer, that the parliament should not meet till the fourteenth of May. But that then it should meet for the dispatch of business. The discontents of the Scots were inflamed into a species of madness, upon this fresh instance of the King's disregard to their complaints. A general revolt might have been apprehended, had the power of the kingdom borne any proportion to the resentment of the people.

The King disgusted.

THOUGH the King had extricated himself from present trouble, by the sudden prorogation of the English parliament, he was still far from having freed himself from the storm, which had shaken, in some degree, his throne. His own conduct, during the session, was more apt to inflame than to sooth the minds of

[i] Journals. [k] March 25, 1700.

those

CHAP. IV. 1700.

thoſe by whom he was moſt oppoſed. He made no ſecret of his diſpleaſure at the proceedings of the commons. He was at no pains to conceal his reſolution to defeat the bill of reſumption, by refuſing his aſſent ſhould it paſs the houſe of lords. He became ſullen, melancholy, and diſcontented. His reſentment broke forth frequently in a manner inconſiſtent with his prudence. He either apprehended not the dangers, in which the votes of the commons might terminate; or he was not much concerned where they might end[l]. He even ſeemed indifferent about poſſeſſing the name of King, after the authority, which he deemed to be inherent in that capacity, had vaniſhed from his hands; and had not the ſafety of thoſe whom he favoured moſt depended on his compliance, he would not probably have ſuppreſſed the rage againſt the commons, which his enemies hoped he was to have carried to extremity. They perceived, that ſhould he quarrel with the commons, he would loſe what ſtill remained of the affections of his people. His going conſtantly beyond ſea, after every ſeſſion of parliament, furniſhed his opponents with an opportunity of impreſſing the minds of the nation with an opinion, that he even hated the company and ſociety of his Engliſh ſubjects[m].

A change in the miniſtry.

THE receſs of parliament, as it freed William from daily mortifications, encouraged him to endeavour to prevent the return of the diſagreeable meaſures which had ſo much diſturbed his repoſe. He found that, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, the commons had expreſſed great animoſity againſt his miniſters, particularly againſt the lord chancellor, Somers, who was the moſt able of his ſervants, and conſidered as the head of the Whigs. Somers had gained a conſiderable degree of the King's confidence, by his ability in buſineſs, and the modeſty of his manner in tendering his advice. William, however, reſolved to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, from the hopes which he had entertained, that a man diſliked by the commons, would carry into his retreat all the un-

[l] Burnet, vol. iii.

[m] Ibid.

popularity

CHAP. IV. 1700.

popularity that had of late attended the meaſures of the crown. When Somers, who laboured under an illneſs during the winter, had recovered health ſufficient to appear at court, he was told by the King, that it was neceſſary for the public ſervice, he ſhould reſign the ſeals. Somers excuſed himſelf from making the delivery of the ſeals his own act; as that circumſtance might be conſtrued by his enemies, into either guilt or fear. The Earl of Jerſey was ſent with a warrant, to demand the ſeals, in form; and they were accordingly returned to the King.

Character of the Lord Somers.

SOMERS, though only the ſon of a country-attorney, had raiſed himſelf, to the firſt office in the law, by dexterouſly accommodating his talents to the events of the times in which he lived. He was a man of a reſpectable character in private life, and of abilities in his profeſſion; but his parts were more ſolid than brilliant, or even clear. He was rather a good chancellor than a great ſtateſman. His integrity and diligence in office, were, with reaſon, commended. He was too diffident, and too compliant with the King, to make any ſplendid figure, beyond his own line of the law. His complaiſance to the King's humour, his flattering him in his very errors, his feeble manner of recommending what ſeemed right to his own judgment, bore more the appearance of a convenient, than of an able ſervant. Upon the whole, he ſeemed more calculated to ſmooth the current of buſineſs, by amending and ſoftening meaſures already adopted, than to propoſe and execute thoſe ſpirited and manly expedients, which times of faction ſeem to demand at the hands of a great miniſter. The difficulty which William encountered in ſupplying properly the place [o] of Somers, argued that his diſmiſſion of that lord was a precipitate meaſure; while, at the ſame time, he was juſtly cenſured, for throwing a kind of diſgrace on a ſervant, who had ſerved him with fidelity in perilous times. But the King had concluded, from the late oppoſition to all his meaſures, that the Tories only were capable of carrying forward, with facility, the public buſineſs.

[n] Swift's MS. notes on Mackay.

[o] May 20.

DURING

CHAP. IV.

1700.

DURING the violent heats in parliament, William turned a part of his attention to the affairs of Europe. The negociations for the ſecond partition of the dominions of Spain proceeded. But a deſire of perſuading the Emperor to enter into the ſame engagements, long prevented the King and the States of Holland from ſigning the treaty, though the articles had been ſettled. In the month of October, the Emperor, after various evaſions, formally rejected every treaty of partition whatſoever; yet neither the King of England nor the States ſhewed any eagerneſs to cloſe with France, upon the diſpoſition already agreed, with regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. In the beginning of January, in the preſent year, the King of Spain declined ſo manifeſtly, that his death was daily expected. This circumſtance haſtened the concluſion of the treaty, which was ſigned at London, by the Earls of Portland and Jerſey, and the Comte de Tallard, on the twenty-firſt of February; and at the Hague, on the fourteenth of March, by Briord, the French ambaſſador, and by the plenipotentiaries of the States [p].

Second treaty of partition

THE ſecond partition of the Spaniſh dominions differed materially from the diſpoſition made by the former treaty. The Archduke Charles was placed in the room of the electoral Prince of Bavaria, as heir of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies. Naples, Sicily, the Marquiſate of Final, the iſlands on the Italian ſhore, and the province of Guipuſcoa, were to fall to the ſhare of the Dauphin, together with the dutchies of Lorrain and Bar, which their native Prince was appointed to exchange for the dutchy of Milan. In this ſummary diſpoſal of territories and kingdoms, the King of England was not forgetful of his friend the Prince Vaudemont, to whom the country of Binche was to remain a ſovereignty. To prevent the union of Spain and the Imperial crown, in the perſon of one Prince, proviſion was made, that in

concluded between William and France.

[p] De Torcy, vol. i.

caſe

CHAP. IV. 1700.

caſe of the Archduke's demiſe, the King of the Romans ſhould not ſucceed to the throne; and, in like manner, it was particularly ſtipulated, that no King of France or Dauphin ſhould ever wear the crown of Spain. A ſecret article provided, for the contingency of the Emperor's refuſing to accede to the treaty; and againſt any difficulties, which might ariſe from the duke of Lorrain, with regard to the projected exchange of his native territories for the dutchy of Milan [q].

Treaty with Sweden.

WHILE William ſeemed to provide for the repoſe of the ſouth of Europe, he extended his care to the tranquillity of the north. The young King of Sweden, apprehenſive of a ſtorm, which already began to break on his dominions, entered into a new defenſive treaty with the maritime powers. The contracting parties became reciprocally guarantees of all their dominions. Charles the Twelfth engaged to furniſh the King of England with ten thouſand men, to be paid by the latter Prince, ſhould he find himſelf obliged to take arms in ſupport of the treaty of Riſwick. England and the States, as guarantees of the treaty of Altena, between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, ſeem to have agreed, though not in an expreſs article, to aid Charles with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war, when attacked by his enemies. The treaty was ſigned on the thirteenth of January; and the requiſition, or rather the application for the ſhips, was made in March [r]. William, in bad humour with his refractory parliament, gave orders for preparing a ſquadron, without either communicating to them his intentions, or demanding a ſupply. The firſt would be imprudent, in the untoward humour of the times, as England was little concerned in the affairs of the North; and the latter would moſt certainly be refuſed, conſidering the general reſolution, formed by the commons, for diminiſhing the expences of the nation.

[q] De Torcy, vol. i.

[r] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

BUT

CHAP. IV.

1700. Copenhagen bombarded.

BUT before William took any avowed part in the affairs of the North, he went to Holland, and his favourite retreat at Loo. Having appointed a regency [q], for the adminiſtration of government in his abſence, he left Hampton-court, on the fourth of July; and on the ſixth arrived at the Hague. The alliance formed againſt Sweden began to ſhew itſelf in the motions of the confederate powers. The Ruſſians, Poles, and Saxons entered Livonia and Ingria. The Danes, led by the Duke of Wertemberg, invaded Holſtein; and having ſeized ſome inconſiderable forts, ſat down before Tonningen. The ſtrength of the place, the conduct of the governor, the unſkilfulneſs of the beſiegers, an unſucceſsful aſſault, and the march of the troops of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, who had paſſed the Elbe, induced the Danes to relinquiſh their deſigns on Tonningen, and to retreat towards their own frontiers. A combined ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, with fire-ſhips and bomb-veſſels, under the admirals Rooke and Allemonde, arrived, on the twentieth of July, at the mouth of the Sound [r]. The fleet of Sweden, commanded by the king in perſon, having joined the allies, the Daniſh ſhips retired under the guns of Copenhagen. The King of Denmark was himſelf cooped up in Holſtein, by ſome Swediſh frigates cruiſing along the coaſt; while his capital was bombarded, though ineffectually, by the combined fleets of the allies [s].

Denmark forced into a peace.

HIS active ſpirit ſuggeſted to the young King of Sweden, the means of putting an end, with one deciſive ſtroke, to the war. He reſolved to beſiege Copenhagen by land, while the fleet blocked up that capital by ſea. He fixed the place of his deſcent at Humblebeck, oppoſite to Landſcroon. He landed in perſon, the firſt of all the Swedes. He drove to flight the enemy, who had attempted to defend the ſhore. A deputation of the

[q] June 27. [r] July 20. [s] July 30.

CHAP. IV. 1700.

clergy and principal inhabitants, by a contribution of four hundred thouſand rix-dollars, prevailed with Charles to ſpare the city. The King of Denmark was, in the mean time, reduced to a ſituation the moſt critical. The troops of the houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, preſſed him on the ſide of Holſtein. His fleet was beſieged in the harbour of Copenhagen. The enemy was in the heart of his dominions. He could derive no hopes but from ſubmiſſion and negociation. The Count de Chamilli, ambaſſador of France, offered his own mediation, in the name of his maſter. The powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Altena, joined their good offices to thoſe of Chamilli, for reſtoring peace; and, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, a treaty was concluded at Travendal, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein, to the excluſion of Ruſſia and Poland. The terms were honourable for the Duke of Holſtein, but humiliating to Denmark. The firſt was re-eſtabliſhed in all his claims; whilſt the latter was forced to pay to the Duke two hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns, to indemnify him for the expence of the war [t].

Affairs of Scotland.

THE ſudden reſtoration of the tranquillity of the North, may be aſcribed, in a great degree, to the deciſive meaſures of the King of England. But when he was ſecuring the peace of foreign nations, tumults, diſcontents, and clamours prevailed in a part of his own dominions. On the twenty-firſt of May, the parliament of Scotland had met at Edinburgh; and the King's letter, containing the uſual excuſe for not opening the ſeſſion in perſon, being read, the Duke of Queenſberry, as lord-high-commiſſioner, perceiving the bad humour of parliament, adjourned the houſe for three days. When they met, on the twenty-fourth, petitions, addreſſes, and repreſentations of particular, as well as general grievances, were poured in upon them

[t] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. i.

from

from every ſide. The council-general of the Indian and African company, as they had ſuffered moſt, were the loudeſt in their complaints. A motion was made, that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful ſettlement; and that the parliament would maintain and ſupport the ſame. The commiſſioner perceiving that this embarraſſing vote was on the point of being carried, ſuddenly adjourned the houſe for three days. This circumſtance added fuel to the flame. When the houſe met, they reſumed their motion; and the commiſſioner again adjourned them, for twenty days [u].

Parliament addreſs againſt an adjournment.

THE conduct of the commiſſioner was conſidered, by a great majority, as an arbitrary breach upon the freedom of voting in parliament. They met that very evening, and ſigned a ſpirited addreſs to the King. They complained of their being interrupted in their debates, by an adjournment, contrary to an expreſs act of parliament; wherein it was provided, that nothing ſhould be done or commanded, that might, either directly or indirectly, prevent the liberty of free voting and reaſoning of the eſtates of parliament. They affirmed, that the ſecond adjournment was a manifeſt infringement on the claim of rights, which had accompanied the very act that had placed the King on the throne. They concluded with intreating his Majeſty to permit his parliament to meet, on the day to which it was then adjourned; and to ſit as long as might be neceſſary for redreſſing the grievances of the nation. A deputation was ſent with this addreſs to the King. He declared [w] that he could give no anſwer at the time to their petition; but that they ſhould know his intentions in Scotland. The parliament, was, in the mean time, further adjourned by proclamation.

A general ferment.

THOUGH the Earl of Seafield, and other ſervants of the Crown, had been, for a whole year, employed in gaining, with

[u] May 30. [w] June 11.

CHAP. IV. 1700.

promiſes and penſions, the members of the Scotiſh parliament, the clamours of the people made more proſelytes, than the bribes employed by the King. The current ran rapidly in one way; whilſt the diſaffected added their own force to the violence of the ſtream. The general cry was, that the freedom of debate was moſt effectually ruined, the claim of right invaded, and a private power uſurped over the parliament. The King, they juſtly obſerved, aſſumed more than a negative by theſe unconſtitutional adjournments. A bill is defeated by the firſt. By the latter, the right of giving advice, one of the great ends of all parliaments, is utterly prevented and overturned. In this diſpoſition of the people in general, the lower ſort became outrageous. Upon ſome vague intelligence received at Edinburgh, of an advantage gained by their countrymen at Darien, over the Spaniards, the populace committed every ſpecies of exceſs and inſult againſt the officers of the government. The King was, not unjuſtly, deemed a party againſt the African company; and his name was treated with indecency, and his authority with contempt. A national addreſs was, in the mean time, encouraged on every ſide; and tranſmitted to every borough and county for ſignatures and names.

Violence of the diſcontented.

To add to the general ferment, advices arrived from Spain, that ſeveral of the adventurers in Darien, had been ſent to that country and condemned as pyrates. That the chief proofs brought againſt them, were the proclamations of the governors of the Engliſh colonies, by the expreſs commands of the King, containing a formal diſavowal of the legality of the ſettlement; together with words, diſclaiming the undertaking of the Scots, expreſſed by William himſelf to the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and tranſmitted, in writing, by that miniſter to the council of the Indies. In the midſt of the clamours raiſed upon this freſh intelligence, William endeavoured, in vain, to ſooth the Scots into ſome temper, by a letter to the Duke of Queenſberry. The national

national flame continued to increaſe. The diſcontented members talked of ſitting by force, and of forming themſelves into a convention. They even affirmed, that the army was ready to join their cauſe againſt a government, which, by denying protection, had no right to obedience. That they wanted nothing but money to declare the throne vacant; to reſtore the late King, or to confer the crown on ſome other Prince, more inclined than the preſent, to ſupport the juſt claims of the nation [x].

CHAP. IV. 1700.

THESE diſcontents, ſo favourable to his views, were not capable of rouſing the late King, from the lethargy into which he had fallen, ever ſince the treaty of Riſwick. Rendered careleſs by misfortunes, weighed down with years, and unmanned by his own religious enthuſiaſm, he had reſigned every expectation of regaining his crowns. To the reſolution of tranſporting himſelf into England, he ſeems to have ſtill adhered, had William, as was generally apprehended, yielded to the diſorders that had long threatened his diſſolution. But though he had reſigned all hopes, with regard to himſelf, James never doubted but his ſon would, one day, recover the crowns which he himſelf had loſt. He thought that the objections to himſelf, proceeded either from the views of a few leading men, or the terrors of the populace, who were animated with an enthuſiaſm ſimilar to his own. He deemed the lineal ſucceſſion ſo eſſential, and even neceſſary to monarchy, that things muſt, in courſe, fall back to their old channel, when the terrors of his own return, and the preſſure of William's ambition, were both removed from the nation [y].

Inactivity of the late King.

THE death of the only ſon of his daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark, and the only perſon, after her Royal Highneſs, included in the new ſettlement of the crown, ſeemed to favour the

Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.

[x] Mancheſter's Correſpondence. Cole's coll.

[y] Contin. of James II.'s Memoirs, MS.

expectations

CHAP. IV. 1700.

expectations of the late King. The Duke of Glouceſter, as he was commonly called, though his patent was never made out, from a ſuperſtitious prejudice againſt that title, had arrived at the eleventh year of his age. On his birth-day, the twenty-fourth of July, he fell ill of a malignant fever. His conſtitution, which was tender and feeble, ſoon ſunk under the violence of his diſorder; and he expired, at Windſor, on the night of the twenty-ninth of the month. Though, as is uſual with regard to princes who die in youth, much has been ſaid of his parts and acquirements, he was little lamented by the nation, and leſs by the King. The people were diſcontented with the government, and rendered careleſs of its concerns, through the different views of the parties into which they were divided; and William, who had never any affection for the mother, was not, perhaps, much diſpleaſed to ſee her influence weakened by the death of the ſon. A prevailing report, that the Princeſs had ſent, very clandeſtinely, an expreſs to notify the demiſe of her ſon to her father, might contribute to leſſen the concern of William for the loſs which the kingdom had ſuſtained [z].

Death of the K. of Spain.

THE King having paſſed three months in Holland, returned, on the nineteenth of October, to England. Unwilling to meet a parliament that had oppoſed him in all his views, he prorogued that aſſembly to the twenty-firſt of November; and, after a further prorogation, diſſolved them, before the end of the year. The face of affairs in Europe had ſuffered, in the mean time, a very important change. Charles the Second, King of Spain, having ſo long ſtruggled with diſtempers, yielded at length to their force, and died, on the firſt of November. The reſentment which he had conceived againſt the authors of the ſecond treaty of partition, ſeemed to have haſtened the death of that feeble Prince; while, at the ſame time, it produced the moſt deciſive meaſure in

[z] Lamberty, tom. i.

all

all his reign. Having reſolved to prevent the projected partition of his dominions, the only difficulty lay in the appointment of an univerſal heir. His inclination pointed to the family of Auſtria. But the Pope, whom he conſulted by letter, and afterwards the clergy of Spain, at the inſtigation of the Cardinal Portocarrero, induced that ſuperſtitious Prince to nominate the Duke of Anjou, the ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, his ſucceſſor in all his dominions [a].

His will in favour of the Duke of Anjou.

In the will, which was dated on the ſecond of October, the King acknowledged the right of his ſiſter, the Infanta Maria Thereſa, Queen of France, and mother of the Dauphin. He alſo acknowledged the right of his aunt, Anne of Auſtria, the mother of the French King; and conſequently the right of the Dauphin, as the only heir, by the laws of the kingdom. To prevent an alarm in Europe, at the union of ſuch extenſive dominions to France, the Dauphin's ſecond ſon was called to the throne of Spain. Until this Prince ſhould arrive at Madrid, and even till he was of age, a council of regency, with the Queen at their head, were nominated for the adminiſtration of affairs. Upon the demiſe of Charles, the regency wrote to the French King, and, at the ſame time, ordered the will to be delivered to that Prince, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador reſiding at his court. Lewis conſulted his council; in which it was reſolved to drop the ſecond partition treaty, and to adhere to the teſtament of the late King of Spain. A war, it had been always foreſeen, was the inevitable conſequence of the death of that Prince; and the court of France wiſely concluded, that it was much eaſier to keep poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, by virtue of the will, than to conquer and retain the ſhare allotted to the Dauphin, by the treaty concluded with England and the States [b].

Lewis XIV. accepts the will.

Lewis the Fourteenth joined to theſe reaſons, one other of equal weight. Should he refuſe the bequeſt made to his grandſon

[a] De Torcy, tom. i. [b] Ibid.

of

CHAP. IV. 1700.

of the crown, all the dominions of Spain muſt have fallen into the hands of the Emperor, the hereditary rival of the power of his family. The very courier that brought the will to France, had been ordered, in caſe of the refuſal of that court, to proceed to Vienna, with a tender of the throne to the Archduke. This circumſtance would have again revived the power poſſeſſed, by the houſe of Auſtria, in the days of Charles the Fifth, when the united weight of Spain and the empire had almoſt proved fatal to the French monarchy. Theſe reaſons coinciding with the ambition of Lewis, he flattered himſelf, that the war, which muſt otherwiſe have been kindled in Europe, was leaſt to be dreaded on the grounds which he now had choſen. The reſolution adopted for accepting the will in France, was followed by the precaution of forming alliances abroad. Lewis entered into a treaty with the King of Portugal, with the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua. The latter of theſe Princes received a French garriſon into his capital. The allies of France, on the ſide of Germany, were the Duke of Brunſwick Wolfembuttle, the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, and the Biſhop of Munſter. The Elector of Bavaria, then governor of the Netherlands, and his brother the elector of Cologn, were uncles to the new King of Spain, and reſolved to maintain his right to the crown [a].

Reſentment of the Emperor.

THE King of England and the States of the United Provinces affected to be highly offended, at the breach made by Lewis the Fourteenth on the ſecond treaty of partition. But they were in no condition to ſupport, at preſent, their reſentment with any deciſive meaſure. They obſerved, therefore, a cautious ſilence; while the Emperor, poſſeſſed of leſs power of revenge than either, made a great deal of noiſe [b]. Perplexed and rendered undeciſive by his diſappointments, Leopold was, for ſome time, uncertain what meaſures he ſhould adopt to poſſeſs himſelf of an object, of which he had been

[a] De Torcy, tom. i. [b] Stanhope to Mancheſter, Dec. 10.

unexpectedly deprived. He, at length, fixed on the Milaneſe, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. On the twenty-ſecond of November, he iſſued his mandate to the inhabitants of that dutchy, which they were to obey on pain of being conſidered as rebels. This reſolution was more calculated to raiſe the ridicule than the terror of the houſe of Bourbon, on that ſide. He was in want of every reſource of war. Without money at home, without alliances abroad; and as irreſolute in his conduct, as he was deſtitute of power and full of pride [c].

William diſpoſed to preſerve a good underſtanding with Spain.

But though the French King had nothing immediately to fear from the reſentment of the Emperor, his own precautions againſt a war haſtened its approach. During theſe tranſactions, one Schonenburgh, a Flemiſh Jew, reſided at Madrid, in the double capacity of agent for England and the States of Holland. The chief view of William, being to preſerve the barrier in Flanders, in the hands of the Dutch, and to prevent the Netherlands from being annexed to the crown of France, he ordered Schonenburgh to ſignify to the regency, his earneſt deſire of living on the footing of their former amity with the court of Spain; and to inſinuate, at the ſame time, his expectations, that the barrier in Flanders ſhould be preſerved in its preſent form. The regency, or, as they were called, the Junto, had abandoned the fate of Spain to the arbitration of France. They knew the weakneſs of the Spaniſh dominions in all quarters, and the utter inability of the kingdom to defend itſelf on any ſide. They, therefore, requeſted the French King to accept, in a manner, of the generalſhip of their monarchy. They commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders; and under the pretence, that the States were making preparations for war, they impowered the court of France to take poſſeſſion of the barrier in Flanders, with French troops [d]. Though William might have been jealous of proceedings contrary

[c] Stanhope to Mancheſter, Mancheſter to Vernon, Dec. 18.

[d] Jan. 5, 1701.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

to the principles which he had long avowed, he was induced, for various reaſons, not only to acquieſce at preſent, in the forward meaſures of France, but, afterwards, even to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou as lawful ſovereign of Spain [e].

State of affairs at home.

THE untoward ſituation of the King's affairs at home, had greatly contributed to his preſent want of deciſion abroad. The refractorineſs of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, their ſuppoſed inſults to his perſon, and actual oppoſition to the crown, had convinced William, that either he muſt change his ſervants or his meaſures. The firſt ſuited beſt his temper. He had removed the chancellor before his departure for Holland. The death of Lord Lonſdale, in the month of July, had made a vacancy in the office of privy-ſeal. The department in the ſecretary's office had been long vacant. The King took advantage of theſe circumſtances to gratify the Tories, who he deemed could ſerve beſt the meaſures of the crown, without offending, by diſplacing the Whigs. The Earl of Tankerville, removed into the office of privy-ſeal, gave room at the head of the treaſury to the Lord Godolphin [f]. Sir Charles Hedges was taken from the board of admiralty and made ſecretary of ſtate [g]. The Earl of Rocheſter, conſidered as a leader of the Tories and high-church party, was nominated in council, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Montagu, who had ſuffered a degree of ignominy in the houſe of commons, through his own indiſcretion, was removed, by the title of Lord Halifax, into the houſe of lords [h]. The King manifeſtly trimmed between the two parties. He hoped to divide the Whigs, by retaining ſome of them in office. He expected to ſoften the oppoſition of the Tories, by admitting a few of their leaders into the vacant departments of the miniſtry.

The Scotiſh parliament reconciled.

WHILE the King was making preparations for meeting the new repreſentatives of England, on good terms, his miniſters in Scot-

[e] April 17. [f] Dec. 12, 1700. [g] Nov. 7. [h] Dec. 4.

land

land were employed, in reconciling the parliament of that kingdom to the views of the crown. The national addreſs, for the meeting of parliament, which had been promoted with ſuch eagerneſs by the diſcontented, was defeated by the King's ordering that aſſembly to meet before the addreſs was preſented. On the twenty-eighth of October, the parliament met accordingly; and the King's letter was, in every reſpect, well calculated to allay the ferment, which had ſo long prevailed in the nation. It was conceived in the moſt ſoft and inſinuating terms. The King promiſed his reſolution to give his aſſent to all acts for the better eſtabliſhing the government of the church, the ſecurity of perſonal liberty, and more eſpecially for repairing the loſſes and promoting the intereſt of the African and Indian companies. He laid the want of protection, which they had experienced before, on the neceſſity impoſed upon himſelf by the ſtate of Europe. But as that ſtate was now changed, he was determined to ſupport to the utmoſt their rights and their claims. Though this condeſcending expedient had, at firſt, no viſible effect on the indignant humour of the Scots, yet, by the concurrence of ſecret practices on the members, it contributed to ſooth, at laſt, the parliament into a perfect compliance with the views of the crown. The longer the ſeſſion continued the more ground was gained by the miniſtry; till, at length, in the month of January, the ſtorm, which threatened the repoſe of Britain, was entirely laid.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

On the ſixth of February, the new parliament met at Weſtminſter, but, under the pretence of giving time to the members to arrive in town, they were adjourned to the tenth of the ſame month. The commons having preſented Mr. Harley, whom they had choſen for their ſpeaker, the King made a ſpeech to both houſes, from the throne. He told them, that the great misfortune of the nation, in the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to make a further proviſion for

A new parliament in England.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. He earneſtly recommended that meaſure to their earlieſt care, as the happineſs of the nation and the ſecurity of religion, depended on an immediate and proper ſettlement of the crown. The death of the King of Spain, he ſaid, and the declaration of his ſucceſſor, had made ſo great an alteration in foreign affairs, that he deſired the parliament to conſider very maturely their preſent ſtate; and that he doubted not, but their reſolutions would conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the peace of all Europe. Theſe things, he continued, were of ſuch weight, that he had called a new parliament, to obtain the more immediate ſenſe of the kingdom in ſuch an important conjuncture. He recommended to the commons to provide for the late deficiencies and the unfunded debts, to inſpect the ſtate and augment the ſtrength of the navy, and to deliberate on the regulation and improvement of trade.

Mutual animoſities of the Whigs and Tories.

THE animoſities of parties, the proſpect of advantage, which aroſe to the members of the lower houſe, from the very misfortunes of their conſtituents; and above all, the importance which the commons had lately acquired by their ſucceſsful oppoſition to the crown, had rendered ſeats in parliament uncommon objects of conteſt, during the late elections. Bribery and corruption, perhaps never abſent entirely from ſuch occaſions, had arrived at a pitch too indecent to be overlooked, had even thoſe, who were rivals for the ſuffrages of the people, been leſs inflamed againſt one another's conduct. The firſt care of the commons, as is uſual in new parliaments, was turned to undue elections. But the matter of right was decided by favour more than by its merit; every diſpute becoming rather a trial of the force of parties than the object of impartial deciſion. The Tories having diſcovered their ſuperiority, by the election of a ſpeaker of their own party, are ſaid to have uſed their power in a manner leſs ſuitable to juſtice, than

than to their own prejudices againſt the Whigs; and to have, thus, weakened ſtill more their opponents, by depriving many of them of their ſeats in the houſe. But the charge of injuſtice might probably have been transferred to the other ſide, had their power equalled their animoſity againſt their rivals. The paſſions of all being inflamed by theſe conteſts, the great buſineſs recommended by the King was, for ſome days, either entirely forgotten, or commanded only the ſecondary care of the commons [i].

Steps toward a war.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſeeming inattention to the buſineſs of the nation, the parliament had not yet diſcovered any part of that animoſity, which their predeceſſors had exhibited againſt the King. On the fourteenth of February, they reſolved to aſſure his Majeſty, that they would ſupport his government, and take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe. Though the King in ſecret wiſhed, and had probably determined, when circumſtances ſhould ariſe, to quarrel with France, for departing from the ſecond treaty of partition, he durſt not avow his inclinations for a war, upon a foundation univerſally unpopular. He, however, took advantage of the general aſſurances made by the commons, and, with his anſwer to their addreſs, laid before them a memorial, which he received from the envoy-extraordinary of the States of Holland. This memorial, fabricated, perhaps, in conjunction with William himſelf, contained ſurmiſes of the hoſtile diſpoſitions of France, by the motions of her troops on the ſide of Flanders, together with the eventual requiſition of the ſuccours from England ſtipulated by treaty. The King demanded the advice of his commons, on the firſt part of the memorial; and, as to the latter, he deſired their aſſiſtance [k].

All parties eager for it.

ON the fifteenth of February, the commons, with a view to the treaty of partition, had addreſſed the King, to lay before them all

[i] Journals.

[k] Feb. 17.

the

CHAP. IV. 1701.

the treaties concluded between his Majeſty and any other Prince or ſtate, ſince the late war. But when they received the anſwer to their general addreſs, they demanded the treaty between England and the States, ſigned on the third of March 1677, together with all the renewals of the treaty ſince that period. The King complied, and the houſe addreſſed him on the twentieth of February [1], to enter into ſuch negociations, in concert with the States and other potentates, as might conduce to the preſervation of the peace of Europe. They aſſured him, at the ſame time, of their ſupport and aſſiſtance, for the performance of the treaty concluded in the year 1677, between England and the States of the United Provinces. William ſeized, with eagerneſs, the general aſſurances made in this addreſs. He thanked the commons in terms expreſſive of his approbation of their conduct; and he ſeems, though his deſigns were then unknown, to have uſed great addreſs in reconciling the nation, by degrees, to a war.

Melfort's letter before the houſes.

To ſecure the aſſiſtance of parliament, by exciting their fears from France, the King had communicated a few days before, an intercepted letter from the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, concerning ſome wild and exploded projects for replacing James again on the throne. Melfort having incurred the diſlike of the adherents of the late King, on account of his violence and abſurdity, had been diſmiſſed from the ſervice of that Prince. James was now directed in his councils by the Earl of Middleton, a man of moderate principles in politics, a proteſtant in his religion, and poſſeſſing conſiderable abilities in buſineſs. The letter, alluding chiefly to paſt tranſactions, contained no material information. Though the lords deemed it worthy of an addreſs to the King, the commons, with more dignity, paſſed it over with the contempt it deſerved. They, however, reſolved, upon other conſiderations, to place the navy on a reſpectable footing. They

[1] Feb. 20.

voted

voted unanimouſly [m], that ſuch perſons as ſhould advance five hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the fleet, ſhould receive ſix per cent. intereſt, and be repaid the principal out of the firſt aid to be granted in the preſent ſeſſion. They alſo reſolved, on the twenty-ſixth of February, that thirty thouſand men ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the year [n].

Settlement of the crown.

THOUGH the ſettlement of the crown was a matter of the utmoſt importance to the nation, the lower houſe were neither early in their attention to that buſineſs, nor expeditious in bringing it to a concluſion. On the third of March, the commons reſolved, that to preſerve the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, and to ſecure the eſtabliſhed religion, there was an abſolute neceſſity for making a freſh declaration of the limitation of the crown in the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; and that proviſion ſhould be made for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the ſubject [o]. The latter part of the reſolution was ſuggeſted by the Tories, who had been uniformly accuſed by their rivals of high principles of monarchy. They affirmed, that the nation was in ſo much haſte when they ſettled the preſent government, that many ſecurities were overlooked, which might have prevented much miſchief. They therefore moved, that the conditions of government ſhould be ſettled before the perſon ſhould be nominated, leſt what really was meant for the good of the ſubject, ſhould be aſcribed to any diſlike to the Prince on whom the election ſhould fall. This ſalutary expedient was conſtrued by the Whigs into a deſign of defeating the meaſure, by protracting the buſineſs. But the motion was ſo popular in itſelf, and ſo conſonant to the principles which they themſelves profeſſed, that they could not oppoſe it, though it came from their political enemies.

Articles for the ſecurity of the ſubject.

IN a committee of the whole houſe, the commons came to further important reſolutions, which were reported; and, with

[m] Feb. 19. [n] Feb. 26. [o] March 3.

a few

CHAP. IV. 1701.

a few amendments, approved, on the twelfth of March. They reſolved, that all affairs, with regard to government, cognizable in the privy council, ſhould be tranſacted there, and ſigned by the members. That no perſon whatſoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or dominions belonging to theſe kingdoms, or who was not born of Engliſh parents beyond ſeas, though ſuch perſon is naturalized, ſhould be capable of receiving any grant from the Crown, or office under the King. That in the event of the crown's deſcending or being transferred to a foreigner, the Engliſh nation ſhould not be obliged, without the conſent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the crown of England. That whoſoever ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the throne, ſhould join in communion with the church of England. That no pardon ſhould be pleadable to any impeachment in parliament [p].

The Princeſs Sophia placed in the ſucceſſion.

To theſe votes they added others, which ſeemed to reflect on the reigning Prince, while they provided ſecurities againſt his ſucceſſors in the throne. They reſolved that no perſon who ſhould hereafter come to the crown, ſhould go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the conſent of parliament. That no perſon who ſhould poſſeſs an office under the King, or receive a penſion from the Crown, ſhould be capable of ſerving in the houſe of commons. That the commiſſions of the judges ſhould be rendered permanent, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed. That the Princeſs Sophia, Dutcheſs-Dowager of Hannover, ſhould be declared the next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, after the reigning King, the Princeſs of Denmark, and the heirs of their reſpective bodies. That the further limitation of the crown ſhould be reſtricted to the Princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Proteſtants; and that, upon theſe reſolutions, a bill ſhould be brought in before the houſe [q]. The bill was accordingly preſented, by Mr. Conyers,

[p] March 12.

[q] Ibid.

on

on the laſt day of March; and though it met with obſtruction, from various incidents, it paſſed, on the fourteenth of April, and was ſent up to the lords [r]. CHAP. IV. 1701.

THE Princeſs Sophia, thus eventually elected to ſucceed to the throne of England, was the neareſt perſon of the royal line, who was not already under a legal incapacity of poſſeſſing the crown. An expreſs act of parliament had excluded all Roman Catholics from the ſucceſſion; and all the deſcendants of Charles the Firſt, except William and the Princeſs of Denmark, were of the Popiſh perſuaſion. The parliament, therefore, were obliged to return to the poſterity of James the Firſt in another line; and to Sophia, as grand-daughter to that Prince, by his daughter Elizabeth, who had been married to the unfortunate King of Bohemia. Though the ſame power which conferred on the Princeſs the ſucceſſion of the crown, might, with equal juſtice, have placed any other perſon on the throne, the parliament choſe to adhere, in ſome degree to the royal blood, as committing the leaſt outrage on monarchy, to which a majority of themſelves were attached from principle. A different conduct might, for a time, have deprived the elected Sovereign of the reverence which moſt men, born under monarchies, pay to the hereditary line. But the influence ariſing from the diſpoſal of an immenſe revenue, had, even then, placed the power of the Sovereign on a much more ſolid foundation, than the feeble prerogative derived, by hereditary princes, from the opinion of the people. as the Proteſtant neareſt to the crown.

THIS conſideration had certainly its weight with the preſent parliament, in limiting the force of the executive power, in the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. As the crown which they conferred was a voluntary gift, they had a right, if they choſe, to deprive it of its unneceſſary ornaments, and even of ſome of its jewels. Reflections.

[r] Journals, April 14.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

But power had turned into another channel; and the mounds which were reared, became, in a manner, uſeleſs, as the waters ceaſed to riſe on that ſide. The Crown was deſtined, from the very exertions made by the people againſt its exorbitant claims to acquire in influence, what it loſt in prerogative. Authority, by theſe means, loſt gradually its terrors and its inſolence. Power had ceaſed to be ſplendid; but it became permanent and irreſiſtible: and mankind may be imperceptibly ſurrounded with the toils of deſpotiſm, while they have the vanity to think themſelves free.

Proceedings of parliament.

THE parliament having placed the important buſineſs of the ſucceſſion in a way of being ſecured, began to inquire into domeſtic miſmanagements, and the conduct of the Crown, with regard to foreign powers. They had already provided for the credit of the nation. They had placed the navy on a formidable footing, by granting large ſupplies. It, however, had been evident, that the King wiſhed leaſt for their aſſiſtance in the latter line. But the majority ſeemed by no means willing to gratify their Sovereign, in the point of an immediate increaſe of the land-forces of the kingdom. In their meaſures conſequent upon the reſolution of adhering to the treaty with the Dutch in 1677, the commons made a ſhew of aiding the King, without offending the nation. They reſolved, that twelve battalions, then in Ireland, ſhould be made up, with new levies, to ten thouſand men; and ſent to the aid of the States. But they, at the ſame time, reſolved, that no new levies ſhould be made, in Ireland or elſewhere, to ſupply the twelve battalions now to be tranſported beyond ſeas [s].

Lord's addreſs againſt the partition treaties.

THE preſent diſtruſt of the King, was followed by animadverſions on his former conduct. The lords, having addreſſed the

[s] Journals of the commons.

throne,

throne, for the late treaties, theſe, together with other important papers, were laid before them, about the middle of March. Having, in a committee of the whole houſe, examined the treaties of partition, they agreed upon an addreſs, containing bitter reflections on their tendency. They complained, that the laſt treaty with the French King, had been huddled up without being laid before parliament, though then actually ſitting; and even without being conſidered in council; circumſtances as unjuſt in their nature, as the meaſures themſelves were fatal in their conſequences. They inſinuated, that the treaty had probably been the cauſe of the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. That the ceſſion of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral ports in the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the dutchy of Lorrain, as ſtipulated, in favour of France, by the laſt treaty, was contrary to the pretence of the treaty itſelf; the profeſſed object of which was, the peace and ſafety of Europe. They requeſted his Majeſty to require and admit, for the future, in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural born ſubjects, and, for that purpoſe, to conſtitute a council, to whom all ſuch foreign and domeſtic affairs as concerned either his Majeſty or his dominions, might be referred [t]. The King's anſwer was moderate and prudent. It contained a brief evaſion, conceived in handſome terms. He owned, that the addreſs contained a matter of very great moment; and that he would take care, that all treaties he might conclude, ſhould be for the honour and ſafety of England [u].

The King's prudent management of the commons.

THE King having perceived, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, that the current of parliament was likely to ſet powerfully againſt his meaſures, had reſolved to fall down with the ſtream. He had filled the vacant offices with ſome of the high-church party. He was now determined not to exaſperate, as he could not ſooth the commons. They had already, in various reſolutions, ren-

[t] Journals of the lords. [u] Ibid.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

dered manifeſt their diſapprobation of the King's late meaſures, and exhibited a diſtruſt of his future conduct. William, however, exhibited publickly no ſymptom of diſpleaſure, at the conduct of the majority. He had, now, turned his thoughts wholly upon war. In ſeveral meſſages to the commons, he communicated the negociations abroad, in terms which plainly inſinuated, that they were at once ineffectual and near their end. He was ſupported in his preſent views by the leaders of the Whigs at home, and through his own management by the Dutch from abroad. The firſt expected to regain the advantages which they had loſt, in the confuſions of war; and the latter were either led by the influence of the King, in their councils, or ſwayed by views of their own. Memorial regularly followed memorial to William; and he, as regularly, with meſſage after meſſage plied the commons [w].

Several lords impeached.

A MAJORITY, however, being equally averſe with their conſtituents, from a renewal of war, the commons reſolved, without one diſſenting voice, upon a vote of advice to the King. Inſtead of agreeing with his meſſage [x], that all negociations ſeemed to be at an end, they requeſted the King to carry on the negociations, in concert with the States; and they, at the ſame time, promiſed to enable, effectually, his Majeſty to ſupport the treaty, concluded in the year 1677, with the United Provinces. Upon a debate, on the treaties of partition, they expreſſed their higheſt diſapprobation of both, in reſolutions as well as in words. They addreſſed his Majeſty to remove the Earl of Portland [y], the Lord Somers [z], and the Lord Halifax from his preſence and councils for ever; having ordered them to be impeached at the bar of the houſe of lords. Theſe violent meaſures, as they were called by the Whig-party, produced a counter-addreſs from the lords; a majority of

[w] Journals, March 22.
[x] March 27.
[y] April 1.
[z] April 14.

whom,

whom, had been gained by the joint influence of the Court and the perſons accuſed. The King, to avoid any conteſt with the commons, paſſed over the addreſs of the peers in ſilence. The firſt proceeded on articles to maintain the impeachments, in which the piracies of captain Kidd, under the ſanction of the broad ſeal, and his being manned and furniſhed by his Majeſty's ſhips, was not the leaſt extraordinary [a].

Proceedings of the commons.

WHILE the King choſe to make no reply to the lords, he prudently returned a ſoothing anſwer to the commons. But though they preſented an addreſs of thanks, they were not to be entirely gained. To ſupport their own reſolutions to enable the King to adhere to the treaty of 1677, they voted three ſhillings in the pound on land. But they applied the ſavings on the civil liſt, to the current ſervice. The fifty thouſand pounds allotted as a dower to King James's Queen, had been hitherto retained by William, in his own hands, under various pretences; and more than twenty thouſand pounds, had reverted to the crown, by the death of the Duke of Glouceſter. Theſe ſums, making in all, near one hundred thouſand pounds, were applied, after a violent conteſt with the adherents of the Court, toward the payment of the public debts. During tranſactions ſo unfavourable to the views of the King, men who wiſhed to regain his favour and ſecure his confidence, endeavoured to rouſe the nation to a deſire for war. A difference between the two houſes had been fomented to favour this deſign. But the people had been hitherto unconcerned ſpectators of the conteſts, which agitated the parties in parliament.

Artifice of the court.

IN all governments that have any tincture of freedom, the voice of the nation is generally the ſtandard to which public meaſures

[a] Journals.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

are formed. Juntos in office as well as excluded factions, adapt their conduct to this great criterion; and when the nation are not roused to forward the private views of either, by means of favourite prejudices, they both endeavour to excite the clamours of the populace, or to gain them to their respective parties, through the channel of their fears. Though the resolutions of the house of commons were hitherto calculated to please the nation, the excluded party, together with some of those servants who were best acquainted with the King's mind, infused gradually into the people a wild suspicion of their representatives. That assembly, who had evidently secured the liberties of the subject, by the limitations in the act of settlement, were censured as attached to a system of arbitrary power. Those who called a protestant successor to the crown, were accused of favouring the popish line; and men who endeavoured to appear as good husbands of the treasure of the nation, were stigmatized as enemies to the public. Though with regard to many individuals, these charges might have been, in some measure, founded on fact, the means used to impress the nation with a bad opinion of the whole, were highly unjustifiable.

Kentish petition.

THE first measure taken for rousing the nation to an ardour for war, exhibited itself in the county of Kent. The grand-jury and other gentlemen and freeholders had assembled at Maidstone, on the twenty-ninth of April, and through the management of the adherents of the King, presented to the house of commons what was deemed a libel, in the form of a petition [c]. The house voted the petition to be scandalous insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of parliament, and to subvert the established government. The persons who presented the paper were delivered over into the custody of the serjeant at arms; and upon a suspicion of an intended rescue, committed to the

[c] May 8.

Gate-

CHAP. IV. 1701.

Gate-houſe. Thoſe who had adviſed and promoted the Kentiſh petition, artfully increaſed the ferment, which this deciſive meaſure of the commons had raiſed. A libel ſubſcribed Legion, was tranſmitted to the ſpeaker, containing many articles of accuſation; and charging the houſe with tyranny to the ſubject and undutifulneſs toward the King. The commons addreſſed the throne againſt the endeavours that had been made to raiſe tumults among the people; and they requeſted him to provide effectually, by the exact execution of the laws, for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom [d].

Difference between the houſes.

WHILE the party thus armed the prejudices of the populace againſt the commons, they found means to ſecure the majority, which they had obtained in the houſe of peers. The articles againſt the impeached lords were either conſidered as frivolous in themſelves, or they were but languidly maintained. The two houſes, at length, fell into an irreconcilable difference upon the mode of proceeding. The commons inſiſted, that the lords whom they had impeached, ſhould abſtain from voting in the upper-houſe; and that a committee, from each of the houſes, ſhould meet to adjuſt the time, manner, and order, in the intended trials. The lords refuſed the firſt demand, as it ſeemed to include a condemnation, before conviction. To the ſecond, they replied, that as the ſole right of judicature was in themſelves, they had alſo the ſole right to appoint the time, manner, and order of all trials on impeachments. Theſe differences filled the end of the month of May and almoſt the whole of June, with altercation, conteſt, and noiſe. The peers had appointed days for the trials. The commons refuſed to appear; and the impeached lords were acquitted. The King, in the mean time, obſerved a prudent ſilence. Though he was not diſpleaſed at the current, which had turned againſt the commons, he avoided to irritate that aſſembly; and he diſmiſſed

[d] Journals, May.

them,

CHAP. IV. 1701.

them, by prorogation, on the twenty-fourth of June, in apparent good humour, though he, perhaps even then, had reſolved never to meet the ſame houſe again.

Reflections on the conduct of the commons.

THOUGH no houſe of commons had ever fallen under the diſpleaſure of party writers in a degree equal to the preſent, they certainly deſerved to meet with more praiſe than cenſure. That ſeveral members had private views to promote, in their oppoſition to the crown, cannot well be denied. But that the conduct of the whole ſeemed calculated to diſcharge the duty of the repreſentative of the people to their country, is equally true. Their chief demerit, in the eyes of thoſe who favoured the views of the King, was their purſuing every meaſure calculated to prevent the nation from being engaged, as a principal, in a continental war; and the party, who abetted the notions of the court, had the addreſs to rouſe the reſentment of the vulgar in their own cauſe. Some of the proceedings of the lower houſe, it muſt be acknowledged, were tinctured with thoſe partialities which too often diſgrace popular aſſemblies. Whilſt they pointed their utmoſt vengeance againſt thoſe leaders of the Whigs, that bore a ſhare in the laſt treaty of partition, they paſſed over ſome Tories, who were equally deep in that unadviſed tranſaction. But an undeviating attention to juſtice, can ſcarce ever be expected from men inflamed with the prejudices of party.

and on that of the King.

THE conduct of William, during the ſeſſion, was as ſuitable to prudence, as it was, to the deſigns, that, without acknowledging them, he had adopted. The Whigs and Tories were inflamed againſt each other to ſuch a degree of inveteracy, and they were alſo ſo equally poized, that without declaring for either, he had a proſpect of commanding both parties. Some leaders of each ſide were ſtill in office. But he choſe to make no advances to the Whigs, nor to gratify the Tories. The two factions took different

rent ways to obtain the management of government. The firſt departed from their principles, in their endeavours to gain the King. The latter ſeemed rather inclined to owe their influence to their ſovereign's fear of their power. William, all the while, obſerved a profound ſilence; and even after the prorogation of parliament, when he reſolved to paſs over into Holland, he left the government in ſuch mixed hands, that no judgment could be formed to which party he moſt inclined.

William in Holland.

ON the thirtieth of June, the King left Hampton-court; and on the third of July, he arrived in the Maeſe. The battalions from Ireland, the levies from England, and the regiments from Scotland, were in Holland before the King; who had raiſed the Earl of Marlborough to the command of the whole. In ſome meaſure prepared for war, he applied himſelf to negociations nominally calculated for preſerving peace. He had, in the preceding April, acknowledged the new King of Spain, by a letter under his own hand. The States, after heavy complaints, had done the ſame for the ſake of their commerce. But it had long been no ſecret, that neither were willing to permit the houſe of Bourbon, to enjoy in tranquillity, the vaſt acceſſion of power they were ſuppoſed to have received in the crown of Spain. A mock-ſhow of a treaty, in the mean time, employed the ſummer. The French court, though they ſeriouſly wiſhed for a continuance of peace, behaved in a manner that ſeemed to haſten the war. Deſpairing of any happy iſſue to conferences, where neither ſide would depart from their claims, D'Avaux, the ambaſſador of France at the Hague, was recalled, on the eighth of Auguſt; having left a memorial with the States, more apt to inflame their reſentment, than to remove their fears.

War in Italy. French defeated at Carpi,

BEFORE William paſſed into Holland, the flames of war had been kindled in Italy, between the Emperor and the houſe of Bourbon.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

Bourbon. The Prince de Vaudemont, governor of Milan, had obeyed the will of Charles the Second, and ſubmitted himſelf to the new King. A body of French troops, at the requiſition of the Prince, had entered the Milaneſe. Theſe were ſoon after followed by a powerful army; and the Duke of Savoy, whoſe daughter was now married to the young King of Spain, was declared captain-general of the whole. On the other hand, the Imperialiſts, under Prince Eugene, entered Italy in the end of May, to the number of thirty thouſand men. The Mareſchal de Catinat, as the Duke of Savoy was not yet arrived, commanded the French, in conjunction with the Prince de Vaudemont. They took poſſeſſion of the Mantuan. They poſted themſelves along the Adige. Prince Eugene, however, under the feint of a deſign to croſs the Po, forced the paſſage of the Adige, entered the intrenchments of the French at Carpi, and obliged the enemy, after having ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, to cover themſelves behind the Mincio [e].

and again at Chiara.

THE retreat of the Mareſchal de Catinat left Prince Eugene maſter of the whole country lying between the Adige and the Adda. The Mareſchal poſted himſelf behind the latter river and the Oglio, to prevent, if poſſible, the Imperialiſts from entering the Milaneſe. The French, in the mean time, were joined by the Duke of Savoy, who left Turin on the twenty-fourth of July, to place himſelf at the head of the army. The continual checks received after the arrival of the commander in chief, raiſed, in the mind of Catinat, a ſuſpicion, that the misfortunes of the field had not altogether proceeded from the great abilities of Prince Eugene. He diſpatched to court an account of his uneaſineſs, concerning the fidelity of the Duke of Savoy. But Lewis the Fourteenth, aſcribing to Catinat's own impatience, the ſurmiſes which he had communicated concerning the Duke, ſent the Mareſchal de Villeroi to ſuperſede him in his command. Villeroi, willing upon

[e] Memoires du Fouquiere, p. 240.

his

his arrival to ſignalize himſelf with ſome action, entered into a concert with the Duke, to ſurpriſe a ſmall poſt at Chiara, occupied by a corps of infantry, at the head of the Imperial camp. The project was raſh, and had it even been attended with ſucceſs, altogether uſeleſs. The Duke of Savoy acquainted Prince Eugene of the deſign of M. de Villeroi, and the diſpoſition of the intended attack. The French, being thus betrayed, were repulſed with great loſs [f]. The reſt of the campaign produced no action of any importance. The confederates quitted firſt the field, and retired into winter-quarters, between the Oglio and the Adda.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

THOUGH the ſucceſſes of the campaign were far from being deciſive, they animated the Emperor, and gave weight to his negociations. He had ſecured the Elector of Brandenburgh, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the name of King. The Princes of Germany, who at firſt affected to conſider the war in the light of a family-diſpute for a crown, were induced to depart from their propoſed neutrality, by the recent victories obtained in Italy, over the combined forces of France and Spain. The maritime powers, whoſe aid was the moſt important of all, were prepared, by motives of their own, to come into the views of the court of Vienna. The King of England, highly offended with Lewis the Fourteenth, for having made him, in a manner, the tool of his ambition, in the laſt treaty of partition, had reſolved on a war. The Dutch, ſwayed by the influence of William, jealous of their own commerce with Spain, on account of the advantages already obtained by France, and terrified at the preparations made by the latter kingdom on their frontiers, diſcovered an uncommon eagerneſs for taking up arms. Denmark, gained by the ſubſidiary treaty, was ready to abet the views of the maritime powers, with a conſiderable body of men; and if Sweden and Poland had taken no

Negociations of the Emperor.

[f] Sept. 11.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

part in the intended confederacy, it was becauſe they were engaged in a war at home [g].

Sept. 7. Triple alliance.

THE departure of D'Avaux from the Hague, in the beginning of Auguſt, had put an end to even the appearance of treating with France, for the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe. A fair field was now left for the negociations of the Emperor. That Prince, in proportion as he perceived the inclination of the maritime powers for war, roſe in his demands with regard to the terms of the projected alliance. He was determined, at firſt, to be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the whole Spaniſh monarchy. But the King of England and the States, being reſolute to undertake for no more than the recovery of Flanders, as a barrier for Holland, and the dutchy of Milan, for the ſecurity of the Emperor, the latter Prince thought it prudent to depart from his vaſt ſchemes. All difficulties being thus removed, the treaty, which afterwards obtained the name of the grand alliance, was ſigned on the ſeventh of September. The deſign avowed in the articles, was the procuring ſatisfaction for the Emperor in the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and ſufficient ſecurity for the dominions and commerce of the allies. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the King of England and the States, might retain for themſelves whatever lands and cities their arms ſhould conquer, in both the Indies [h].

Exhauſted ſtate of France

THOUGH France had foreſeen the ſtorm which was now ready to burſt upon her, in all its rage, ſhe had been as negligent in her preparations as ſhe was deſtitute of reſources. Lewis himſelf, having no inclination to enter into a war, gave too much credit to the pacific diſpoſition of other powers. He might have perceived, and he probably was not ignorant, that the jealouſy entertained by the reſt of Europe, on account of the late acceſſion of his family to ſuch vaſt dominions, could ſcarce permit him to enjoy his good

[g] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

[h] Vid. Treaty.

fortune

fortune in peace. But the truth is, he was cured of his former ambition. The caution of age had come upon him, with its inactivity and weakneſs. His people had ſcarce time to breathe, after immenſe exertions, that had drained their coffers, exhauſted their ſtrength, and depreſſed their ſpirit. The commerce, which had been interrupted by the late war, had not yet returned to the old channel. His own unadviſed policy had alſo contributed to impoveriſh his kingdom. His raiſing and leſſening the value of money, had left his people in ſuch a ſtate of uncertainty, with regard to their property, that they exported their ſpecie into other countries; whilſt he himſelf aſſiſted the general waſte, by remitting great ſums into Flanders and Italy to maintain his armies; and into Germany to gain the favour of Princes, who, ſoon after, deſerted his cauſe [i]. CHAP. IV. 1701.

To render his ſituation ſtill more critical, the dominions of his grandſon, deſtitute of the means of defence, became a burden, inſtead of an aid, to France. The Spaniſh monarchy, vulnerable on every ſide, preſented to the enemy a weakneſs proportionable to its own magnitude. The finances were at a very low ebb. The ſpirit of the people had declined with the reſources of the nation. They could protect themſelves from none, though they were deſtined to be the prey of all. Their ſtate was ſo wretched, that in the preſent year, the court of Madrid were ſcarce able, on the requiſition of France, to equip two men of war, and to ſend two thouſand five hundred men into Andaluſia, for the ſecurity of that province [k]. To alleviate theſe diſtreſſes at home, the French King endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf with alliances abroad. He had attempted to ſecure the Duke of Savoy, with terms of great advantage to himſelf, and the marriage of his ſecond daughter to the young King of Spain. He had alſo concluded a treaty with the King of Portugal, on the eighteenth of June. But neither and Spain.

[i] Hiſt. de France. De Torcy.

[k] Schonenburg's Correſpondence.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

ther of thoſe Princes were ſincere in their engagements. The firſt betrayed the councils and armies of France, in the very firſt campaign; and the latter deſerted her alliance, when her affairs began to aſſume an unfavourable aſpect.

Death of King James.

THE ſteps taken by William and the States, againſt the houſe of Bourbon, were no ſecret at the court of France. But intelligence of the concluſion of the treaty could not have arrived at Verſailles, when an incident happened, which induced Lewis, perhaps too precipitately, to declare himſelf in oppoſition to England. The unfortunate King James, having ever ſince the peace of Riſwick, loſt every hope of being reſtored to the throne, had reſigned himſelf to all the auſterities of religious enthuſiaſm. His conſtitution, though vigorous and athletic, had, for ſome time, begun to yield to the infirmities of age, and to that melancholy, with which ſuperſtition, as well as his uncommon misfortunes, had impreſſed his mind. In the beginning of September, when he was, according to his daily cuſtom, at public prayers, he fell ſuddenly into a lethargy; and though he recovered ſoon after, his ſenſes, he languiſhed for ſome days, and expired on the ſixth of September. The French King, with great humanity, paid him ſeveral viſits during his ſickneſs; and exhibited every ſymptom of compaſſion, affection, and even of reſpect[l].

Lewis XIV. promiſes to own his ſon;

LEWIS being under a difficulty how to proceed upon the expected death of James, called a council to take their advice, whether he ſhould own the Prince of Wales as King of Great Britain and Ireland. The King himſelf had heſitated long on this delicate point. But the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the Princes of the blood declared, that it was unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France, not to own that the titles of the father devolved immediately upon the ſon[m]. Lewis approv-

[l] MS. Account of King James's Death.

[m] Continuation of the Life of James II.

ing of a reſolution to which he had been of himſelf inclined, reſolved to inform the dying King, in perſon, of the determination of the council. When he arrived at St. Germains, he acquainted firſt the Queen, and then her ſon of his deſign. He then approached the bed in which James lay, almoſt inſenſible with his diſorder. When James, rouſing himſelf, began to thank his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for all his favours, the latter interrupted him, and ſaid: "Sir, what I have done is but a ſmall matter. But what I have to ſay is of the utmoſt importance." The people preſent began to retire. "Let no perſon withdraw," he ſaid, "I come to acquaint you, Sir, that when God ſhall pleaſe to call your Majeſty from this world, I ſhall take your family into my protection, and acknowledge your ſon, as then he will certainly be, King of Great Britain and Ireland [n]."

Who is declared King of Great Britain and Ireland.

THE voice of a divinity could not have made a greater impreſſion on the unfortunate ſervants of James, who were all preſent, than this unexpected declaration from the French King. They burſt at once into a murmur of applauſe, which ſeemed to be tinctured with a mixture of grief and joy. Some threw themſelves, in ſilence, at his feet. Others wept aloud. All ſeemed to be ſo much affected, that Lewis himſelf was melted into tears. James, in a kind of ecſtacy, half-raiſed himſelf on the bed, and endeavoured to ſpeak. But the confuſed noiſe was ſo great, and he ſo weak, that his voice could not be heard. The King himſelf, as if unable longer to bear this melancholy ſcene, retired. But, as he paſſed through the court of the palace, he called the officer of the guard, and ordered him to treat the young Prince as King, whenever his father ſhould expire [o]. Though James ſurvived this declaration but one day, he ſent the Earl of Middleton to Marli to thank his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his kindneſs to himſelf and his promiſed protection to his family. Upon his

[n] Continuation of the Life of James II.

[o] Ibid.

death,

CHAP. IV. 1701.

death, his ſon was acknowledged by the court and the nation. Lewis himſelf viſited him in form, and treated him with the name of Majeſty. But the adherents of the nominal King, choſe not to proclaim him with the uſual ſolemnity, not knowing how the title of France would be taken by that Prince, who was the only ſupport of his cauſe [p].

Preparations for war.

THOUGH the Marquis de Torcy, in the name of Lewis, endeavoured to convince the Engliſh ambaſſador, the Earl of Mancheſter, that this tranſaction was no infringement on the treaty of Riſwick, the inſult to William was too flagrant to be borne with patience. He accordingly recalled his ambaſſador from the court of France; and ſent directions to the lords juſtices to order Pouſſin, the French envoy, to quit England. Preparations for war were, in the mean time, made on every ſide. The King of Denmark ordered the troops ſtipulated by the treaty of ſubſidy, to march through Holſtein and Hannover toward Flanders. The Dutch entered Juliers, with a conſiderable force. The French poſſeſſed themſelves of the towns on the Rhine, as auxiliaries to the circle of Burgundy. Nothing but the mere form of a declaration was now wanting to conſtitute a war. The King of England having determined to take the field early in the ſpring, ſettled with the United Provinces, in the capacity of Stadtholder, the ſtate of the war, for the following year. He was preſſed, in the mean time, by the Emperor to break immediately with France. But he had lately ſuffered ſo much from the refractorineſs of the Engliſh commons, that he prudently declined to enter upon hoſtilities, without their approbation and aid.

King declines in his health, and returns.

BUT the feeble conſtitution of William was now become unequal to the great exertions of his mind. Worn out with vexation, as well as with the vigilance neceſſary for the management

[p] Mancheſter to Blathwayte.

of

CHAP. IV. 1701.

of the affairs of a nation, who amidſt all their profeſſions of regard, were, in a great meaſure, averſe from his manner of governing, his health never ſettled and vigorous, had long begun apparently to decline. The weak ſtate to which he was now reduced, had rendered him almoſt inviſible at Loo; while he was in fact the center round which the affairs of Europe turned. But now, the alliance into which he had entered, and the meaſures, in conſequence, he was forced to adopt, rendered his preſence neceſſary in England. Having brought to great forwardneſs, a perpetual alliance between the Engliſh and the Dutch, for the recovery and preſervation of Flanders, he embarked, on the fourteenth of November, and landed, the next day, at Margate. In England, during the King's abſence, nothing remarkable happened, except the ferment which the tranſactions of the preceding ſeſſion had raiſed between the parties. Having carried their conteſts into the preſs, the people, as uſual, when their paſſions are inflamed, were vehemently agitated between the arguments and declamations of the two great parties, the Whigs and the Tories [p].

Conteſts between parties.

THE Whigs, however, more active or more determined than their opponents, had the addreſs to turn the opinions of the people to forward their own deſigns. The declaration of the French King, for the title of the Prince of Wales, was an incident too favourable to their views, to be dropt without being uſed. The vulgar were eaſily perſuaded, that thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the Crown in parliament, were enemies to the King; and they were loud in their complaints againſt the proceedings and conduct of the houſe of commons. The ſeverity of that aſſembly to the Kentiſh petitioners, their conteſts with the lords, their animadverſions on the foreign tranſactions of government were magnified, and

[p] Publications of the times.

CHAP. IV. 1701.

introduced as proofs of their attachment to the exiled family. The late ſettlement of the crown in the Proteſtant line, the limitations, highly favourable to the liberties of the people, impoſed upon the eventual ſucceſſion of a foreign family, were either entirely forgot or totally miſrepreſented. Addreſſes to William, upon the inſult offered by France, were tranſmitted to him in Holland. Flattery, abſurdity, and folly, as uſual, abounded in theſe unmeaning productions. But they ſerved the purpoſe of the King, who had reſolved to meet no more a parliament, that had already ſhewn ſo much averſion to the war in which he was now irrecoverably engaged.

Affairs of the North.

ON the thirteenth of November, the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation; and writs were iſſued for another to meet, at Weſtminſter, on the thirtieth of December. The conteſts uſual in all elections, were carried to a height proportionable to the violence and animoſity of parties acting on the prejudices of the vulgar. Noiſe and tumult filled every corner of England, while every State in the North and Weſt of Europe were indefatigably preparing to take arms. The kingdoms of the Eaſt were ſtill engaged in the war which Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had kindled, in the preceding year, to fruſtrate the unjuſt combination of his neighbours againſt his kingdom. The defeat of the Ruſſians, in the battle of Narva, had rendered that active and gallant Prince, a conqueror the more formidable, that he ſeemed eager with new exploits to eclipſe the glory of the old. His victories in Poland were as rapid as the march of his troops. The Ruſſians were every where routed, as ſoon as ſeen; and the King himſelf, having paſſed the Duna, in the ſight of the enemy, and totally defeated the Saxons, formed, at Birzen, the reſolution of depriving King Auguſtus of the throne of Poland [a].

[a] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

THE

CHAP. IV.

1701.

THE new parliament met, on the thirtieth of December; and the commons, from their firſt meaſure, ſeemed to have brought into their houſe, all the animoſities which had inflamed their conſtituents during the election. But though every art had been uſed by the Whigs, and ſeveral Tories had, in conſequence, been deprived of their former ſeats, the latter ſeemed ſtill to form a majority. The firſt trial of the force of the parties, was made in the choice of a ſpeaker. Sir Thomas Littleton, nominated by the Whigs, was rejected, on a diviſion; and Harley, abetted by the Tories, was placed in the chair [r]. The King, who favoured Littleton, was deſerted in the vote, by ſuch Tories as were in his ſervice. They preferred the influence of their party, to the countenance of a Prince, whoſe reign was apparently drawing to its end. Their conduct, however, had already been ſo much reſented by the King, that he reſolved to place his whole confidence in the Whigs. He diſmiſſed Sir Charles Hedges from the office of ſecretary of ſtate: in which the Earl of Mancheſter, lately returned from his embaſſy in France, was placed. The Earl of Carliſle ſupplanted the Lord Godolphin, at the head of the treaſury. The Earl of Pembroke, ſuppoſed to be a Whig, though he had actually correſponded with King James [s], was ſoon after made lord-high-admiral of England; and the Duke of Somerſet, not much more averſe to the old cauſe, ſucceeded Pembroke as preſident of the council.

A new parliament.

THE commons having preſented their ſpeaker, the King made a ſpeech to both houſes from the throne. He promiſed himſelf, he ſaid, that they were met together full of a juſt ſenſe of the danger of Europe, and a high reſentment of the late proceeding of the French King. He expatiated upon the indignity offered to himſelf and the nation, in owning and ſetting up the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England; and he recom-

King's ſpeech.

[r] 216 againſt 212.

[s] Stuart-papers.

CHAP. IV.

1701.

mended to them to conſider, what further effectual means might be uſed, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line. He complained, that the French King, by placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain, had furniſhed himſelf with the means of oppreſſing Europe, and that he had ſurrounded his neighbours in ſuch a manner, that though the name of peace had ſtill continued, other States were put to all the inconvenience and expence of war. He enlarged on what England had to fear from the power of the houſe of Bourbon; and he informed the houſes, that to obviate the general calamity which threatened Chriſtendom, he had concluded ſeveral alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both houſes of parliament. He told them, that the eyes of Europe were turned toward their deliberations; and that every thing abroad was at a ſtand till their reſolutions ſhould be known. Having flattered them with their importance, he demanded ſupplies from the commons for a great ſtrength at ſea, and ſuch a ſtrength by land, as were expected, from the late alliance, by the allies. He concluded his ſpeech with various arguments for their unanimity; and he hoped, as he himſelf was deſirous of being the common father of all his people, they would, on their ſide, lay aſide parties, diviſions, and animoſities [t].

1702. Proceedings of parliament.

THOUGH the two houſes were, as much as ever, divided into parties, ſuch was the management of the King, and the diſpoſition of the times, that they vied with one another to forward the ends propoſed in his Majeſty's ſpeech. The lords addreſſed the King in the warmeſt and moſt affectionate terms. The commons, without one diſſenting voice, voted the ſupply. Inſtead of being offended at the treaty which was to engage the nation in an immediate war, they addreſſed the throne, that no peace ſhould be made with France, till reparation ſhould be made to the King

[t] Journals, Dec. 31.

and

CHAP. IV. 1702.

and the nation, for her owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England [u]. On the ſecond of January, they brought in a bill for the attainder of that Prince. They introduced another bill, on the ninth, for the further ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line [w]. The next day, they reſolved, that the proportion of land-forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, ſhould, in terms of the treaty, be forty thouſand men. They voted forty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the year. But when the commons thus gratified the King, they were not negligent in their duty to their conſtituents. They regulated the number of ſoldiers to be employed in every regiment of foot and troop of horſe. They examined, with great exactneſs, the ſtate and condition of the navy. The animoſity of parties ſeemed to be loſt in an attention to buſineſs; and, when diſputes and conteſts were moſt to be feared, all were unanimous and ſeemingly compoſed.

The King falls from his horſe.

DURING proceedings ſo friendly to the deſigns of the Crown, the King himſelf became ſenſible, that he was not deſtined, in perſon, to carry into execution, the great ſchemes which he had formed. He, however, endeavoured to conceal the declining ſtate of his health, to accompliſh, with more facility, his favourite views. A fortunate coincidence of circumſtances, had thrown the opinions of the people into the ſame channel with his own. The parties, in parliament, were ſo well poized, that in a mutual fear of each other, they both courted the King. The animoſities which had always embroiled and embarraſſed his meaſures, were ſuſpended; and he had the ſatisfaction to have one glimpſe of ſerenity in the evening of a tempeſtuous reign. To continue a calm ſo favourable to his ſcheme of embarking England in the war, he ſpread reports of his recovery. But an accident accele-

[u] Journals, Jan. 10. 1702. [w] Jan. 9.

rated

CHAP. IV. 1702.

rated that diſſolution, which was apparently advancing though by ſlow degrees. On the twenty firſt of February, willing ſtill to continue his uſual diverſion of hunting, he mounted his horſe, though in a languiſhing ſtate of health, and riding out from Kenſington towards Hampton-court, the horſe fell, and in his fall, his Majeſty broke his right collar-bone. He was carried to Hampton-court, and the bone was ſet; but, contrary to advice, he returned the ſame evening, in his coach to Kenſington.

His death.

THIS accident, though it might have haſtened the death of William, bore, for ſome time, no appearance of proving fatal. On the twenty-eighth of February, the gazette declared, in expreſs terms, that the King was perfectly recovered; and, on the ſame day, he ſent a meſſage to both houſes, concerning an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. On the firſt of March, the bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, received the royal aſſent by commiſſion. On the ſecond day of that month, ſuch ſymptons appeared, that all hopes of the King's recovery were loſt. A defluction fell upon his knee. The aſthma, to which he had been always ſubject, increaſed. He breathed ſhort, and he was reſtleſs and feveriſh. The two houſes, in the mean time, continued to ſit. The council was aſſembled to receive the reports of the phyſicians. But, even in that extremity, it was maliciouſly remarked, that no Engliſhman of quality had any acceſs to the King's chamber. About five in the morning, of Sunday the eighth of March, his Majeſty received the ſacrament, from the hands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and at eight he expired, in the arms of one of his pages. Some papers, which might throw conſiderable light on the hiſtory of this Prince, were, with his laſt breath, conſigned to the hands of the Earl of Albemarle; and they were probably deſtroyed by that lord. Albemarle, whoſe original office was that of a tranſcriber of letters, had been employed, in the preceding month, on a ſervice

of

of the ſame kind. He had returned, on the ſeventeenth of February, from Holland, with all the ſecret correſpondences which had paſſed between the King and the Penſionary, under the ſuppoſition, that the latter was alſo dying,

Reflections.

THOUGH the character given of the Prince of Orange [x], in an early period of his life, ran through the whole conduct of King William, when he ſat on the throne of England, ſome new and ſtriking features were called forth, by the extraordinary events which filled his reign. His political conduct, and the diſpoſition of his mind, have been variouſly and oppoſitely repreſented: a thing not ſurpriſing, in a country where writers have not been able to diveſt themſelves of the prejudices and partialities incident to party. In ſuch a jarring ſtate of opinions, this Prince muſt have been too much praiſed by the one ſide, and by the other as extravagantly condemned. The neareſt path to truth, muſt certainly lie between theſe two extremes. But that path, though obvious, has not, hitherto been trod by hiſtorians; who have uniformly yielded to the prejudices of others, or have been ſwayed by their own. Their proximity to the period concerning which they wrote, may form, for many, a complete excuſe. The paſſions of party, came glowing down on the current of the times. Authors caught the heat of thoſe with whom they themſelves were moſt connected in life; and became, inadvertently, and ſometimes deſignedly, partial, through a weakneſs which they unjuſtly dignified with the name of principle.

His perſon.

WILLIAM the Third, King of Great Britain and Ireland, was in his perſon of a middle ſize, ill-ſhaped in his limbs, ſomewhat round in the ſhoulders, light brown in the colour of his hair and in his complexion. The lines of his face were hard, and his noſe aquiline. But a good and penetrating eye threw a kind of light

[x] Vol. i. p. 163.

on

CHAP. IV. 1702.

on his countenance, which tempered its ſeverity, and rendered his harſh features, in ſome meaſure, agreeable. Though his conſtitution was weak, delicate and infirm, he loved the manly exerciſes of the field; and often indulged himſelf in the pleaſures, and even, ſometimes, in the exceſſes of the table. In his private character, he was frequently harſh, paſſionate, and ſevere, with regard to trifles. But when the ſubject roſe equal to his mind, and in the tumult of battle, he was dignified, cool, and ſerene. Though he was apt to form bad impreſſions, which were not eaſily removed, he was neither vindictive in his diſpoſition, nor obſtinate in his reſentment. Neglected in his education, and, perhaps, deſtitute by nature of an elegance of mind, he had no taſte for literature, none for the ſciences, none for the beautiful arts. He paid no attention to muſic, he underſtood no poetry. He diſregarded learning. He encouraged no men of letters, no painters, no artiſts of any kind. In fortification and in the mathematics, he had a conſiderable degree of knowledge. Though unſucceſsful in the field, he underſtood military operations by land. But he neither poſſeſſed nor pretended any ſkill in maritime affairs.

And private character.

In the diſtribution of favours, he was cold and injudicious. In the puniſhment of crimes, often too eaſy, and ſometimes too ſevere. He was parſimonious where he ſhould be liberal; where he ought to be ſparing, frequently profuſe. In his temper he was ſilent and reſerved, in his addreſs ungraceful; and though not deſtitute of diſſimulation, and qualified for intrigue, leſs apt to conceal his paſſions than his deſigns. Theſe defects, rather than vices of the mind, combining with an indifference about humouring mankind through their ruling paſſions, rendered him extremely unfit for gaining the affections of the Engliſh nation. His reign, therefore, was crowded with mortifications of various kinds. The diſcontented parties among his ſubjects, found no difficulty

difficulty in eſtranging the minds of the people from a Prince, poſſeſſed of few talents to make him popular. He was truſted, perhaps, leſs than he deſerved, by the moſt obſequious of his parliaments; but it ſeems, upon the whole, apparent, that the nation adhered to his government, more from a fear of the return of his predeceſſor, than from any attachment to his own perſon, or reſpect for his right to the throne.

His public conduct.

THESE ha—Shglares of the mind of King William, preſented themſelves —Nion wſe who took a near and critical view of his conduct. To —ie emo obſerved him at a diſtance, and as a principal object in the great ſcale of Europe, he appeared a reſpectable, a prudent, and even a great Prince. During the laſt twenty years of his life, his abilities, by a dexterous management of the events of the times, raiſed him to an influence in Chriſtendom, ſcarce ever before carried by a Prince beyond the limits of his own dominions. Peculiarly fortunate in the ſucceſs of his political meaſures, he obtai-ed his authority through channels the moſt flattering, be—Cou conſidei uncommon. He was placed at the head of his native country, as the laſt hopes of her ſafety from conqueſt and a foreign yoke. He was raiſed to the throne of Great Britain, under the name of her deliverer from civil tyranny and religious perſecution. He was conſidered in the ſame important light by the reſt of Europe. The Empire, Spain, and Italy looked up to his councils, as their only reſource againſt the exorbitant ambition and power of Lewis the Fourteenth; and France herſelf, when ſhe affected to deſpiſe his power the moſt, owned his importance, by an illiberal joy upon a falſe report of his death [b].

Reflections on both.

BUT if the private character of William has been too critically examined, here the praiſe beſtowed on his public conduct ought

[b] 1690.

CHAP. IV. 1702.

to terminate. Though he was brave in action, and loved war as an amuſement, he poſſeſſed not the talents of a great general, and he was too prodigal of the lives of men. Though he obtained the name of a deliverer in England, and though, in fact, he might be conſidered in that light, with regard to Europe, more is owing to his own ambition, than to a general love of mankind. In Holland, where he obtained the chief authority, in a time of public diſtreſs, he frequently exerciſed his power in a manner inconſiſtent with the rights of a free ſtate [c]. In England, he ſcarce adhered, in any thing, to the moderate declarations which paved his way to the throne. Though he obtained the crown by election, he ſhewed no diſpoſition to relinquiſh any of its hereditary ornaments; and though he affected to deſpiſe royalty, no Prince was ever more fond of the diſtinction paid to a King. His intrigues to expel his uncle from a throne, which he himſelf intended to mount, were by no means ſuitable with any ſtrict adherence to virtue [d]. To gain to his intereſt the ſervants of King James, may not have been inconſiſtent with thoſe allowances generally made for ambitious views. But there was a remarkable want of morality, in his being acceſſary to the ſuggeſting of thoſe unpopular meaſures, which he turned, afterwards, with ſo much ſucceſs, againſt that unfortunate as well as imprudent Monarch [e]. Upon the whole, if we muſt allow that King William, with all his faults, was a great Prince, it ought alſo to be admitted, that virtue was never an unſurmountable obſtacle to his ambition and views on power.

[c] D'Avaux. [d] James II. D'Avaux. MSS. 1688. Dalrymple's Append.
[e] D'Avaux. MSS. 1688.

QUEEN

QUEEN ANNE.

CHAP. V.

Acceſſion of Anne.——State of parties.——Her firſt ſpeech to parliament.——She reſolves to proſecute the war.——A general ferment.——New miniſtry.——Marlborough and Godolphin in chief power.——They correſpond with St. Germains.——Parliament prorogued.——Affairs of Scotland.——A great ferment.——A ſeceſſion of members.——Act of ſettlement rejected.——Campaign of 1702.——Operations at ſea.——Succeſs before Vigo.——New parliament.——Proceedings.——Penſion refuſed to Marlborough.——His intrigues with St. Germains.——Bill againſt occaſional conformity.——Diviſion between the houſes.——Parliament prorogued.——Conduct of the Whigs.——Queen favours the Tories.——Court of St. Germains apply to Marlborough.——Affairs of Scotland.——Character of the Duke of Hamilton.——His inſtructions from St. Germains.——New parliament.——Act of ſecurity.——Act of ſettlement rejected.——Violent heats.——State of Scotland, with regard to England.——Affairs of Ireland.——Campaign of 1703.——Progreſs of the French and Bavarians.——Operations on the Rhine—In Flanders—and at ſea.——Affairs of the North.——A ſeſſion of parliament.——Ample ſupplies.——A dreadful tempeſt.——Bill againſt occaſional conformity.——Scotiſh plot.——Character of Simon Fraſer.——His crimes.——His plot diſcovered.——Diſpute between the houſes.——Parliament prorogued.

CHAP. V.

1702. Acceſſion of Anne.

ANNE, Princeſs of Denmark, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of James the Second, mounted the throne of England, upon the death of King William, in conſequence of the act paſſed in the year 1689, for the ſettlement of the crown. The two

CHAP. V.

1702.

houſes of parliament, as ſoon as the death of the late King was made known, aſſembled; and unanimouſly congratulated the Queen upon her acceſſion. To the privy council, who met at the ſame time, ſhe made the cuſtomary declaration; and ordered all the Lords and others, who had ſerved the late King in council, to take the oaths to herſelf in the ſame capacity. She was proclaimed in the afternoon of the eighth of March, with the uſual ſolemnity, amidſt the applauſe of the populace. The two ſucceeding days were employed in receiving the addreſſes of the two houſes of parliament, the felicitations of the church, and the congratulations of the city of London. The late king, unpopular while he lived, was almoſt forgot as ſoon as dead; and the people, with their uſual eagerneſs for novelty, turned all their thoughts toward the firſt meaſures of the new reign.

March 8.

State of parties.

THOUGH the late King had no reaſon to be pleaſed with either of the two parties who had divided between them the nation, he had, ſome months before his death, thrown himſelf and his affairs into the hands of the Whigs. The hopes derived by the Tories from the declining ſtate of his health, had prevented that violence, which they might have otherwiſe exhibited in parliament, on account of their being excluded from power. The unanimity in the two houſes, with regard to foreign affairs, proceeded, probably, from the ſame cauſe. The Whigs could deny nothing to the Crown, as their leaders were in office; and the Tories were not averſe from a war, which they themſelves were ſure to manage, after the expected demiſe of the King. The two parties had pledged themſelves too far to retreat from their engagements; and, therefore, though a change of miniſtry was naturally to be expected, from the acceſſion of a Princeſs, whom the coldneſs of her predeceſſor, and the diſreſpectful conduct of the party now in power, had evidently thrown into the arms of the Tories, there was no reaſon to apprehend any change in the great line of the meaſures of government.

THE

CHAP. V.

THE Queen, in her firſt ſpeech to parliament, furniſhed a proof, that ſhe was led by councils very different from thoſe of her predeceſſor in the throne. Though ſhe paid a compliment to his memory in the beginning, ſhe concluded with a kind of cenſure upon his conduct. She aſſured the two houſes, that as her own heart was entirely Engliſh, ſhe would agree to every thing that they could either expect or deſire for the happineſs and proſperity of England. The expreſſion manifeſtly regarded the too great attachment to his own countrymen, for which King William had been blamed. But to this alluſion to the predilection of the late King for foreigners, ſhe added words that ſeemed highly to reflect on his moral conduct. In confirmation of her promiſe to both houſes, ſhe aſſured them, that they would always find HER a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word. The firſt part of the Queen's ſpeech contained the uſual aſſurances of a new reign. She agreed, ſhe ſaid, in ſentiments with the concurrent addreſſes of the two houſes, that too much could not be done for the allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France. She recommended an union with Scotland, as neceſſary to the peace and ſecurity of both kingdoms; and ſhe deſired that the revenue for the ſupport of the civil government, ſhould be renewed in a manner ſuitable to her own honour and the dignity of the Crown [a].

1702. Anne's firſt ſpeech. March 11.

THOUGH the Queen was at no pains to conceal her attachment to one party, the other could not oppoſe her meaſures in parliament without deſerting their own. The eagerneſs which ſhe diſcovered to adhere to the meaſures of King William, with regard to foreign affairs, would render an oppoſition to the neceſſary ſupplies too inconſiſtent with the late conduct of the Whigs. They made a merit, therefore, of complying with what they could not prevent. The commons purſued, with a ſhow of unanimity and zeal, the affairs recommended from the throne.

Proceedings of the commons.

[a] Journals, March 11, 1702.

They

CHAP. V. 1702.

They ſettled upon her Majeſty [c] during life, the revenue poſſeſſed by the late King for the ſupport of the civil government. They ordered a bill, to impower the crown to appoint commiſſioners to treat for an union between England and Scotland. Proviſion had been already made, for the eventual expence of a war, during the ſucceeding ſummer; and the Queen, inſtead of demanding ſupplies from the nation, found an opportunity of alleviating a part of their burden. When ſhe came to the houſe of lords, on the thirtieth of March, to give the royal aſſent to the bill for the eſtabliſhment of her own revenue, ſhe made a ſpeech from the throne, calculated to gain popularity. She told the two houſes, that though the funds for the civil liſt might greatly fall ſhort of what they formerly produced, ſhe would give directions, that one hundred thouſand pounds of her own revenue ſhould be applied to the public ſervice of the year [d].

The Queen engages to ſupport the allies.

WHILE Anne was rendering herſelf popular at home, ſhe gained the eſteem of her allies abroad, by ſhewing a warm zeal for their cauſe. Two days after the death of William, ſhe condoled with the States of the United Provinces upon that event, in a letter. She aſſured them, that as ſhe had ſucceeded the late King in his throne, ſhe would alſo ſucceed him in the ſame inclination, to a conſtant union and amity with their republic, as well as adherence to the late alliances. That ſhe would concur with the allies in general, in meaſures neceſſary for the preſervation of the common liberty of Europe, in reducing the power of France within proper bounds. That ſhe ſhould always look upon the intereſts of England and thoſe of the States as inſeparable, and united with ſuch ties as could not be broken, without the greateſt prejudice to the two nations. The Earl of Marlborough was probably the adviſer of meaſures, which he afterwards executed with ability. The attachment which this nobleman had uniformly ſhewn to the

[c] March 14.

[d] Journals, March 30.

Queen,

CHAP. V. 1702.

Queen, when ſhe was little reſpected by the nation and perſecuted by the court, had either excited ſentiments of gratitude, or created principles of obedience to his inclinations in her mind. The firſt honours, and even the firſt conſiderable office, conferred in the preſent reign, were beſtowed on the earl [e]. On the thirteenth of March, he received the garter. The next day, he was appointed captain-general of all the forces to be employed by the Queen, in conjunction with the troops of the allies; and, the week thereafter, he was diſpatched to Holland, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to the States [f].

A ferment without doors.

THE victory obtained by the Tories over the Whigs, by the ſucceſſion of a ſovereign of their own principles to the throne, produced a ferment without doors, though all things bore a face of harmony and unanimity within. Violent men of both parties carried their own prejudices, with indecent freedom, to the preſs; and diſgraced their converſation with mutual reflections of the worſt and moſt dangerous kind. The Whigs were openly accuſed of aiming at the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth, by endeavouring to deprive the reigning Queen of the ſucceſſion to the throne. The memory of the late King was attacked with open aſſertions of the ſame kind; though it is highly probable, that Prince was very indifferent about what perſon ſhould mount, after him, the throne. An inquiry by the lords into this idle tale, produced only a negative proof of its not being founded in fact. They voted, upon an examination of King William's papers by a committee, that nothing appeared that tended to the prejudice of her Majeſty, or her ſucceſſion to the crown. The Lords followed this unmeaning vote, with animadverſions upon injurious reflections printed againſt the Whigs [g]. The Tories, in the mean time, failed not to annoy their opponents, in the ſame way. They procured a vote, that a book, reflecting on King Charles the Firſt,

[e] March 13. [f] Life of Marlborough, vol. i. [g] May 12.

CHAP. V. 1702.

was a ſcandalous and villanous libel, that tended to the ſubverſion of monarchy; and, as ſuch, they ordered the book to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman [h].

A new miniſtry.

ON the twelfth of April, the late King was privately interred; and, on the twenty-third of the ſame month, the Queen was crowned, with the uſual ſolemnity at Weſtminſter. The Tory party, who already governed her councils in private, were now admitted, without reſerve, into the public departments of the ſtate. The offices of the houſehold were filled with men of high principles for monarchy. The Lords Somers and Halifax, together with other leaders of the Whigs, were excluded from the new privy-council [i]; and their places ſupplied with eminent Tories. The Marquis of Normanby, remarkable for his attachment to her family, was raiſed to the office of lord privy-ſeal, by the Queen. But the moſt important promotion of all was that of the Lord Godolphin, to the ſtaff of lord high-treaſurer of England. Though Godolphin was well qualified for this important ſtation, he owed his office more to the influence of the Earl of Marlborough, than to his own merit. The connexion, which had long ſubſiſted in political views, between theſe two noble perſons, had been lately more cloſely cemented, by the marriage of the ſon of the former with the eldeſt daughter of the latter. Their private intereſts being thus united, they carried forward, with harmony as well as abilities, the buſineſs of the public.

Marlborough and Godolphin in correſpondence with St. Germains.

THE acceſſion of Anne to the crown had removed to a diſtance the hopes of the court of St. Germains. But they were not entirely quaſhed, till the appointment of her ſervants [k]. Though Marlborough had been raiſed by King William, in the preceding year, to the command of the Britiſh troops in Flanders, he liſtened, after the death of James the Second to the ſolicitations made in

[h] May 16. [i] April 4. [k] Stuart-papers, 1701.

favour

favour of the ſon of that unfortunate Prince [1]. A kind of principle, in favour of the family of Stuart, had been mixed with this noble man'saverſion to William; and there is ſcarce any doubt, that had their reſtoration to the throne ſuited equally with his own private intereſt, but he would have preferred them to any other race of ſovereigns. Godolphin had been long attached to the ſame cauſe. Though he had promoted the views of the Prince of Orange, he ſoon changed his opinion, with regard to King William. He had liſtened with attention, ever ſince the expulſion of James, to all overtures made by the adherents of that Prince; and, upon his death, he expreſſed the ſame attachment and regard to his ſon. The natural timidity of his diſpoſition, prevented him formerly from making any vigorous exertions in favour of the excluded family; and, after the demiſe of William, the thing itſelf became more difficult, and beſides, his own zeal was rendered more cool, by the proſpect of advantage which he derived from the new reign.

State of opinions with regard to the Queen's acceſſion.

THE ſtate of opinions had actually changed in England, with the ſtate of its affairs. The crown, by the death of William, had fallen almoſt into the old channel. Inſtead of a foreigner and only a relation, a Princeſs, a native of the kingdom, the only daughter of a King, whoſe title, as far as it was hereditary, was undoubted, and at the ſame time, a proteſtant, and much attached to the church, had now poſſeſſion of the throne. The greateſt part of the high-flying Tories, and even ſome vehement and determined Jacobites, were ſatisfied, on account of its convenience, with a ſmall deviation from the line of ſucceſſion. Though they were both, eſpecially the latter, invariably attached to the hereditary deſcent of the crown, they were willing to leave to events, that might ariſe in the progreſs of time, what could not be done at preſent, either with certainty or without danger. Though they had a recent example before them, that the quiet enjoyment

[1] Stuart papers, 1701.

CHAP. V. 1702.

of the crown depended by no means upon any hereditary right, they hoped, that the influence of the reigning ſovereign would enable her to bequeath the throne to her own family. Similar ſentiments had been adopted by the few perſons who ſtill formed, at St. Germains, the idle ſhow of a court. They knew the profeſſions, which the Queen had made to her father, during the moſt part of her predeceſſor's reign; and they endeavoured to flatter themſelves with hopes, that ſhe only took poſſeſſion of the government to reſtore and confirm the crown, eſpecially at her death, to her excluded brother [1].

War declared.

THESE reaſons united the Tories and the Jacobites, in an unanimous ſupport of the government of the new Queen. The Whigs either yielded to the current of the people, always violent for monarchy in every new reign, or they were aſhamed of oppoſing meaſures, which ſprung firſt from themſelves. On the ſecond of May, the buſineſs of the intended war againſt France and Spain, was debated in the privy-council. The Earl of Rocheſter, maternal uncle to the Queen, is ſaid to have propoſed, that the Engliſh nation ſhould only engage in the meaſures of the allies, as auxiliaries; and that the chief weight of the war ought to reſt on thoſe, who had moſt to fear from the power of France. The Earl of Marlborough, who had returned from Holland, after ſettling the projected operations with the States, declared himſelf vehement for an immediate declaration of war, to be iſſued by England, as a principal. The meaſures taken by himſelf, during an embaſſy of a few days in Holland, rendered, in ſome degree, neceſſary the meaſure which he ſupported. The States, upon the aſſurances made by the Queen, had agreed to all the propoſals of her reputed favourite. They had raiſed him to the chief command of their troops, the allies had furniſhed, with alacrity, their ſeveral quotas, and every thing was actually prepared for a vigorous and active campaign. A majority of the council yielded

[1] Stuart-papers, 1702.

either

either to the influence or reaſons of the Earl of Marlborough. Their reſolutions were communicated, the ſame day, to the commons; and war was declared in form on the fourth of May. CHAP. V. 1702.

THE commons had agreed to all that the court deſired with regard to war, before the death of the King. They had, therefore, no opportunity of ſhewing their liberality, in that reſpect, to the Queen. The public buſineſs being brought to a concluſion, the parliament was prorogued, on the twenty-fifth of May. Preparations for proſecuting the war with vigour, by ſea as well as by land, had been made in the principal ports of the kingdom. The Earl of Pembroke, who had been raiſed, by the late King, to the office of lord-admiral of England, was ſucceeded in that important department by the Prince of Denmark. The complaiſance of the different parties to the new Queen, induced them to overlook an informality in the commiſſion conferred on her conſort. He was permitted to chuſe a council, for his information and aſſiſtance, in the execution of his office. This circumſtance was conſidered as the creation of a new board, a thing not allowable, according to the opinion of many, but by act of parliament. But the reſpect of the nation for the Queen, and the peculiar ſituation of the Prince himſelf, prevented all enquiry upon this ſubject. Parliament prorogued.

WHILE the buſineſs of the public was carried on with ſuch unanimity in England, the affairs of Scotland became embroiled, intricate, and perplexed [m]. Though the late King had found means to allay the ferment, concerning the buſineſs of Darien, the animoſities and heats againſt government were rather ſuſpended than extinguiſhed. The diſcontents of the Scotiſh nation had uniformly ſubſiſted, during the whole of King William's reign; and that Prince, with more policy than juſtice, had continued, for Affairs of Scotland.

[m] Burnet, vol. iii.

CHAP. V.

1702.

the thirteen years he had ſat on the throne, the ſame convention-parliament, which had placed the crown of Scotland on his head. The unabating diſguſt among the people, rendered the King unwilling to remand them to a choice of a new repreſentative. Though the old parliament had frequently proved refractory, he knew that they had rather yielded to the current of the times, than to either their regard to the intereſts of their conſtituents or their diſlike to his own government. Beſides, his ſervants had, through a long habit and experience, diſcovered the ſecret channel to the vote of every member. They made ſuch good uſe of this knowledge, that the ferment concerning Darien had unaccountably ſubſided at once, in the January of 1701; and a kind of ſurly tranquillity prevailed, among the people, during that whole year [n].

A great ferment.

THE conduct of Anne, upon her acceſſion to the throne of Scotland, was by no means calculated to extinguiſh the diſcontents, which lay lurking in every corner of that kingdom. Unwilling to offend the Whigs, whom her miniſters conſidered as the moſt powerful party, they continued all the ſervants of her predeceſſor, in the higher departments of the ſtate. The joy, therefore, which her elevation had raiſed among the diſcontented, ſoon declined. They applied, through their leaders, for the diſſolution of the convention-parliament. But they were oppoſed by the miniſters, who were afraid to venture upon the new choice of a people already inflamed. The Queen ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded by the arguments of the latter, or to be ſwayed by her own fears. She continued the old parliament, which was appointed to meet on the ninth of June. To add to the diſcontents of thoſe, who called themſelves the country party, the Duke of Queenſberry, highly obnoxious to the people in general, was appointed commiſſioner. Prior to the meeting of parliament, the

[n] Mem. of Scotland.

Queen

Queen endeavoured to allay the bad humour of the malcontents, and to ſoothe the people into an acquieſcence with regard to her own meaſures. She wrote a letter as early as the twenty-firſt of April, to the parliament, full of aſſurances of her protection to the rights of the people, and the intereſt and independence of the kingdom. She expreſſed her regret at the diſappointments of the African company. She promiſed her concurrence in every thing for the encouragement of the commerce of the nation in general, and for repairing the loſſes of the adventurers in particular. She recommended, at the ſame time, the union between the kingdoms; and that ſhe ſhould think the bringing to perfection a meaſure ſo ſalutary, the greateſt happineſs of her reign [o].

A ſeceſſion of eighty members.

FAIR words were by no means ſufficient, either to gratify the populace or to gain their leaders. When the parliament, on the ninth of June, met at Edinburgh, the duke of Hamilton, before her Majeſty's commiſſion was read, roſe in his place and proteſted againſt their ſitting. He offered his reaſons, in a ſhort ſpeech to the houſe; and communicated a paper to the ſame purpoſe, containing his own proteſt, and that of ſuch members as ſhould adhere to his opinion. He immediately went out of the houſe. Eighty members following his example, ſeceded at the ſame time; and were received in the ſtreets with the loudeſt acclamations of the populace, who had aſſembled on this extraordinary occaſion. The members who remained in the houſe, notwithſtanding this great ſeceſſion, conſidered themſelves a legal parliament. After the commiſſion and the Queen's letter were read, theyadjourned, for two days; and, when they met again, on the eleventh of June, they appointed the uſual committees, and proceeded to buſineſs. Overtures were received immediately for various acts of importance. One of theſe, declaring the preſent meeting a legal parliament, and diſcharging all perſons from diſowning its authority,

[o] Letter, April 21, 1702.

under

CHAP. V.

1702.

under the penalty of high-treaſon, was unanimouſly paſſed and touched with the ſcepter, the next day [p].

An act for ſettling the crown rejected.

THE diſſenting members endeavoured in vain to juſtify their own conduct to the Queen. Though ſhe admitted their meſſenger, the Lord Blantyre, into her preſence, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to receive their addreſs. She ſignified, at the ſame time, to the ſitting members, that ſhe was reſolved to maintain againſt all oppoſers, their dignity and authority as a legal parliament. The ſeſſion accordingly proceeded, with an appearance of vigour, amidſt all the clamours of the people. They granted an immediate ſupply to the Queen. They reprimanded the faculty of advocates, for declaring, that the proteſt and conduct of the ſeceded members, was founded on the laws of the kingdom. They paſſed an act for enabling the Queen to appoint commiſſioners, for an union between the two kingdoms [q]. But, notwithſtanding their unanimity upon theſe points, an overture made by the chancellor, the Earl of Marchmont, for the ſettlement of the crown in the proteſtant line, and for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, was rejected. The commiſſioner having received no inſtructions, upon that head, from England, laid his commands upon Marchmont not to proceed. But the vehemence of the latter overcame his reſpect for the authority of the former.

Cauſes of that circumſtance.

THE Queen herſelf and her Engliſh miniſters were, at the time, extremely averſe from this meaſure. They had various reaſons for keeping the ſucceſſion open in Scotland. They wiſhed to retain a check upon the Whigs, and to awe the family of Hannover; who, from a near proſpect of the crown, might extend their intrigues to the affairs of the kingdom. They favoured, at the ſame time, the excluded Prince. Beſides, the

[p] June 12.

[q] June 25.

regard

CHAP. V.

1702.

regard which Anne may be naturally ſuppoſed to have entertained for a brother, ſhe had given a thouſand aſſurances to her father, to do every thing in her power to reſtore the ſucceſſion to the ancient channel, even before the death of her own ſon the Duke of Glouceſter. The demiſe of that Prince, her own deſpair of progeny, her reſpect for the memory of a father, and ſome affection for her own family, had probably rendered her inclined to transfer the crown, at her death, to the pretended Prince of Wales. Her chief miniſter Godolphin, and her greateſt favourite the Earl of Marlborough, had added the moſt ſolemn oaths, to their promiſes to ſupport the intereſt of King James and his ſon. They had renewed theſe promiſes, even ſince the acceſſion of the reigning Queen had thrown the whole power of the kingdom into their hands[r]: though they never meant to deprive her, during her life, of the crown, ſhould ſhe continue to hold it under their direction and miniſtry.

Parliament prorogued.

DURING the heats raiſed by the ill-timed overture made by Marchmont, the members who oppoſed it, diſcovered an inclination for admitting the diſſenting members into the houſe. Queenſberry, afraid of the conſequences, adjourned the parliament, from the thirtieth of June to the eighteenth of Auguſt. A kind of unſettled tranquillity ſucceeded the combuſtion raiſed by the Scotiſh malecontents. But though commiſſioners were appointed for an union between the two kingdoms, both parties ſhewed ſo little inclination to finiſh that important treaty, that the whole fell for the time to the ground. The majority of the Scots had, in their diſguſt at the conduct of the late King, with regard to their commerce, forgot thoſe terrors for their religion, which had induced them to place the crown on his head. The Highlanders, eſpecially, who were never enthuſiaſts, had always ſuffered their high notions of hereditary right, to

[r] Stuart-papers, 1702.

overcome

CHAP. V. 1702.

overcome their attachment to Preſbytery. The acceſſion of Anne, by bringing the throne nearer to the old ſtock, had eſtabliſhed in their minds a kind of certainty, that things were to return to their former channel. The aſſurances given by them of ſupporting, upon a proper occaſion, the efforts of the malcontents [s], encouraged greatly the ſeceſſion of the diſſenting members; who certainly covered their affection for the excluded family, under the ſpecious pretext of adhering to the laws of their country.

Campaign in Flanders.

THOUGH the war was kindled on all ſides, between the allies and the houſe of Bourbon, the campaign produced no deciſive event. The feeble ſtate of the latter, was balanced by the unprepared condition of the former; who, except England and Holland, were not furniſhed with the means of acting with any vigour. The military operations of the ſeaſon began, on the part of the allies, with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which the Elector of Cologn had placed in the hands of the French [t]. The Prince of Baden aſſembled, in the mean time, an army on the Upper-Rhine, to cut off the communication between the country of Alſace and town of Landau, which he reſolved to beſiege. The French found themſelves unable to relieve either of thoſe important places. Keyſerſwaert ſurrendered to the allies, after a ſiege of fifty-nine days [u]; and Landau, having been gallantly defended for three months, fell into the hands of the King of the Romans, on the tenth of September. The Duke of Burgundy, having under him the Mareſchal de Boufflers, made an attempt, in vain, upon Nimeguen [w]; and the Earl of Marlborough, having taken the command of the allied army in Flanders, on the ſecond of July, was diſappointed in all his endeavours to bring the enemy to battle. He, however, reduced Venlo [x], Ruremonde [y], and the citadel of Liege [z]; and having thus opened the navigation of the

[s] Stuart-papers, MSS. [t] April 15. [u] June 15. [w] June 11.
[x] Sept. 23. [y] Oct. 7. [z] Oct. 23.

Maeſe,

Maeſe, and the communication with the town of Maeſtricht, put an end, with reputation, to the campaign on the ſide of Flanders. CHAP. V. 1702.

THE principal effort of the Emperor was made in Italy, where Prince Eugene, who commanded his forces, was oppoſed by the combined armies of France and Spain. Eugene, as early as the firſt of February, had ſurpriſed Cremona. But he was inſtantly expelled from the place, chiefly by the valour of the Iriſh troops, in the French ſervice. The Mareſchal de Villeroi was, however, taken by the Germans, and the command devolved on the Duke De Vendôme. The young King of Spain took the field, in perſon. Having left the government in the hands of the Queen, aſſiſted by a council, he had paſſed into Naples, and took the nominal command of the army, which was actually led by Vendôme. A body of five thouſand, under the general Viſcomti were defeated, at Santa Vittoria, on the twenty-ſixth of July. Prince Eugene was forced, on the firſt of Auguſt, to raiſe the blockade of Mantua; and he was in ſome degree worſted, on the fifteenth of the ſame month, at Luzara. This advantage, obtained by the French in Italy, was followed by a victory on the Upper Rhine. The Marquis de Villars, having been detached by the army commanded by the Mareſchal de Catinat, defeated the Imperialiſts, under the Prince of Baden, though flushed with the conqueſt of Landau. To ſum the whole of this campaign, the French loſt the greateſt number of towns, and gained moſt advantages in the field. in Italy, and on the Rhine.

THE operations at ſea were leſs favourable to France and Spain, than the campaign by land. The confederate fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh and twenty Dutch, commanded in chief by Sir George Rooke, ſailed, on the firſt of July, from St. Helens. They carried twelve thouſand troops on board, nine Operations at ſea.

CHAP. V. 1702.

thouſand Engliſh, and three Dutch, under the command of the Duke of Ormond. Detained by calms and by contrary winds, they arrived not in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, which place they intended to attack, till the twelfth of Auguſt. Having landed the troops, the Duke of Ormond took Fort St. Catharine and Port St. Mary; which laſt place was plundered by the licentious ſoldiery, contrary to the intentions and commands of their general. After a vain attempt on Fort Matagorda, the troops were reimbarked, in the middle of September. The confederates ſteered then their courſe to Vigo, where the Spaniſh galleons, under the convoy of thirty French ſhips of war, commanded by Chateau-Renaud, were juſt arrived; and having unexpectedly, and almoſt unperceived, come to anchor before the place, they reſolved to attack it with the utmoſt vigour.

Succeſs before Vigo.

THE French and Spaniards had carried up their veſſels beyond a ſtreight, defended on the one ſide by a caſtle, on the other by platforms mounted with cannon, together with a ſtrong boom, formed of maſts, cables, and chains, thrown acroſs the entrance. The Duke of Ormond having landed ſome troops, took the caſtle [a]. Vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, broke through the boom. He was followed by the Dutch ſquadron, under Vandergoes. The French admiral, perceiving the boom broken, the caſtle and platforms taken, the enemy in the ſame baſon with his own ſquadron, ordered his ſhip to be ſet on fire. His example was followed by all the reſt. But when the enemy were thus employed in deſtroying their own fleet, the Engliſh and Dutch endeavoured to extinguiſh the flames. Six men of war were taken, ſeven ſunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the confederates, and four were deſtroyed. Though the greateſt part of the treaſure on board the galleons, had been removed by the enemy, the Engliſh

[a] Oct. 22.

and Dutch made an immenſe booty; and the Spaniſh marine was annihilated from that moment. The Duke of Ormond having thus amply recovered at Vigo, the laurels he had loſt before Cadiz, returned to England; and was received at London with great marks of favour by the Queen, and with the loud acclamations of the populace. 1702.

War in Poland.

In Poland the war was carried on with vigour, between Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and King Auguſtus. The firſt advancing to Warſaw with rapid march, put a ſudden end to the Poliſh diet aſſembled at that place. Auguſtus fled precipitately to Cracow, whither he was purſued by the Swedes. The King of Poland, in the mean time, having poſted himſelf advantageouſly at Cliſſow, with thirty thouſand men, chiefly Saxons, Charles marched toward him; and without permitting his troops to reſt a moment, though much inferior in number, attacked, routed, and put to flight the enemy. Four thouſand Saxons lay dead on the field. A great number of the Poles were alſo ſlain. Two thouſand, with all the artillery and baggage of King Auguſtus, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Cracow, though provided with the means of defence, ſurrendered without reſiſtance. But an accident which befel the conqueror, ſtopt his own progreſs and encouraged his enemies to renew their efforts. Having fallen from his horſe, in marching out of Cracow, he was confined for ſix weeks to his bed; while Auguſtus aſſembled at Sandomir, his own partiſans, under the name of a diet. Another diet, ſoon after, met at Warſaw. They ſent a deputation to the King of Sweden; but that Prince refuſed to admit their deputies into his preſence, under the pretence, that the Republic had made themſelves parties in the war, by having fought againſt him in the battle of Cliſſow [b].

[b] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

CHAP. V.

1702. A new parliament.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, the Queen made a progreſs through a part of the kingdom. She viſited Oxford. She ſpent ſome time at Bath. She accepted of an invitation to Briſtol. She was received every where with the marks of public joy, indiſcriminately beſtowed by the populace on all princes. But it appeared in the new elections, for ſhe had diſſolved the parliament on the ſecond of July, that, from her avowed principles in favour of the high-church, ſhe was extremely popular. The Tory-party, when the votes depended on the free ſuffrages of the vulgar, prevailed. The new parliament, after two prorogations, met at Weſtminſter, on the twentieth of October; and the commons having unanimouſly choſen Mr. Robert Harley for their ſpeaker, the Queen, as uſual, made a ſpeech to both houſes from the throne. Having expreſſed her ſatisfaction at meeting a new parliament, ſhe demanded ſuch ſupplies as might enable her to comply with engagements already made, and ſuch others as might be deemed neceſſary for the encouragement and ſupport of the allies. To induce her ſubjects to bear, with cheerfulneſs, the neceſſary taxes, ſhe deſired her parliament to inſpect all the accounts of receipts and payments, and to puniſh abuſes. She obſerved, ſhe ſaid, with a degree of concern, that the funds for the year had, in ſome meaſure, failed; and that, though ſhe had paid and applied the hundred thouſand pounds, which ſhe had promiſed to the laſt parliament, yet that ſum had not ſupplied the deficiency [c].

Proceedings of the commons.

THE lords congratulated her Majeſty, in general terms, upon the ſucceſs of her arms, under the Earl of Marlborough [d]. But the commons ſhewed the principles that prevailed in their houſe, by comparing, with advantage, the preſent reign with the laſt. The Queen had mentioned in her ſpeech, her great concern at the diſappointment before Cadiz; and the commons, in their

[c] Oct. 21. [d] Oct. 23.

addreſs,

CHAP. V. 1702.

addreſs, made light of that misfortune, when compared with the wonderful progreſs of her arms in Flanders, under the Earl of Marlborough, who had ſignally RETRIEVED the ancient honour and glory of the Engliſh nation. This reflection on the memory of the late King, was oppoſed by the Whigs, in a manner which ſhewed only the great ſuperiority of the Tories, when the houſe was divided upon the queſtion [d]. The ſame day a ſupply was unanimouſly voted for the war. The commons reſolved, on the thirtieth of October, that forty thouſand ſeamen ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the next year. They voted, on the ſixth of November [e], that the Engliſh proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, ſhould be forty thouſand men. They granted a ſupply of eight hundred thouſand pounds [f], for maintaining theſe forces, three hundred and fifty thouſand, for the guards and garriſons, including five thouſand men, to be employed by ſea; and fifty thouſand pounds, for ſubſidies to her Majeſty's allies.

A diſpute between the houſes.

IN the midſt of this good humour in parliament, intelligence of the ſucceſs before Vigo arrived at London. The Queen acquainted the two houſes, that ſhe had appointed the twelfth of November as a day of thankſgiving, for the ſignal ſucceſſes of her arms. She accordingly went, in perſon, to St. Paul's, on that day [g], attended by the peers and commons. A ſlight diſpute between the two houſes, interrupted, for a moment, the general harmony and unanimity which ſeemed to prevail. On a complaint made to the commons, by Sir John Packington [h], againſt the Biſhop of Worceſter, for an undue interference in the late elections, they addreſſed her Majeſty to remove that prelate from the office of lord almoner. The lords, offended at the proceedings of the commons, againſt a member of their body, preſented a counter addreſs to the Queen. She, however, choſe to comply with the

[d] Oct. 26. [e] Nov. 6. [f] Nov. 10. [g] Nov. 12. [h] Nov. 18.

requeſt

CHAP. V. 1702

requeſt of the commons, whom ſhe knew to be devoted to her ſervice. She had told the lords, with a degree of ſpirit, that though ſhe had not yet received any proof of the complaints againſt the Biſhop of Worceſter, ſhe conſidered it as her undoubted right to continue or diſplace any of her ſervants at pleaſure. That prelate was accordingly diſmiſſed immediately from the office of almoner [k]. His diſgrace proceeded more from the reſentment of the high-church party, for his having adhered to their opponents, than from any undue influence uſed in the election for Worceſter.

An eventual penſion ſettled on the Prince of Denmark.

THE readineſs ſhewn by the Queen to gratify the commons, produced a return of complaiſance on the part of that aſſembly. In conſequence of a meſſage, carried to the houſe by Secretary Hedges, they reſolved, that the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled on the Prince of Denmark, ſhould he happen to ſurvive her Majeſty [l]. But to an application made by the Queen, in favour of the Earl of Marlborough, they paid not the like regard. That nobleman, having finiſhed with great reputation, the campaign in Flanders, had, in the beginning of November, quitted the army and reſolved to return to the Hague. Having embarked on the Maeſe at Maeſtricht, he was taken priſoner by a part of the garriſon of Guelders, the only place now remaining to the French, in Spaniſh Guelderland. The good fortune which had attended the Earl in the field, did not deſert him on the preſent occaſion. Producing a fictitious paſs to the enemy, he was diſmiſſed in a few hours, without being known; and, having ſettled meaſures with the States, he arrived in England, in the end of November [m].

One refuſed to Marlborough.

TWO days [n] after his arrival, a committee of the houſe of commons, preſented the Earl with the thanks of that aſſembly, for his great and ſignal ſervices. On the ſecond of December, her

[k] Nov. 21. [l] Nov. 25. [m] Nov. 28. [n] Nov. 30.

Majeſty

CHAP. V. 1702.

Majeſty informed the council, that ſhe intended to raiſe him to the rank of a duke; and, on the tenth of the ſame month, ſhe ſent a meſſage to the commons, to requeſt them to ſettle, upon him and his heirs for ever, five thouſand pounds a year, which ſhe had granted him out of the poſt-office, during her own life[o]. The private character of Marlborough, notwithſtanding the brilliancy of his public tranſactions, was not calculated to gain friends. An inordinate love of money had induced him frequently to ſtoop to acts of meanneſs, that were as inconſiſtent with the conduct of a gentleman, as they were unworthy of his great talents. His political delinquency was, at the ſame time, brought to his account, by the two great parties which divided the nation. The Tories had not yet forgot his deſertion of his benefactor King James the Second; and thoſe who favoured the revolution remembered, to his diſadvantage, his conduct toward the late King. The Queen's meſſage was received, at firſt, with aſtoniſhment and ſilence. A violent debate, at length, aroſe. Much was ſaid of the merit of Marlborough. But the houſe informed the Queen, that they could not comply with a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown [p].

His intrigues with St. Germains.

THE Duke foreſeeing, from the complexion of the debates, that their reſult would be unfavourable, prayed the Queen to withdraw her meſſage. This circumſtance, however, hindered not the commons from preſenting their addreſs. The Tories, who now formed a great majority, contrived to convey a reflection on the late King, in their refuſal of a ſettlement on Marlborough. They complained that the revenue of the crown had been already too much reduced, by the exorbitant grants of the laſt reign, to bear any further alienation. The adherents of the excluded branch of the family of Stuart, ſeemed to be moſt inclined to involve Marlborough in the cenſure paſſed upon King William. Though he

[o] Dec. 10. [p] Dec. 16.

was,

CHAP. V.

1702.

was known to have uniformly oppoſed the power of that Prince, he was not deemed ſincere in his profeſſions and promiſes to his rival. His zeal, it is certain, had greatly abated, ſince the acceſſion of Anne to the throne. He, however, kept upon fair terms with the court of St. Germains. He endeavoured to aſcribe to the multiplicity of his affairs, that want of attention, which actually proceeded from a change in his own views. He had, throughout the preceding ſummer, expreſſed frequently a warm attachment to the cauſe of the pretended Prince of Wales; and, as a proof of his zeal, he granted paſſes to the agents of that Prince, when they wiſhed to tranſport themſelves into France to inform their maſter of the ſtate of his affairs in England[q]. But though he expoſed himſelf to the laws of his country by this conduct, he had not the good fortune to ſatisfy thoſe whom he affected to ſerve.

A motion for reſuming King William's grants.

SHOULD a judgment be formed of the principles of the preſent houſe of commons, from their diſpoſition to animadvert upon the conduct of the late King, they might be concluded to have been extremely averſe from the change which that Prince had made in the ſucceſſion to the crown. The commiſſioners for public accounts made ſtrict inquiries into the application of the public money, in the laſt reign[r]. Sir Edward Seymour, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debate againſt Marlborough, moved for leave to bring in a bill, for reſuming all grants made in King William's reign, and for applying them to the uſe of the public[s]. This motion was carried by a very great majority[t]. But another, made by Mr. Walpole, that all grants, made in the reign of King James, ſhould be reſumed, paſſed in the negative. The prevailing party, conſiſting chiefly of the landed intereſt, followed their victory with another important motion. They procured an order for bringing in a bill, to prevent all perſons to be members of the houſe of commons, except ſuch as ſhould be found poſſeſſed of real eſtates.

[q] Stuart-papers, 1702. [r] Journals, Dec. 3. [s] Dec. 23. [t] 180 againſt 78.

Theſe

Theſe motions, however, ſeemed rather intended to ſhew the power of the party, than meant ſeriouſly to be carried into laws. The bill of reſumption, in particular, was deemed ſo ſevere, that it was actually dropt afterwards, by thoſe who had carried the motion for its being introduced, with ſo high a hand [t]; and the bill, for members to poſſeſs real eſtates, was thrown out by the lords [u].

A bill to prevent occaſional conformity.

WHILE the Tories carried every thing in the houſe of commons, their violence was conſiderably checked, by the predominancy of the oppoſite party in the houſe of peers. The act paſſed in the firſt year of William and Mary, in favour of proteſtant diſſenters, had been always diſliked by the high-church party. The influence of the court, joined to the zeal of the Whigs, had prevented any attempt to repeal this act, as long as William ſat upon the throne. But the party who favoured the church, finding themſelves ſo powerful in the houſe of commons, under a Queen who adhered to their principles, paſſed an order, on the fourth of November, for bringing in a bill to prevent occaſional conformity. The bill was accordingly prepared and introduced, by Mr. Bromley and Mr. St. John, the latter, afterwards well known, under the title of Bolingbroke. On the ninth of December, the bill was, a third time, read, paſſed, and ſent to the lords. Though the latter rejected not the bill, they made ſeveral amendments, to which the commons would not yield. A conference between the two houſes, upon the ſubject, produced nothing but a more firm adherence, on both ſides, to their reſpective opinions. The commons ordered, at length [w], their proceedings upon this whole affair to be printed. Their example was followed by the lords, and the bill was dropt.

1703. A diviſion between the houſes.

THE bill to prevent occaſional conformity furniſhed not the only cauſe of diſpute between the two houſes. The commiſ-

[t] Journals of the lords. [u] Feb. 25, 1703. [w] Feb. 5.

 ſioners,

CHAP. V.

1703.

ſioners, appointed for the inſpection of public accounts, proceeding with their inquiries, the commons reſolved, that the Lord Halifax, auditor of the exchequer, had been guilty of a breach of truſt and great miſmanagements in his office. The lords having called for the accounts, came to a reſolution diametrically oppoſite to that of the commons. They voted, that the lord Halifax had performed the duty of his office, as auditor of the exchequer, in tranſmitting the impreſt rolls to the Queen's remembrancer. The commons, in a conference, denied the right of the lords to examine any accounts, as they could neither ſupply deficiencies, nor apply any ſurpluſage, the grant of all aids being inherently veſted in the commons. That even, in their judicial capacity, the lords could only proceed againſt miſmanagements, upon the complaint of the commons; and that no information collected from the accounts themſelves, could entitle the lords either to acquit or condemn. The lords, provoked at the repreſentations of the lower houſe, reſolved, that the peers had an undoubted right to take cognizance of the public accounts. That their proceedings, with regard to the Lord Halifax, were regular; and that the commons, in their conference, had thrown unbecoming reflections on the lords, and had uſed unparliamentary arguments [x].

Parliament prorogued.

THE commons equally irritated, reduced the arguments advanced by their committee, into votes of their houſe. A ſecond conference rather increaſed than diminiſhed the heats on both ſides. But a ſudden prorogation put an end to the diſpute and the ſeſſion. The Queen came to the houſe of lords, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, and made a ſpeech from the throne. She thanked the two houſes for the diſpatch they had given to the public buſineſs. She thanked the commons, in particular, for their great ſupplies; and for their readineſs in making a proviſion for the Prince of Denmark. To gratify the Tories, and in ad-

[x] Feb. 17.

herence

herence to her own principles, ſhe declared herſelf ſtrongly in favour of the eſtabliſhed church. She hoped, ſhe ſaid, that ſuch of her ſubjects as had the misfortune to diſſent from the church of England, ſhould reſt ſecure and ſatisfied in the act of toleration, which ſhe was firmly reſolved to maintain. That thoſe, who had the advantage and happineſs to be of the church, ſhould conſider, that ſhe had been educated in its principles. That ſhe had run great hazards for its preſervation. That ſhe would take particular care to maintain and encourage all its privileges and rights, and to tranſmit them ſecurely to poſterity. Having expreſſed her opinion, that further laws were neceſſary for reſtraining the ſcandalous licentiouſneſs of the preſs; the lord keeper, by her command, prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ſecond of April[r]. CHAP. V. 1703.

THE Queen and thoſe who led her councils, had ſome reaſon to wiſh for new reſtrictions on the licence aſſumed by the writers of pamphlets and periodical papers. Though the Whigs, on the acceſſion of Anne, turned their thoughts more to their own danger from their opponents, than the poſſeſſion of power, their hopes of regaining the influence which they had loſt, gradually aroſe. In the houſe of commons, their oppoſition had been hitherto languid and feeble. The prejudices of thoſe without were, therefore, to be raiſed, to ſecond efforts that might prove ſucceſsful within. The preſs was employed, with great aſſiduity, by the adherents of the party; and a people naturally jealous of their rulers, began already to catch the flame. The new reign, however, was ſtill too popular to be ſhaken, by aggravated complaints. The terrors of the nation for popery, had altogether ſubſided, in their knowledge of the Queen's firm adherence to the proteſtant religion. The war had been carried on with a vigour and a ſucceſs unknown in the preceding reign; and the ſpirits of mankind Conduct of the Whigs.

[r] Feb. 27.

CHAP. V.

1703.

being raiſed, by the flouriſhing aſpect of affairs, public credit, that had languiſhed long, was in a great meaſure reſtored.

Queen favours the Tories.

THE low-church party, it ought to be confeſſed, had ſome reaſon to wiſh for a change, in the meaſures of the court, with regard to themſelves. Their conduct towards the Princeſs of Denmark was neither forgot nor forgiven, by Queen Anne; and her reſentment had joined with her principles, in throwing her completely into the hands of the high-church party. The Whigs were, in a manner, proſcribed and debarred from office; and the power which they ſtill retained in the houſe of lords, ſeemed to demand their being excluded from honours. On the ninth of March, they were furniſhed with a proof that the current of royal favour was ſet another way. To ſecure a majority in the upper-houſe, for the party whoſe intereſts were abetted by the Queen, four of the moſt vehement Tories were raiſed to the peerage. Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour were the perſons dignified, upon this occaſion, with honours. Others of the party, already in the houſe of lords, were gratified with higher titles. The Marquis of Normanby, in particular, was created duke of the ſame name. But the title of Duke of Buckinghamſhire being afterwards added, he is better known by the latter name [z].

Secret views

THE conduct of the court, and the views of the prevailing party in the houſe of commons, was conſidered, by their opponents, as proceeding from a deſign of defeating, ultimately, the ſucceſſion of the crown in the family of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh. A coincidence of circumſtances, it is certain, had thrown the church-party, in ſome degree, into the ſcale of the excluded branch of the houſe of Stuart. They concluded that the more violent Whigs were, from principle, attached to a republican ſyſtem of government. They apprehended that thoſe whom their own ambitious

[z] March 9.

views had joined to that party, would, either from intereſt or revenge, abet the religious opinions and civil prejudices of the diſſenting proteſtants, upon the event of the acceſſion of a foreign Prince to the throne. Beſides, the attachment to the hereditary deſcent of the crown, when ingrafted on the firſt principles of the church of England, had weighed much with thoſe who were moſt zealous for her doctrines. The dangers and the apprehenſions ariſing from popery had vaniſhed. The terrors, which had ſeized the nation, on that head, at the revolution, were aſcribed to the arts and machinations of the republican party, in which all diſſenters were erroneouſly comprehended, to furniſh themſelves with an opportunity of rearing their own favourite fabric of government, on the ruins of a diſputed throne[a]. CHAP. V. 1703.

of the high-church party.

MEN ſwayed by theſe opinions were eaſily induced to liſten to the declared Jacobites, and to follow the inſtructions of the court of St. Germains. The latter deemed the church of England thoroughly in their intereſt. The bill to prevent occaſional conformity, and that to grant a year longer to ſuch as had neglected to take the oath of abjuration, were ſuggeſted and abetted by the determined adherents of the pretended Prince of Wales. The firſt of thoſe bills had failed, through the prevalence of the Whig-party in the houſe of lords; and the latter, through an amendment of the peers, became a further ſecurity for the ſucceſſion which it was intended to defeat. Two clauſes were added, with ſuch art to the bill, that the high-church party durſt not oppoſe them, without endangering their influence with the nation, and declaring themſelves too precipitately for a meaſure, which time only could gradually accompliſh. To endeavour either directly or indirectly to defeat the ſucceſſion, as now limited by law, was declared high-treaſon; and the oath of abjuration, a circumſtance neglected in the firſt bill, was impoſed on the whole Iriſh nation[b].

[a] Stuart-papers, 1703.

[b] Journals of the lords.

THE

CHAP. V.

1703. Applications of the court of St. Germains

THE court of St. Germains derived great hopes from the friendly diſpoſition of the Engliſh houſe of commons. But they turned their eyes, with moſt attention, to the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin. The firſt, by poſſeſſing the command of the army, might have effectually ſerved their cauſe, had his profeſſions been ſincere. The latter, though timid in his councils, was a man of abilities, and uniformly attached to the excluded branch of the royal family. Marlborough, whoſe great influence in the meaſures of the court was known, had made himſelf a party againſt the Whigs [c], by extending, in his own department, his animadverſions to thoſe members of the houſe of peers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſing what was deemed detrimental to the eventual ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover [d]. He was, therefore, preſſed by the pretended Prince of Wales, through his emiſſaries, to enter into an immediate treaty; the terms of which were, to leave Queen Anne in poſſeſſion of the crown during her own life, provided ſhe would ſecure the ſucceſſion to her brother at her death [e]. To effectuate this ſecurity, the act of occaſional-conformity was not thought ſufficient; though the church of England ſeemed to conclude, that her own ſafety was involved in the reſtoration of the hereditary deſcent of the crown into its former channel [f]. He therefore propoſed, that the act of ſettlement itſelf ſhould be repealed; a thing, he thought, not impracticable in the preſent diſpoſition of the parliament.

to Marlborough.

THE ſervants of the pretended Prince, at the ſame time, endeavoured, through Marlborough, to reconcile the Queen herſelf to their views, by applying to her feelings, and propoſing various expedients. They inſinuated that, conſidering the juſtice and piety of Anne, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would obſtruct

[c] Hannover-papers, 1703.
[d] The E. of Rivers to Bulau, April 9, 1703.
[e] Stuart-papers, 1703.
[f] Ibid.

the

1703.

the eventual ſucceſſion of her brother; a meaſure which, they ſaid, ſhe owed to her own glory, the memory of her father, and her ſolemn engagements to that Prince. They affirmed, that it was not to be thought, ſhe would contribute to exclude her own family, in favour of a ſtranger, the moſt diſtant relation ſhe had in the world [g]. To facilitate, therefore, the execution of the ſcheme, which they earneſtly wiſhed her to adopt, they inſinuated, that the putting her brother in an immediate poſſeſſion of the crown of Scotland, would be the moſt effectual means for ſecuring to him the eventual ſucceſſion of the crown of England; and that this deciſive meaſure would be attended with little difficulty, conſidering, that the majority of parliament, in the two kingdoms, were apparently well affected to the hereditary ſucceſſion of the throne [h].

A marriage propoſed with his daughter.

To this extraordinary, and perhaps, impracticable project, deſtined to be laid before the Queen, the agents of the court of St. Germains, ſhewed an inclination to confirm Marlborough in the cauſe of their maſter, by engaging his own ambition. His only ſon, the Marquis of Blandford, having died at Cambridge, on the twentieth of February, the Duke had no proſpect of tranſmitting his name to poſterity through the male line. Of four daughters, two were already married, the eldeſt to the ſon of the Lord Godolphin, and the ſecond to the earl of Sunderland. Colonel Sackville, who had, during the late reign, carried on the correſpondence between Marlborough and the court of St. Germains, and who had always free acceſs to the Duke, propoſed a marriage between his third daughter and the pretended Prince of Wales. How Marlborough received the propoſal is uncertain. But the negociation ſeems not to have ended with the preſent year. The adherents of the family of Hannover, either appriſed of this projected connexion, or willing to gain to their own

[g] Stuart-papers, 1703. [h] Ibid.

party

CHAP. V.

1703.

party the great influence and weight of Marlborough, formed a ſcheme on their ſide, to marry this daughter to the electoral Prince[i]. The high-flying Tories, and eſpecially the Jacobite part of the miniſtry, were ſo much alarmed at this circumſtance, that they even intended to ſolicit the Queen herſelf to propoſe the match between her brother and the Duke's daughter[k]. Theſe facts are more deciſive, with regard to the great power of the Duke himſelf, than proofs of the prudence of thoſe by whom the propoſals were made.

Affairs of Scotland.

DURING theſe ſecret tranſactions in England, projects for reſtoring the ſucceſſion in the hereditary line, were carried forward with more openneſs in Scotland. The prejudices of the people in general, againſt the old parliament, were inflamed by the Jacobites and the abettors of prelacy, who hoped, upon a new election, to return a majority of their own party into the houſe. It was aſſerted, and even publickly argued, that the parliament then in being, had never been a regular aſſembly. That it had been called by the Prince of Orange, before he was inveſted with the regal title; and that, having continued fourteen years, a circumſtance utterly inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of Scotland, its authority was uſurped, and all its deliberations illegal. Theſe reaſons being propagated, and accommodated to the unſettled humour which prevailed in the kingdom, rendered the people in general loud in their demands for a new parliament. The diſpoſition of the Court ſeemed to ſuit itſelf to the preſent prejudices of the nation. The old miniſtry, who had been conſidered in the light of Whigs, were removed from the active departments of the ſtate. The Earls of Melvil, Marchmont, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford were laid aſide. The Earl of Seafield, yielding to the temper of the times, was made preſident of the council. The Duke of Queenſberry and the Viſcount

[i] George II.

[k] Stuart-papers, 1704.

Tarbat,

Tarbat, men equally pliant in the diſpoſition of their minds, received the ſeals as ſecretaries of ſtate; and the Earl of Tullibardin, who, from favouring the Revolution, had become, through diſguſt, a Jacobite, was raiſed to the office of lord-privy-ſeal [l]. CHAP. V. 1703.

A COMPLAISANCE to the humour of the times, and, as they ſuppoſed, to the diſpoſition of the Court, rendered the new miniſtry ſuſpected of an attachment to the exiled family. The Viſcount Tarbat, in particular, who had been all things to all governments, ever ſince the death of Charles the Firſt, endeavoured to gain the affections of the Jacobites, by procuring from the Queen a proclamation of indemnity [m]. Before the members of the new adminiſtration were appointed, the old parliament was diſſolved, and another ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the ſixth of May. The vehemence of the people, the influence and the weight of government, the activity of the leaders of the country party, and the zeal of the Jacobites, procured a return of more members, ſwayed by high principles for monarchy, than had been known in any parliament ſince the reſtoration of Charles the Second. But though the majority were enemies to the late Revolution, theſe came under two denominations to the houſe. The open and avowed Jacobites were the leaſt dangerous, as they made no ſecret of their real deſigns. But the country-party, as they affected to call themſelves, conſiſting of men of more prudence and more ſpirit, covered their deſigns, in favour of the exiled family, with the ſpecious pretence of inſiſting upon the redreſs of the grievances under which the nation had laboured in the preceding reign [n]. The firſt were led by the Earl of Home, who had rendered himſelf beloved by his party, from their opinion of his integrity, and his uniform attachment to the intereſt of the excluded family.

[l] Lockhart's Memoirs. [m] March 6. [n] Lockhart's Memoirs.

CHAP. V.

1703. Character of the Duke of Hamilton.

THE Duke of Hamilton, the acknowledged head of the country-party, was a nobleman of ſolid, as well as popular talents. Unſhaken in his perſonal courage, hitherto ſteady in his political conduct, clear in conception, judicious, and full of addreſs. Though not poſſeſſed of a flowing eloquence of language when he ſpoke in public, his expreſſions were manly and his manner ſo graceful, that his words came with an irreſiſtible force upon his audience. He was qualified by nature to gain mankind, and to combine together their various paſſions and views; and, thus united, to turn their whole force at once to one point. Attached to his party from principle, he adhered to their very prejudices, with a firmneſs that gained their affections and ſecured their unlimited confidence. In forming his projects he was cautious, to a degree of irreſolution. But when he once adopted any ſcheme, he was not to be ſwayed from his purpoſe by obſtructions, nor intimidated by dangers. Having ſerved King Charles and King James, in various capacities, he retained his affection for their family, after the misfortunes of the latter; and, making no ſecret of his principles, declined to accept any office from King William, and even for many years to acknowledge his authority. When the reſentment of the Scots had aſcended to a degree of frenzy againſt the Crown, in the year 1698, he accepted, upon the reſignation of his mother, of the title of Duke of Hamilton; and, having placed himſelf at the head of the oppoſition, directed, with great dexterity, their whole fury againſt the King.

His inſtructions from St. Germains.

THE correſpondence between the late King James and the Duke of Hamilton, had languiſhed ever ſince the treaty of Riſwick had put an end to all the hopes of that unfortunate Prince. The adherents of his ſon, however, renewed their intrigues in Scotland as well as in England; and being no ſtrangers to Hamilton's attachment to their cauſe, ſent him ſecret inſtructions, which he followed implicity in his public conduct. His receſſion, with

CHAP. V. 1703.

with eighty members, in the preceding year, had deprived the parliament of the opinions of the people; and had been the great cauſe of the diſſolution which ſoon after followed. This circumſtance had rendered ſtill more important, a nobleman whoſe weight in his country had been great before. The pretended Prince of Wales neglected not, therefore, to point out to the Duke, in the month of January, the line which he wiſhed to be purſued in the new parliament. The principal articles required of Hamilton were, to oppoſe, with all the force of his influence, abilities, and addreſs, the bill of abjuration, the ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover, and the union of the two kingdoms [o].

A new parliament.

THE Duke, in obedience to his inſtructions, and purſuing the bent of his own mind, had concerted, with his party, meaſures favourable to the excluded family. When the parliament met, on the ſixth of May, he preſented to the houſe, the draught of a bill for recognizing and aſſerting the authority of her Majeſty, and her undoubted right and title to the crown of Scotland. The inclination of the Engliſh miniſtry, and even the diſtant views of the Queen herſelf, in favour of her brother, were no ſecret to the Duke; who had been, for more than ten years, privy to their intrigues and correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. Without departing, therefore, from his purpoſe, he propoſed this overture, which ſeemed levelled againſt his own principles, with regard to the hereditary deſcent of the crown. The act could not be oppoſed with any decency. But the old miniſtry, to ſcreen themſelves from the future animadverſions of parliament, endeavoured to inſert a clauſe, that it ſhould be high-treaſon to impugn or quarrel, either the Queen's right to the crown, or her exerciſe of the regal function ſince ſhe aſcended the throne. Though Hamilton and his party perceived the drift of

[o] Stuart-papers, 1703.

CHAP. V. 1703.

this amendment, yet, to prevent the appearance of any obſtruction to this complimentary act, they conſented, under an expreſs declaration, that the clauſe ſhould not extend to juſtify the tranſactions in the late parliament, ſhould they be queſtioned hereafter [p].

Proceedings

THE avowed friends of the excluded family, ſhewed the ſame inclination with thoſe who called themſelves the country-party, to pleaſe the Queen and to gratify the demands of the Crown. The Earl of Home, who was known to lead the Jacobites, preſented the draught of an act, on the nineteenth of May, for granting a ſupply. Thoſe who affected to adhere to the principles of the late Revolution, were unwilling that this compliment to government ſhould come from the oppoſite ſide. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Marchmont profeſſed themſelves, and were allowed by the world, to be the leaders of that party. The Duke, though a man of abilities, and agreeable in his manners, was profligate in his private life, and regarded chiefly his own intereſt in his public conduct. Though he came over with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, and affected to be a mortal enemy to the family of Stuart; he had liſtened to the propoſals of King James, through the Earl of Arran, in the year 1691, when that Prince had a near proſpect of being reſtored to his throne. Argyle had, then, together with the Earl of Home, with whom he was connected by marriage, agreed to accept of a commiſſion as lieutenant-general from the exiled King [q]. But the hopes of James being blaſted by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, Argyle fell again into the meaſures of William, obtained from that Prince ſeveral ſums of money; and in the year 1701, the title of a Duke, for his ſervices in a refractory ſeſſion of parliament [r].

[p] Mem. of Scotland, 1703.

[q] Stuart-papers, 1692.

[r] Burnet, vol. iii. Lockhart's Memoirs.

ARGYLE,

CHAP. V.

ARGYLE, apprized of the Earl of Home's intention to move for a ſupply, had the addreſs, not only to fruſtrate the overture, but even to detach the commiſſioner, the Duke of Queenſberry, from the country-party, in whoſe views he had actually embarked. He came to that nobleman and informed him, that he himſelf and his party had reſolved to move for an act to ratify the late Revolution, and to confirm the Preſbyterian ſyſtem of church-government. This meaſure was ſo contrary to the principles of thoſe who had propoſed to grant an immediate ſupply, that the commiſſioner requeſted the Duke to forbear. The latter refuſed to comply; and dexterouſly inſinuated into the mind of Queenſberry, ſuch a jealouſy of the growing weight of the Duke of Hamilton, that he deſerted, at once, his own profeſſions and the intereſts of the country-party. The Marquis of Tweedale, in the mean time, made an overture in the houſe, that prior to all other buſineſs, the parliament ſhould proceed to form conditions of government, and regulations in the conſtitution of the kingdom, to take place after the demiſe of her Majeſty.

1703. The commiſſioner deſerts the country-party.

The party who endeavoured to defeat the ſupply, oppoſed it with this overture, which was likely to command the whole attention of the houſe. On a debate touching the competition between Tweedale's motion and the conſideration of the ſupply, the party who ſupported the firſt prevailed. The Marquis of Athol, in conſequence of the overture, offered an act for the ſecurity of the kingdom, in caſe of her Majeſty's deceaſe[s]. This important buſineſs filled the greateſt part of the ſeſſion with violent debates. It was ſtipulated by the act, that, on the twentieth day after the Queen's deceaſe, the eſtates of parliament ſhould meet; and that, in the intermediate time, the executive government ſhould devolve on ſuch members of the houſe as ſhould happen to come to Edinburgh. It was provided, that

Act of ſecurity.

[s] May 28.

no

CHAP. V. 1703.

no papiſts ſhould be members. That no Engliſhman or foreigner, enjoying a title in Scotland, and not poſſeſſed of one thouſand pound ſterling of yearly rent in that kingdom, ſhould be capable of either ſitting or voting in the parliament to be convened in terms of the act.

Its conditions.

WHEN the houſe proceeded to the limitations to be laid on the ſucceſſor of the Queen in the throne, a violent debate aroſe. A member urging, that her Majeſty's letter to the parliament, encouraged them to expect her concurrence, in any thing calculated to ſecure public freedom, was anſwered, with a cenſure, by the commiſſioner. The member replied, with great aſperity; and concluded with affirming, that nothing could ſave Scotland from ſlavery, but withdrawing herſelf, after the deceaſe of the Queen, from the dominion of an Engliſh Prince. In an additional clauſe to the act, it was provided, that the nomination of a ſucceſſor was left, by the act, to the eſtates of parliament, who ſhould aſſemble after the Queen's death. But it was enacted, that the ſucceſſor to be named, ſhould not be the ſucceſſor to the crown of England: unleſs ſuch conditions of government ſhould be ſettled in this ſeſſion of parliament, as ſhould ſecure the honour of the kingdom, the independence of the crown, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments, and the religion, liberty, and trade of the Scotiſh nation, from Engliſh or foreign influence [t].

Act for the houſe of Hannover fiercely rejected.

WHILE the houſe were employed in the act of ſecurity, ſeveral laws of conſiderable importance were paſſed, with leſs difficulty. On the ſeventh of June, the houſe proceeded to the conſideration of an act offered by the Duke of Argyle, ratifying the parliament which had continued to ſit during the whole of the preceding reign. Several laws with regard to commerce were paſſed; and one to encourage the African and India company. Toward the

[t] Printed act.

end

end of the ſeſſion, the Earl of Marchmont preſented an act to the houſe, for ſettling the ſucceſſion on the family of Hannover, which was ordered to be read. When the clerk came to the paragraph, where the Princeſs Sophia was mentioned by name, the houſe flew at once into a flame. Some moved, that the overture ſhould be publickly burnt. Others were for calling Marchmont to the bar. Many propoſed to ſend that lord priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh. The chancellor having procured ſilence, the clerk proceeded. But ſuch a fierce oppoſition aroſe, that the overture was rejected without a vote. In defeating the motion, the houſe departed avowedly from their own rules. To place a mark of indignation, as they expreſſed themſelves, on the act, it was carried, by a majority of fifty-ſeven voices, that the very memory of it ſhould be expunged from the minutes of parliament [u].

Royal aſſent refuſed to the act of ſecurity.

THE commiſſioner ſhewing no inclination to touch the act of ſecurity with the ſcepter, a motion was made, that the houſe ſhould addreſs the Queen to give the royal aſſent. But this intention was over-ruled, by a ſuggeſtion, that the commiſſioner himſelf ſhould be firſt queſtioned, whether he had been inſtructed to paſs the act. His Grace obſerving an obſtinate ſilence, the houſe flew into a new flame. Several members propoſed new bills of limitations. But the moſt inſiſted, that the old act ſhould be carried into a law. The next day, however, the commiſſioner told the houſe, that he had received her Majeſty's pleaſure, and was now fully impowered to give the royal aſſent to every act, excepting only to that, called an act for the ſecurity of the kingdom. He ſcarce had ended his ſpeech, when many members aroſe; and, in ſucceſſion, inveighed, in the bittereſt terms, againſt the ſervants of the crown; who were called, perhaps with juſtice, the ſlaves of the Engliſh miniſtry, and calumniators of the Scotiſh parliament. Some denied, that the right of a negative was inhe-

[u] Sept. 6.

rent

CHAP. V. 1703.

rent in the crown. They affirmed, that the third act of the firſt parliament of Charles the Second, the only act upon which the negative was founded, declared, indeed, that the royal aſſent was neceſſary to give the force of a law to a vote of the houſe. But that from thence it could not be inferred, that the aſſent could be refuſed to an act paſſed and ſolemnly offered by parliament [w].

Violent heats.

DURING theſe uncommon heats, no ſupply for the ſupport of either the civil or military eſtabliſhment, had been granted to the crown. When the lord-treaſurer repreſented to the houſe the defenceleſs ſtate of the kingdom, they reminded him of the ſecurity denied to the nation, by the refuſal of the royal aſſent to an act calculated for that important and neceſſary purpoſe. No ſeſſion of parliament ever met in Scotland, in which more abilities, more eloquence, and perhaps, more violence and animoſity were diſplayed, than in the preſent. The whole nation were intereſted ſpectators of a conteſt, which they were taught to believe, was to determine their independence as a free people, or to ſubject them for ever to thoſe foreign councils, to which they had, with ſome reaſon, aſcribed the late misfortunes of the kingdom. The eagerneſs of the populace was transfuſed into parliament. When the commiſſioner propoſed, that the ſupply ſhould take place of all other buſineſs, the oppoſition ſtated the vote, "overture for ſubſidy, or overtures for liberty." The commiſſioner ſtill inſiſting on his point, the Earl of Roxburgh aroſe and ſaid, that if there was no other way of ſupporting the natural and undeniable privilege of parliament, the friends of their country were reſolved to demand juſtice, with their ſwords in their hands. A general rage tranſported the houſe into a degree of fury. The commiſſioner became apprehenſive of the ſafety of his own perſon. Having promiſed, that the overtures for liberty ſhould be the firſt buſineſs of the next ſeſſion, and having touched the bills that were ready

[w] Mem. of Scotland.

with

with the ſcepter, he ſuddenly prorogued this refractory parliament [x]. CHAP. V. 1703.

THOUGH the zeal of the Jacobite members contributed to increaſe the flame in the houſe, many, not confined to ſuch narrow principles, were great promoters of this vehement oppoſition in parliament. They were no ſtrangers to the abject dependence into which their country had fallen, ever ſince their native ſovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England, to their prerogative in Scotland. They perceived, that the diſtance of the Prince himſelf, from a government carried on in his name, ſubjected his councils to the impoſition of the ignorant, or the art and malice of the deſigning. They ſaw, that the ſervants of the crown, by reſorting to London, were either gained by the Engliſh miniſtry, to forward their own views; or awed by their influence, into a ſubſerviency, which, when it degraded themſelves, diſgraced and even ruined their country. The ſovereign himſelf was, even, likely, upon all occaſions, to prefer the intereſts of his more powerful kingdom, to the proſperity of a country, which, from the nature of its ſoil and climate, as well as from the peculiar circumſtances of its government, had hitherto contributed little either to ſupport his grandeur or to increaſe his power. Obſervations on the ſtate of Scotland with regard to England.

THE ſituation of affairs in England had, accidentally, furniſhed Scotland with the only opportunity the latter ever poſſeſſed of emancipating herſelf, from the influence and oppreſſion of the former, or of being received into an union of government, upon equal and even advantageous terms. The Engliſh legiſlature had ſettled the ſucceſſion of the crown on the houſe of Hannover. King William, either careleſs of the intereſts of that family, or, what is more probable, indifferent concerning the fate of the crown, after his own death, had neglected to recommend to a

[x] Sept. 16.

CHAP. V.

1703.

parliament, whom a long habit had rendered ſubſervient to his views, the ſettlement of the crown of Scotland, in the proteſtant line. This circumſtance actually left the fate of England in the diſpoſal of the Scotiſh nation. Should the latter declare for the eventual ſucceſſion of the Prince of Wales, a title then not illegal in Scotland, there can ſcarce any doubt be formed, but, conſidering the party which ſtill adhered to the exiled family in England, he would have, with great facility, recovered the crown of that kingdom. Some men of abilities in the Scotiſh parliament, who were by no means attached to the hereditary line, perceived this advantage; and they ſeized it with an eagerneſs, proportionable to their zeal for their country.

Character of

THE moſt diſtinguiſhed among theſe lovers of their country was Andrew Fletcher of Salton, whoſe warm but manly genius had been improved, by an extenſive knowledge of books and of men. Poſſeſſed of a mind too daring and independent to bear, or even to permit, the haughtineſs of ſuperiors, he uniformly wiſhed for that equality among mankind, which ſpeculative patriots hope to find in a republican government. To that dignified diſpoſition of ſoul, which abhors whatever is mean, he joined a ſteadineſs of mind, that no advantage could ſway, no ſolicitations move, no dangers ſhake. A ſtrict obſerver of his word, devoted to the moſt rigid laws of honour, cautious of giving offence to others, as he was reſolved to reſent even the appearance of inſult to himſelf, reſolute to a degree of enthuſiaſm, in a manner fiercely brave. In his public conduct, he was the avowed enemy of all deſpotiſm. Vehement in his love for his country, determined to ſupport her independence, as neceſſary to his own dignity. In his private life, he avoided vice on account of its meanneſs. He adhered, without deviation, to virtue, as eſſential to his own pride.

His

CHAP. V.

1703. Fletcher of Salton.

His peculiar opinions on the ſubject of government, ſuiting ill with the deſpotic maxims adopted in Scotland during the reign of Charles the Second, he oppoſed the miniſtry, and was perſecuted in return. To avoid the malice of his enemies, he forſook his country. But being ſummoned, in his abſence, before the privy-council; he was ſo much enraged at the injuſtice of thoſe in power, that he embarked in the cauſe of the Duke of Monmouth, and accompanied that unfortunate nobleman, when he invaded England. Having been outlawed upon this occaſion, he retired to Holland, and came over with the Prince of Orange, whoſe declarations were favourable to thoſe political principles to which he had invariably adhered. He ſoon perceived, what he might have foreſeen, that the poſſeſſion of the crown of England was the chief object of the expedition. Fletcher, therefore, left King William, when that Prince ſeemed to deſert the principles upon which he came; and he afterwards oppoſed him, with a vehemence ſuitable to that diſappointment. Having been choſen a member of the new parliament, which met in the May of the preſent year, he found an opportunity for exerting his talents, and for exhibiting his principles. Though an enemy to monarchy, he entertained ſuch an averſion to Engliſh influence and an union, that he adhered to the country-party, and would even have ſupported the ſucceſſion of the exiled family, rather than yield to meaſures, which he deemed deſtructive to the honour and independence of his country [y].

Affairs of Ireland.

The affairs of Ireland had, for ſeveral years, remained in that ſtate of tranquillity and want of importance which attends dependent governments, when carried forward with any degree of attention and preciſion. The Earl of Rocheſter, whom King William had placed in the office of lord-lieutenant, reſigned his commiſſion through ſome diſguſt, ſoon after the acceſſion of his

[y] Lockhart's Mem.

CHAP. V. 1703.

niece to the throne of England. He was ſucceeded in the government, by the Duke of Ormond, a name popular in Ireland, on account of his family. In a parliament, which met in the autumn of the preſent year, a great unanimity appeared in favour of the meaſures of the Queen. They granted a ſupply to her Majeſty, to make up the deficiency of the revenue, and to ſupport the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment for two years, ending at Michaelmas 1705. In examining the public accounts, the commons found, that more than one hundred thouſand ponnds had, by miſrepreſentation, been charged unjuſtly, as a debt on the nation; and they ordered a committee to examine into the cauſe of this intended fraud on the public.

Proceedings of parliament.

IN a repreſentation to the lord lieutenant, the commons complained, with reaſon, of the proceedings of the truſtees appointed by the parliament of England, for managing and ſelling the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, that had been reſumed for the uſe of the public. They averred, that the charges incurred by the ſubjects of that kingdom, in defending ſuch juſt rights and titles as had been allowed by the truſtees, had exceeded in value the current caſh of Ireland. They complained, that the ſtate of trade at home was ſo low, that many proteſtant families had been conſtrained to remove to other kingdoms, eſpecially to Scotland; while foreign commerce and its returns were under ſuch reſtrictions, as rendered them altogether unprofitable. They affirmed, that many civil officers were arrived at ſuch a pitch of corruption, through the hopes of impunity, that vaſt eſtates were acquired by them, in a ſhort time, in a poor country. That others, neglecting their perſonal attendance in the country, made ſinecures of their employments, and drained the kingdom of its money, which they ſpent in other lands. Having inſinuated that nothing but frequent parliaments could either prevent or reform thoſe evils, they concluded, with the warmeſt and moſt affectionate wiſhes, for the hap-

happineſs of her Majeſty, and the long continuance of her reign over Ireland. The lord-lieutenant having promiſed to tranſmit to England the repreſentation of the commons, they voted an ample ſupply; and the parliament was adjourned, to the eleventh of January, in the ſucceeding year. CHAP. V. 1703.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Scotland and Ireland, the war was carried on with unabating vigour, between the allies and the houſe of Bourbon. The former had found means to detach, from the alliance of the latter, two Princes of conſiderable name and power. The Duke of Savoy deſerting the intereſts of France and Spain, had concluded a treaty with the Emperor, on the fifth of January; and, on the ſixteenth of May, Peter the Second, King of Portugal, joined himſelf to the grand alliance. To the defection of thoſe two Princes, the French aſcribed their ſubſequent misfortunes in the war. They, however, made great preparations, for opening, with ſpirit, the campaign on all ſides. Winter itſelf had ſcarce ſuſpended hoſtilities, between the contending powers. Rhinberg was taken on the ninth of February by the allies. The ſiege of Traerbach was raiſed, on the twenty-fifth, by the Mareſchal de Tallard. The French, under Villars, ſeized the towns of Offembourg and Raſtadt, without reſiſtance. That commander forced the redoubts upon the Quinche, and took the fort of Kell, on the ninth of March. The Elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on the war, with vigour, in the heart of Germany. He took Neubourg on the Danube, on the third of February. He defeated the enemy at Paſſaw, on the eleventh of March; and having taken Burglenfield [z] and Ratiſbon [a], was joined, on the twelfth of April, at Dutlingen, by the Mareſchal de Villars. Campaign of 1703.

THE French and Bavarians owed their ſucceſs, on the ſide of Germany, more to the inactivity of the empire, than either to Progreſs of the Elector of Bavaria.

[z] March 28. [a] April 8.

their

CHAP. V. 1703.

their own force or their conduct. The inſtances of England and the States were loſt on that unwieldy body. Each Prince deemed himſelf but little concerned, in what was the cauſe of all. The Elector of Bavaria, taking advantage of their ſupineneſs, reſolved to enter Tyrol, at once to open the communication with the French army in Italy, and to ſtop the common paſſage of the Imperial reinforcements to their troops in that country. The Duke de Vendôme, who commanded the French forces in Italy, endeavoured, on his ſide, to enter Tyrol, to join the Elector. Had this project ſucceeded, it might have ruined the Emperor's affairs. But the valour of the peaſants of Tyrol, the conduct of ſome Imperial detachments placed in that country, and the want of concert between the French and Bavarians, defeated the only meaſure, which ſeemed calculated to ſupport the affairs of the houſe of Bourbon, on that ſide.

Operations in Swabia and Italy.

THE Duke de Vendôme, having deſpaired of joining the Bavarians, and being recalled to Italy, by the open defection of the Duke of Savoy, with unbridled fury laid waſte the country, in his retreat. The Elector, on the other hand, found himſelf obliged to abandon Inſpruck; and to retire to Swabia, to rejoin the Mareſchal de Villars. Diſappointed in their views on Auſbourg, they croſſed the Danube, at Donawaert, and totally defeated, at Hochſtet, Count Styrum[b], who commanded a conſiderable army of the allies. In Italy the Imperial troops were commanded by Staremberg, Prince Eugene having not been employed for the preſent year. This general had contributed to prevent the junction of Vendôme and the Elector of Bavaria, but he performed no other ſervice of importance during the campaign. Vendôme diſarmed a part of the troops of the Duke of Savoy, on the twenty-ninth of September. He defeated the General Viſconti, on the twenty-ſixth of October. Nothing deciſive, however, happened,

[b] Sept. 20. N. S.

on

on the ſide of Italy; though the houſe of Bourbon might conſider their diſappointment in the intended junction of their armies in Tyrol, in the light of a partial defeat. CHAP. V. 1703.

On the Rhine.

THE Duke of Burgundy, having under him the Mareſchals de Tallard and de Vauban, commanded the French army, on the ſide of Alſace. A campaign, which, during the greateſt part, remained unimportant, ended in an action of ſome conſequence and renown. The Mareſchal de Tallard, having formed the ſiege of Landau, that place began to be preſſed, when an army of the allies paſſed the Rhine, at Spire, for its relief. Tallard, leaving a ſlight guard in the trenches, marched with the reſt of the army to attack the enemy. The allies, conſiſting of Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans, were commanded by the Prince of Heſſe, the ſame who mounted, afterwards, the throne of Sweden. The French general, who, from the badneſs of his ſight, was obliged to depend upon the eyes of others, committed a miſtake, which, by a ſingular piece of good fortune, gained the battle. Conſtruing a motion made by the enemy, for an attack, to be a preparation for flight, he fell upon them unexpectedly, and obtained the victory. The Count de Frize, who had defended Landau, with vigour and good conduct, deſpairing of any further relief, ſurrendered that important fortreſs, the day after this unfortunate battle was loſt by the allies [c].

Campaign in Flanders.

IN the Netherlands, the Duke of Marlborough, having concerted meaſures with the States of the United Provinces, was enabled to appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bonn, a ſtrong city in the circle of the Lower-Rhine, and the uſual reſidence of the Elector of Cologn. That Prince had placed Bonn, with the reſt of his dominions, in the hands of France, in the beginning of the war. The city was inveſted, on the twenty-fourth of April. The trenches were

[c] Nov. 16.

opened

CHAP. V. 1703.

opened on the third of May; and the Marquis d'Alegre, after a gallant reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender the place, after a ſiege of twelve days. The French army, under the Mareſchals de Villeroi and de Boufflers, having, in the mean time, advanced toward Maeſtrecht and taken Tongeren, the Duke of Marlborough rejoined the confederate army in Flanders, and advanced againſt the enemy. The French, declining battle, retired within their lines; which the Duke reſolved to force. The Baron de Sparr performed this ſervice, with ſpirit and ſucceſs. But the Baron Opdam, who attempted to penetrate the lines at Antwerp, was driven from the field with great loſs, and forced to retreat to Lillo, with an inconſiderable party of the army under his command. The General Schlangenburg retrieved, in ſome meaſure, the laurels which Opdam had loſt [d]. Both the French and the allies claimed the advantage, in an attack productive of no conſequences. The French ſeem to have had the beſt title to the honour of victors, having kept poſſeſſion of the field.

Several places taken by the allies.

THE French, unwilling to hazard the event of a general battle with the allies, who were ſuperior in conduct as well as in force, the Duke of Marlborough ſat down with little interruption, before ſome places of conſiderable ſtrength, and, by their conqueſt, cloſed, with reputation, the campaign. Huy on the Maeſe fell into his hands, on the twenty-ſixth of June. He took Limbourg, in September. In December, the city of Gueldres, after a bombardment and blockade of near fourteen months, ſurrendered to the allies [e]. The number of fortified places, which the poſſeſſion of Spaniſh Flanders had given to the French, had proved a conſiderable diſadvantage to their affairs. The garriſons, in ſo many towns, had weakened their armies in the field. Beſides, the places themſelves were ill provided with the means of defence. Having moſt of them fallen, in the late wars, into the hands of

[d] June 30.

[e] Dec. 6.

the

CHAP. V. 1703.

the French, they had been returned, in a kind of diſmantled ſtate, to the Spaniards, whoſe poverty as well as negligence prevented them from being ever thoroughly reſtored to their former ſtrength. They furniſhed, therefore, the allies with a ſucceſſion of triumphs; and, by buoying up their minds with an appearance of ſucceſs, encouraged them to continue the war with vigour.

Campaign in general favourable for France.

THE campaign of the year 1703 was, upon the whole, favourable to the houſe of Bourbon. The progreſs of the Elector of Bavaria, in the heart of Germany, had reduced the family of Auſtria into great ſtraits; while, at the ſame time, an inſurrection in Hungary diſtracted their councils, and ſpread devaſtation to the gates of Vienna. In Italy, the defection of the Duke of Savoy had not hitherto produced any fortunate change for the Emperor; and on the Upper Rhine, the arms of that Prince were attended with a degree of misfortune. Though the French had loſt ſome towns in Flanders, the progreſs made by the allies was inconſiderable. They failed in their attempts on the ſtrong lines formed by the enemy for the protection of Flanders; and in the only action of conſequence which happened on that ſide, they had loſt ſome trophies as well as the field. Though the bigotry of Lewis the Fourteenth had kindled the flames of war in the heart of his own dominions, by forcing, by ſeverities, the Proteſtants in the Cevennes into an inſurrection, no effectual advantage was taken of a circumſtance, which the allies might have greatly improved in their own favour.

Affairs at ſea.

NOTHING memorable happened at ſea, during the ſummer of the preſent year. The combined fleet of England and Holland, under Sir Cloudſley Shovel, ſailed [f] into the Mediterranean, and returned without meeting an enemy to their own ports [g]. In

[f] July 1. [g] Oct. 22.

CHAP. V.

1703.

ſome actions of little conſequence and leſs name, the French ſeem to have had the advantage. The Engliſh were repulſed at Guadaloupe, in May [h]. Rooke endeavoured, in vain, to make a deſcent on Belle-Iſle, on the ſixth of June [i]. A Dutch convoy was attacked by the French, to the north of Scotland, on the tenth of Auguſt [k]. The ſhips of war eſcorting the fleet were beaten, and ſome of the veſſels themſelves taken. An unaccountable languor ſeems to have prevailed in all the operations of the maritime powers. They formed no expedition to annoy the enemy on the coaſt of Spain, though naked and defenceleſs; and in neglecting to intercept the treaſure brought by a French ſquadron from the Havanna, they furniſhed the enemy with additional reſources for continuing with vigour the war.

Sept. Arch-Duke declared King of Spain.

THE partial and inconſiderable advantages obtained by France at ſea, and the ſucceſs of her arms, in conjunction with the Bavarians, in the heart of Germany, neither raiſed her own hopes, nor depreſſed her enemies. The defection of the Duke of Savoy, and, above all, the deſertion of the King of Portugal, who could open through his country a paſſage into Spain, filled the houſe of Bourbon with great and well-grounded apprehenſions. The gaining from the enemy ſuch powerful allies, induced the Emperor to avow to the world, his deſign to recover to his family the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain. Having, therefore, together with his eldeſt ſon, the King of the Romans, renounced every perſonal title to the Catholic throne, his ſecond ſon, the Arch-Duke Charles, was crowned at Vienna, the beginning of September. A few days [l] after this ceremony was performed, the Arch-Duke, now called Charles the Third, King of Spain, left Vienna; and directing his journey through Holland, arrived at the Hague, on the third of November. Having been acknowledged in his new capacity, by all the allies, he was received

[h] May 18. [i] June 6. [k] Aug. 10. N. S. [l] Sept. 19.

every

every where with marks of the higheſt reſpect and honour. The deſign of this Prince was to paſs to Portugal with a conſiderable force, eſcorted by the combined fleets of the maritime powers; and, in conjunction with his new ally, Peter the Second, to invade the kingdom of Spain. 1703.

Diſgrace in the Weſt Indies.

THE operations of the Engliſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, were attended neither with glory nor with ſucceſs. Admiral Bembow, who commanded the ſhips ſtationed at Jamaica, and in the neighbouring ſeas, fell in with a French ſquadron near Carthagena, on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1702. In a running battle, which was renewed, at intervals, for ſeveral days, the admiral was repeatedly deſerted by his captains, his ſhip diſabled, and his own leg ſhot away. The enemy, though much inferior in number and ſtrength, made, by theſe means, a ſafe retreat. Bembow, after this diſgraceful, as well as unfortunate action, returned to Jamaica. On the ſixth of October, he iſſued a commiſſion for the trial of Captain Kirby and Captain Wade. They were found guilty of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; and, being ſent to England under their ſentence, they ſuffered death, at Plymouth, on the fourteenth of April, 1704. The admiral himſelf having languiſhed for ſome time, under the wound received in the engagement, died at Jamaica; and the regret which he expreſſed in his laſt moments for the treachery of the condemned captains, ſeemed to have enſured their unhappy fate.

War in Poland.

DURING theſe tranſactions between the confederates and the houſe of Bourbon, the war in Poland was carried on with redoubled ardour. The King of Sweden having quitted the neighbourhood of Cracow, deſcended with his army along the courſe of the Viſtula. King Auguſtus employed himſelf in calling together fruitleſs diets. In an aſſembly of his adherents at Thorn, it was

CHAP. V.

1703.

reſolved to acquaint the King of Sweden, that Poland had accepted the mediation of the Emperor; and that, ſhould Charles ſtill perſiſt in refuſing to enter into a negociation, the Republic ſhould declare war againſt Sweden. But what one pretended diet eſtabliſhed, was overturned by another; and Charles ſeemed to have more adherents in Poland, than Auguſtus himſelf. The firſt of theſe princes preferred action to negociation. Having ſuddenly marched out of his camp, he ſurpriſed the Saxons at Pultauſck, and took their general with his own hand. He laid ſiege to Thorn, and forced that city, notwithſtanding its numerous garriſon, to ſurrender at diſcretion. King Auguſtus was obliged to find in ſtrangers, the reſources which his own kingdom denied. He applied for aid to the Czar; who liſtened the more readily to the ſolicitations of Auguſtus, that he hoped to fix the ſeat of the war in Poland; and to profit by the abſence of Charles, by aggrandizing himſelf in Livonia [m].

Parliament meets, Nov. 9.

WHILE the new King of Spain remained at the Hague, concerting his future meaſures with the States, the parliament of England, after various prorogations, met at Weſtminſter [n]. The Queen, in her ſpeech, communicated to the two houſes, her new treaties with Portugal and the Duke of Savoy; and ſhe deſired ſupplies to anſwer the demands of her preſent, as well as former engagements, in the war. She informed her parliament, that though no particular proviſion had been made, for the charge either of the expedition intended for Portugal, or the augmentation of the troops deſired by the States, the funds granted had anſwered ſo well, and the produce of the prizes had proved ſo conſiderable, that no new debt had been incurred, on theſe accounts, by the nation. She recommended diſpatch in their deliberations, as neceſſary for the ſucceſs of the projected enterpriſes of the war. She expreſſed her moſt earneſt deſire of ſeeing all her

[m] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

[n] Nov. 9.

her ſubjects in perfect peace and union among themſelves; and ſhe therefore entreated them all, to avoid any heats and diviſions, that might diſappoint her of the ſatisfaction ſhe had promiſed herſelf from their unanimity, and give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and ſtate [o].

CHAP. V. 1703.

A KIND of hereditary animoſity againſt the French, together with an opinion imbibed by the people, that the houſe of Bourbon aimed at the empire of all Europe, had rendered the preſent war extremely popular in England. Though the laſt campaign in Flanders had produced no ſtriking event, the advantages obtained by the allies were, with ſome reaſon, aſcribed to the valour of the Engliſh troops, and eſpecially to the ſkill and conduct of their leader. In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, the quarrels between parties, were forced to give way to the current of the populace; and, however willing thoſe excluded from office might have been to obſtruct the meaſures of government, they prudently avoided oppoſition on the ſubject of the ſupply. Having unanimouſly addreſſed her Majeſty upon her ſpeech, the commons proceeded to make the neceſſary proviſion for the ſervice of the ſucceeding year. The treaties concluded ſince the receſs of parliament, and the eſtimates of the army and navy being laid before them, they voted, that forty thouſand men, including five thouſand marines, ſhould be employed for the ſea ſervice of 1704 [p]; and that four pounds a man, each month, allowing thirteen for the year, ſhould be granted for the ſupport of that force [q]. The commons grant,

To proſecute the war with vigour by land, the houſe reſolved, that eight hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to her Majeſty, for maintaining forty thouſand men, to act on the continent in conjunction with the allies. They, at the ſame time, provided for the Queen's proportion [r] of the ſubſidies unanimouſly, ample ſupplies.

[o] Journals, Nov. 9. [p] Journals, Nov. 25. [q] Nov. 25. [r] 55,272l.

CHAP. V. 1703.

ſidies for part of that force [s]; and gave her a further ſupply [t] for maintaining the additional ten thouſand men which her Majeſty had raiſed at the requiſition of the States [u]. They provided [w] alſo for eight thouſand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of the crown of Portugal; and they reſolved, that a ſum, not exceeding one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, ſhould be granted, for defraying her Majeſty's proportion of thirteen thouſand men, to be maintained by the court of Liſbon. Three hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds were granted for guards, garriſons, and invalids; near one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, for the land-ſervice to be performed by the office of ordnance [x]. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the Queen, aſſuring her Majeſty, that they would make good all her engagements with the Duke of Savoy.

A dreadful tempeſt.

DURING theſe tranſactions in parliament, an uncommon calamity fell upon the kingdom. In the night of the twenty-ſixth of November, the moſt violent tempeſt ever known in England, ſuddenly aroſe. The wind blowing from the South-Weſt with incredible force and noiſe, was accompanied with flaſhes of lightning and deluges of rain. Every thing ſeemed ready to be levelled before the ſtorm. Chimneys, roofs of houſes, even buildings and ſpires were blown down in the city of London. In the country whole foreſts were torn up by the roots. But the tempeſt fell with moſt fury and did the moſt harm at ſea. Beſides the loſs ſuſtained by private perſons, ſixteen ſhips of the royal navy were caſt away. The damage done in London and Weſtminſter alone, was eſtimated at a million ſterling. But as the calamity was not univerſal, the country ſuffered not in the ſame proportion. The commons addreſſed her Majeſty upon the occaſion. They told her, that they could not ſee a diminution of her navy,

[s] Nov. 27. [t] 178,180l. [u] Nov. 18.
[w] 176,481l. [x] Nov. 30.

without

without making proviſion for repairing the ſame. They, therefore, deſired the Queen to build ſuch capital ſhips as ſhe ſhould think fit; and they promiſed, at their next meeting, to make good the expence. 1703.

THE ſtorm which had done ſuch damage in England, was felt with the ſame ſeverity in Holland. The dykes having been broken down in Friezeland, by the violence of the waves, one fourth part of that province was laid under water. A ſquadron of men of war, under Admiral Calemberg, deſtined for the expedition with the new King of Spain, to Portugal, was driven from the mouth of the Texel, to the coaſt of Norway. Of the Engliſh ſhips intended for that ſervice, and lying in the Maeſe, ſome were ſtranded and others loſt. The damage, however, was, in ſome meaſure, repaired, in the ſpace of three weeks; and, on the twenty-third of December, Charles the Third embarked for England, eſcorted by the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons. That Prince arriving at Spithead, on the twenty-ſixth of December, was conducted by the Duke of Somerſet to Windſor, where her Majeſty received him with great magnificence. Having remained at that place two days, he repaired again to Portſmouth, and ſailed from Spithead, on the fifth of January, with a favourable wind. But a ſtorm ariſing, in the Bay of Biſcay, the fleet was diſperſed and driven back to the channel. Sir George Rooke, the admiral, on board of whoſe ſhip was the King of Spain, returned to St. Helen's, on the twentieth of January. Great diligence and activity were uſed in refitting the ſhips. But it was the twelfth of February, before a favourable wind enabled the fleet to make the beſt of its way to Portugal. New King of Spain in England.

THE unanimity in parliament, with regard to ſupplies for proſecuting the war, was diſturbed, by the renewal of a former quarrel, between the Whigs and Tories. The latter, favouring 1704. Bill againſt occaſional conformity.

the

CHAP. V. 1704.

the church, introduced again into the houſe of commons, the bill againſt occaſional conformity, which had been loſt in the preceding ſeſſion. This meaſure had been neither unforeſeen nor unexpected by their opponents, and it threw the houſe into violent debates. The high-church party, however, prevailed. The bill ſoon paſſed the commons, and was ſent to the lords. The Whigs ſtill maintained in the upper-houſe a majority. They were, at leaſt, more powerful there, through their ſuperior activity and zeal. The Queen herſelf, notwithſtanding her predilection for the church of England, was cold with regard to a bill, that ſeemed ſo highly favourable to the eſtabliſhed religion. She had been terrified with reports, that the Jacobites connected their views in favour of her brother, with the ſucceſs of this bill; and there certainly exiſted ſome reaſon for this apprehenſion. The miniſtry, during the dependence of the bill, were left to their own opinions. Marlborough and Godolphin, who were too prudent not to appear attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, voted for the bill. Other lords in office gave their ſuffrages on the other ſide. The biſhops themſelves were almoſt equally divided upon the votes; and the bill was, at length, rejected, by a majority of thirteen voices [x].

A Scotiſh plot.

THE bill againſt occaſional conformity was not the only topic, upon which the Whigs endeavoured, in this ſeſſion, to depreſs the Tories. During the warm debates on that ſubject, a circumſtance aroſe, that greatly contributed to the victory which the former party obtained. The Queen acquainted the two houſes, on the ſeventeenth of December [y], that ſhe had received unqueſtionable informations of deſigns carried on againſt her government in Scotland, by the agents and emiſſaries of France. The two houſes received differently this intelligence. The lords, led by ſome Whigs of ability and eagerneſs, graſped at every thing calculated to raiſe the jealouſy of the nation againſt the Tories. The majo-

[x] Journals of the lords. [y] 1703.

rit

rity of the commons, being compoſed of the latter party, conſidered the whole as the ſtale contrivance of a ſham-plot: an expedient, they affirmed, often uſed with ſucceſs by their political antagoniſts. Writers infected with the partialities of the two parties, have given various and oppoſite accounts of an affair, too frivolous to command the attention of the public, had not the minds of mankind been previouſly inflamed, by the animoſities ſubſiſting between two powerful factions.

Character of Simon Fraſer.

THE principal actor in this political piece, and, perhaps, its author, was Captain Simon Fraſer, afterwards well known to the world by the title of Lord Lovat. Born with inſinuating talents, but rather forward than agreeable in his addreſs, he exerted his whole force upon mankind, through the channel of their vanity. His flattery, though too obvious to eſcape even the obſervation of the weak, was too ſtrong to be reſiſted entirely by men of ſenſe. He ſeemed ſo eager in beſtowing praiſe, that thoſe who approved the leaſt of his manner, aſcribed his adulation to his want of judgment, with regard to others, more than to his own deſigns. Deſtitute of principle and deſpiſing veracity as uſeleſs, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate intereſt; and all his words to the purpoſe of deceiving the credulous into his views. Habituated, through time, to this abandoned conduct, he became, in a manner, incapable of deviating from it; and thus his profligacy, by being generally known, carried its own antidote in itſelf. In the execution of his own projects, though generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearleſs. He neither underſtood thoſe laid by others, nor purſued them, either with ſpirit or with attention. Though unſteady in his diſpoſition, and hourly varying his ſchemes, he never ſwerved from the great line of ſelf-intereſt; and thus, notwithſtanding his natural levity and inconſtancy, he ſucceeded by perſeverance.

CHAP. V.

1704.

His crimes.

SOME actions, that brought upon Fraſer the higheſt animadverſion of the laws in Scotland, had made him famous in that kingdom before his intrigues attracted the notice of the parliament of England. Being deſcended, though at ſome diſtance, from the family of the Lord Lovat, chief of the clan of Fraſers, in the county of Inverneſs, he had received in the year 1694, the commiſſion of a lieutenant in the Earl of Tullibardin's regiment, by the recommendation of his relation, who was married to the ſiſter of that nobleman. He, however, ſoon loſt the preferment which he had obtained, through ſome ſeditious letters which he wrote, and had fallen into the hands of the earl. Retiring to the Highlands, he lived for ſome time with his father, at Beaufort, a farm which they had obtained, for a ſubſiſtence, from the Lord Lovat. That nobleman, dying in the year 1696, left four daughters. Thomas Fraſer of Beaufort and his ſon Simon, collecting ſome diſorderly perſons, attempted to ſeize the eſtate, as neareſt male heirs. Terrified, however, by a proſecution at law, they formally renounced their claims. But, in the month of September 1697, Simon Fraſer entered, with an armed force, the houſe of the widow of the Lord Lovat, ſeized her perſon, ordered the marriage ceremony to be pronounced, in the midſt of the ſound of a bagpipe, with which he endeavoured to drown the lady's cries, and having ſtript her naked, by cutting off her ſtays with his dagger, forced her to bed, and conſummated the pretended marriage, amidſt the noiſe and riot of his deſperate attendants [y].

He is pardoned by King William.

PURSUED with ſome troops, by the lady's father, the Marquis of Athol, Fraſer was forced to abandon the kingdom. The council of Scotland and the court of juſticiary, before whom he was proſecuted, declared him a rebel, fugitive, and out-law, offering a reward to any that ſhould ſeize his perſon. He fled to France, and applied to the court of St. Germains, for ſubſiſtence. But the

[y] Trial of Fraſer. Account of Scotiſh plot. Lockhart's Mem.

late

late King James, offended at his profligacy, and having heard of his crimes, would neither receive his advances, nor admit him into his preſence[z]. Deſpairing of ſucceſs with the abdicated family, he reſolved to aſſume the merit of betraying their councils to the reigning Prince. In conſideration of preſent or promiſed ſervices, he obtained, through the means of the noted Carſtares, one of King William's chaplains, and a kind of favourite, a pardon for his rebellion and other public crimes. The rape upon the widow of the Lord Lovat, not being mentioned in the pardon, Fraſer was proſecuted for that crime by the lady and her friends. He was forced again to retire to France, in the year 1702; but not, perhaps, without inſtructions for his conduct in that kingdom, from Mr. Carſtares and men of great rank of the ſame party. The Duke of Argyle, in particular, was his patron and friend, from an hereditary feud between his family and that of Athol; which laſt, on account of the rape, were the enemies of Fraſer.

Flies again to France.

The Earl of Middleton, who then poſſeſſed the moſt credit at St. Germains, had adopted the bad opinion entertained by the late King James of the character of Fraſer. The latter, therefore, applied to Queen Mary, through Sir John Maclean; and, as that unfortunate Princeſs graſped at every vain hope held forth to her ſon, ſhe treated Fraſer with kindneſs, and recommended him to the Pope's nuncio[a]. Having gained the confidence of that prelate, by reconciling himſelf to the church of Rome, he was introduced by him to the Marquis de Torcy, as a perſon that promiſed to be ſerviceable to the views of the court of France. Lewis the Fourteenth himſelf is ſaid to have had an interview with Fraſer. But either diſtruſting his incredible promiſes, with regard to an inſurrection in Scotland, or unwilling to hazard either his men or money without further ſecurity, he made him a preſent of five hundred Louis d'Ors, and deſired him to return to his own country, to

[z] Lockhart's Mem. Stuart-papers.

[a] Stuart papers.

CHAP. V. 1704.

bring credentials from thoſe perſons over whom he pretended to have ſo much power. But as the King could not altogether rely upon credentials procured by ſuch an unknown adventurer, he firſt reſolved to ſend along with him, a Frenchman. The ſending of a Frenchman to Scotland, lying under inſuperable objections, Lewis found himſelf obliged to apply to the court of St. Germains, for a ſuitable perſon a native of that kingdom.

Returns and is made uſe of by Queenſberry.

THE requeſt of the French King were commands to the Earl of Middleton. He received Fraſer with a degree of confidence; and gave him, as a credential to the friends of the exiled family, a commiſſion as colonel from his young maſter [b]. The indemnity granted in Scotland, by Queen Anne, in the March of 1703, rendered it ſafe for any of the adherents of the court of St. Germains to return to that kingdom. An officer of the name of Murray, under the protection of the indemnity, was ſent, as a check upon Fraſer, and to bring back intelligence of the ſtate of opinions and diſpoſition of parties in Scotland. Fraſer, attended by this gentleman, arrived in London. He directed his courſe to Scotland, and was met, on the borders of that kingdom, by the Duke of Argyle. He was from thence conducted, by that nobleman, to the Duke of Queenſberry, who held, as commiſſioner, a parliament at Edinburgh. The commiſſioner having deſerted the Jacobite faction in the houſe, to whom he had vowed fidelity, perceived, that by their joining with the country party, they poſſeſſed the power as well as the inclination of being revenged. He, therefore, graſped with eagerneſs at the informations, which Fraſer, either from vanity or malice, gave againſt his enemies. He knew, that even to fix a ſuſpicion of a correſpondence with France, upon the leaders of oppoſition, would not only ruin their credit with government, but deſtroy their influence with the nation. To enable Fraſer to execute his inſtructions with facility and freedom, he

[b] Stuart-papers, 1703.

granted

granted him a paſs to ſecure him from being ſeized, in obedience to the letters of fire and ſword, which had been iſſued againſt him on account of the rape [c].

CHAP. V. 1704.

Goes over to France to procure proofs,

FRASER finding ſuch a powerful ſupport in Queenſberry, reſolved, in ſerving his patron, to gratify his own revenge. Having received, from the exiled Queen, a letter without an addreſs, for the Duke of Gordon, he tranſmitted a copy of it to that nobleman, and retained the original in his own poſſeſſion, as intended for his great enemy the Duke of Athol [d]. The commiſſioner having conceived an averſion to the Lord Tarbat, lately created Earl of Cromarty, Fraſer dexterouſly contrived to aſcribe the declaration of indemnity, obtained in the preceding year from Queen Anne, to his lordſhip's correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. The Duke of Hamilton's principles were already known. But no accuſation of conſequence could be carried home to him, on the preſent occaſion. Fraſer, in the mean time, was permitted to roam through the Highlands, to endeavour to extort promiſes from the chiefs, to riſe in arms for the pretended Prince of Wales. His ſucceſs was not equal either to his promiſes or the expectations of his patron. When the parliament of Scotland was adjourned, on the ſixteenth of September, he repaired to London, and his allegations not amounting to a ſufficient proof, he was provided with money and a paſs, under a borrowed name, by the Duke of Queenſberry, who applied for that purpoſe to the Earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate. With the paſs, he tranſported himſelf ſafely to Holland, and from thence found means to convey himſelf again to Paris. His deſign was to procure ſuch letters to Queenſberry's enemies and his own, as might hurt their reputation with the world, if not deſtroy their perſons and ruin their fortunes [e].

[c] Lockhart's Mem. [d] Stuart-papers, 1704.
[e] Lockhart's Mem. Journals of the lords. Stuart-papers.

HAVING

CHAP. V.

1704. and is thrown into the Baſtile.

HAVING arrived at Paris, in the beginning of January 1704, he preſented a memorial to the exiled Queen, containing a long account of his own proceedings in Britain, in favour of the pretenſions of her ſon [f]. Though he connected his detail with thoſe perſons of rank of the oppoſite party with whom he had converſed, it bore fiction ſo apparently on its face, that Middleton, who always doubted the honeſty of Fraſer, was convinced of the impoſture. He amuſed him, however, with cold but polite letters; while, at the ſame time, he wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, expreſſing his doubts concerning his fidelity; and ſignifying his wiſhes that he might be ſecured. Captain James Murray, who had been ſent to Scotland to diſcover the truth of Fraſer's intereſt and connexions in that kingdom, returned, in the mean time, to St. Germains. The accounts which he gave of the ſtate of the country and operations of Fraſer, were ſo diametrically oppoſite to that preſented by the latter to the exiled Queen, that no doubts remained of his treachery. Repeated intelligence from England of the diſcoveries made by the parliament and privy-council, ſtrengthened the proof to ſuch a degree, that Fraſer, after having amuſed Middleton with a ſeries of letters, concerning his own importance, his influence in Scotland, and his loyalty to the excluded family, was thrown, at length, into the Baſtile [g].

His plot diſcovered by Ferguſon.

The vanity of Fraſer, his incontinence of language, and a deſire of raiſing his own conſequence with his nobler employer, the Duke of Queenſberry, by ſpreading far and wide the bottom of his plot, had betrayed him into miſtakes, which prevented the execution of his deſigns. Having, when he returned to London, opened his projects, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales, to the famous Ferguſon, a more experienced plotter, the latter perceiving his character, ſuſpected his integrity. Under-

[f] Stuart-papers, 1704. [g] Ibid.

ſtanding,

ſtanding, at the ſame time, from Fraſer himſelf, that he was often in conference with the miniſtry of Scotland; and having ſeen the paſs which he had obtained from the Earl of Nottingham, through the influence of the Duke of Queenſberry, he wrote his ſuſpicions to the Duke of Athol, one of the noblemen accuſed. The Duke, conſcious that he had never correſponded nor received either meſſage or letter from the court of St. Germains [h], complained openly to the Queen of the conduct of Queenſberry and his partiſans, in protecting an outlaw, who was hatching the moſt pernicious deſigns. Queenſberry, to vindicate himſelf, declared, that he had protected Fraſer, in Scotland, upon his promiſing to make great diſcoveries; and that he had procured for him a paſs, for tranſporting himſelf, to procure ſolid proofs of his own vague aſſertions. He inſinuated, at the ſame time, that, had not the matter come ſo ſoon to light, he doubted not but he ſhould meet with ſucceſs; and to ſtrengthen his opinion, he delivered to Queen Anne, as for the Duke of Athol, the letter, intended by the exiled Queen, for the Duke of Gordon.

Proceedings upon it in parliament.

THE Scotiſh plot had arrived at this ſtate, when it fell under the cognizance of the houſe of lords. A committee was immediately appointed, by ballot, for the examination of papers and witneſſes; and the choice fell on the leaders of the Whig-party. The houſe of commons, compoſed chiefly of Tories, found an opportunity of oppoſing their weight againſt the proceedings of the peers. Some ſuſpected perſons, and among others, Sir John Maclean, having been ſeized, upon their arrival from France, on the coaſt of England, the lords, by their own authority, ordered them to be brought before them to be examined. The commons addreſſed the Queen in favour of the prerogative of the Crown; and complained, that the lords, in violation of the

[h] Stuart-papers, 1704.

known

CHAP. V. 1704.

known laws of the land, had wreſted the priſoners out of her Majeſty's hands; and in a moſt extraordinary manner, taken the examination, which belonged to the Queen and council, ſolely to themſelves. The plot, from this moment, became obviouſly a topic of animoſity and diſpute between the Whigs and Tories. But the heats between the parties were not ſufficient to keep long depending this matter, eſpecially on an evidence which could carry home no well-grounded charge of treaſon to any particular perſon. The curioſity and fears of the nation were ſoon diſſipated; and the whole affair ſunk into the oblivion which it deſerved [i].

Diſputes between the houſes occaſion a proro-gation.

THE difference between the houſes concerning the examination of the plot, was heightened by a diſpute of another kind. One Aſhby had commenced an action againſt White, mayor of Aileſbury, for refuſing to admit his vote in the election of members to ſerve for that borough in parliament. The cauſe was carried, by appeal, before the houſe of peers, where judgment was given in favour of Aſhby. The interference of the lords in matters of election, threw the commons, already offended, into a violent flame. They aſſerted their excluſive right to the ſole cognizance of all matters concerning elections; and their votes were anſwered by counter reſolutions of the lords. To put an end to diſputes, which ſeemed daily to increaſe, through the inveterate animoſity between the parties, the Queen cloſed the ſeſſion, on the third of April, with a ſpeech from the throne. Having thanked the commons for their large ſupplies, ſhe recommended that unanimity between the houſes which had been loſt in their diſputes, as nothing could ſo much contribute to the ſucceſs of the nation abroad, and their ſafety and happineſs at home [k].

[i] Journals of both houſes.

[k] Journals, April 3, 1704.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

State of parties.——Tories diſmiſſed.——Campaign of 1704.——*Attack at Donawert.——Battle of Blenheim.——Its great conſequences.——Campaign in Flanders and Portugal, and in Italy.——Gibraltar taken.——Battle of Malaga.——Affairs of the North.——Secret intrigues of Marlborough.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of parties.——Act of ſecurity.——Reflections.——Secret negociations.——Parliament of England meets.——State of parties.——Bill of occaſional conformity.——Proceedings.——Marlborough's intrigues with the court of St. Germains.——Quarrel between the houſes.——Affairs of Ireland.——Godolphin intimidated, joins the Whigs.——Parliament diſſolved.——Campaign of* 1705.——*Death and character of the Emperor.——Campaign in Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Portugal.——Succeſs in Spain.——Affairs of the North.——Affairs of Scotland.——Intrigues of the Jacobites.——Act for treating about an union.——A new parliament in England.——Proceedings.——Inconſiſtency of the Tories.——Motion for inviting the Princeſs Sophia.——Bill of regency.——Proceedings with regard to Scotland.——Parliament prorogued.——Secret conduct of Godolphin.——Campaign of* 1706.——*Battle of Ramillies.——Conqueſt of Flanders.——Battle of Turin.——Succeſs of the allies in Spain.——Campaign in Germany.——Naval tranſactions.——Affairs of the North.——Articles of union ſettled.——Scotiſh affairs.——Intrigues of the Jacobites.——Tumults and debates.——Arguments againſt the union.——The articles approved.——Reflections.——Peace offered by France.——Parliament of England ratifies the Union.——Diſtreſs and preparations of France.—Campaign of* 1707.—*Battle of Almanza.—Siege of Toulon.——Inactive campaign in Flanders.*

CHAP. VI.

1704. State of parties.

THE differences which had happened between the two houſes of parliament, being conſidered as a quarrel of parties, had raiſed a ferment among their adherents, throughout the

CHAP. VI. 1704.

the kingdom. The Whigs, having prevailed in the houſe of lords, had carried the higheſt praiſes of that aſſembly to the preſs, mixed with the groſſeſt invectives on the commons, who favoured the principles of their political opponents. The conteſt for the poſſeſſion of power, which had ever been the principal motive for the violences of both ſides, was managed, as uſual, upon topics calculated to engage the minds of the people. The Whigs averred, that religion was in danger, from a fixed deſign of the Tories to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Tories, on their part, affirmed, that the Whigs extended their views to the ſubverſion of monarchy itſelf, and the ruin of the church of England. A credulous multitude were thus toſſed between the viciſſitudes of hopes and fears, in proportion as either party found means to accommodate their own allegations to the principles or prejudices of the vulgar.

The Earl of Nottingham

SOME changes made in the miniſtry after the prorogation of parliament, rendered the high-church party diſſatisfied, without gaining the confidence of the Whigs. The Earl of Nottingham, a man of vehement principles, with regard to the high prerogatives of the crown and an implicit faith in the church, was removed from the office of ſecretary of ſtate. Nottingham had owed to his ſtrict adherence to his party, an importance to which he was not entitled by his abilities. Though not deſtitute of talents for buſineſs, his extreme loquacity [a] raiſed ſuſpicions concerning the ſolidity of his underſtanding; and he was ſo much wedded to his political opinions, that he could hardly live in common charity with men of moderate principles, either in church or ſtate [b]. His attachment to the church had rendered him averſe from the meaſures of King James, while that Prince ſat upon the throne; but his zeal for the indefeaſible rights of monarchy induced him, afterwards, to favour the views of his family. He oppoſed the abjuration of the Prince of Wales with ſuch vehemence, that he

[a] MS. Notes, by Dean Swift.

[b] Mackay's character.

is

is ſaid to have ſhed tears when the bill paſſed. But he was too prudent, or, perhaps, too timid, to riſk, like many others poſſeſſed of the ſame principles, any direct correſpondence with the excluded family [c].

and ſeveral Tories diſmiſſed.

THE reſignation of Nottingham was attended by the removal of other adherents of the high-church, from ſome departments of importance. The Earl of Jerſey, a man who, with a very ordinary underſtanding, had paſſed through ſeveral of the greateſt offices in the kingdom, was deprived of the ſtaff of lord-chamberlain; which the Earl of Kent was ſaid to have purchaſed with money, from the influence of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough with the Queen [d]. Sir Edward Seymour, who through the courſe of a long life had, in a manner, avowed his attachment to the excluded family, but had complied with the times, was diſmiſſed from the office of comptroller of the Queen's houſehold. Blaithwaite, who had enjoyed, for many years, the place of ſecretary at war, was removed, more, perhaps, from the conveniency of having his office to beſtow upon another, than for any exceptions againſt either his own principles or conduct. Men who judged ſuperficially of things, looked upon theſe changes as the conſequences of an alteration of ſyſtem in the cabinet; and aſcribed to their own miſtaken opinion concerning the principles of the lord-treaſurer, what had actually proceeded from his prudence.

Harley and others advanced.

NOTWITHSTANDING the chearfulneſs with which the commons granted the ſupplies for the war, and their firm adherence to Tory principles, the lord-treaſurer and the Duke of Marlborough perceived, from the complexion of the houſe of lords in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that a powerful oppoſition to government was to be apprehended from the Whigs. They perſuaded, therefore, the Queen, that it was neceſſary either to ſway or

[c] Stuart-papers.

[d] Publications of the times.

CHAP. VI. 1704.

break the party, by bringing into office ſome of its reputed members [e]. Harley, then ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, though he had uniformly oppoſed the meaſures of King William, was deemed, in principles, a Whig, from his being bred a Diſſenter. He, however, was ſuppoſed too prudent to ſacrifice his own intereſt to the views of party; and as his talents for managing buſineſs in the houſe of commons were known and acknowledged, he became a great object of acquiſition to the Lord Godolphin. Harley, therefore, was firſt ſworn in at the council-board; and ſoon after appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the Earl of Nottingham. The office of comptroller-general was beſtowed on Mr. Manſel, his friend; and his recommendation placed [f], at the ſame time, Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, in the place of ſecretary at war, vacant by the removal of Mr. Blaithwaite.

Campaign of 1704.

THIS expedient, however, would have been found inſufficient againſt the intended oppoſition of the Whigs [g], had not the ſingular ſucceſs of the campaign impoſed ſilence upon thoſe who had prepared themſelves for blaming the treaſurer and for accuſing the Duke of Marlborough. The latter having, in the beginning of the year, viſited Holland, and concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, had returned to England before the prorogation of parliament. To carry into execution the plan which he had formed and weighed, he embarked at Harwich, on the nineteenth of April. The ſucceſs of the two laſt campaigns, having rendered the allies maſters of the Maeſe and Spaniſh Guelderland, ſuch a ſtrong barrier had been formed on the ſide of Flanders, that a ſmall number of forces were deemed ſufficient to protect the frontiers of the States, againſt the efforts of the enemy. Marlborough having found means to convince the Dutch of their ſecurity, in that quarter, propoſed to march into the heart of

[e] Hannover-papers, 1704. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

Germany,

Germany, to protect the Emperor, now almoſt threatened with the ſiege of his capital, by the joint force of the French and Bavarians. CHAP. VI. 1704.

THE threatened march of the Elector, at the head of the combined army, into the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, was not, however, the only thing that alarmed the Emperor and continued his fears. The inſurgents in Hungary, encouraged by France, had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral important places, and offered their aid to the enemy. Leopold, unable to repreſs their inſolence, was forced to ſhut his eyes on their rebellion [h]. He applied, as his laſt reſort, to the Queen of England, through Count Wratiſlaw, his envoy-extraordinary at the court of London. This miniſter preſented, on the ſecond of April, a memorial to Queen Anne, containing an affecting ſtate of the diſtreſſed condition of his maſter's affairs. The reſolution for relieving the Emperor, by carrying the war into Bavaria, which had been previouſly taken, was haſtened by this requiſition. The Duke of Marlborough, having ſettled affairs with the States, left the Hague on the fifth of May, under the pretence of a deſign to carry the war to the banks of the Moſelle, and, by that river, to penetrate into France, while every thing had been prepared for the real expedition to Bavaria and the Danube. Marlborough marches

HAVING paſſed through Utrecht to Ruremond, and from the latter place to Maeſtricht, Marlborough, as he advanced, ordered the Britiſh and other troops to join and march towards Coblentz, at the confluence of the Rhine and Moſelle. D' Auverquerque, deſtined to command the army left for the defence of the Dutch frontiers, met the Duke at Maeſtricht; and his Grace advancing through Juliers, arrived in the camp near Coblentz, on the twenty-fifth of May. Croſſing the Rhine at that place, and ſucceſſively the into Germany.

[h] Hiſt. de l'Empire d' Allemagne, tom. vii.

Maine

CHAP. VI. 1704.

Maine and the Neckar, he was met at Mondelſheim by Prince Eugene of Savoy. To join the army under the duke to the Imperial troops, led by the Prince of Baden, was the reſult of a conſultation between theſe diſtinguiſhed commanders. Prince Eugene having haſtened to Philipſburg, to take upon himſelf the command of the army on the Upper-Rhine, the duke advanced toward the Danube, and joined the Imperialiſts, at Weſterſtetten; and having arrived on the river Brentz, on the twenty-eighth of June, he placed his camp within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army. The troops of the allies conſiſted of ninety-ſix battalions of foot, and two hundred and two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, provided with forty-four pieces of field cannon, four howitzers, and twenty-four pontons. The force of the enemy was inferior in point of numbers, conſiſting only of eighty-eight battalions of foot, and one hundred and ſixty ſquadrons of horſe. But they had ninety pieces of cannon, forty mortars and howitzers, and thirty pontons [i].

Attack at Donawert.

THE generals of the allies having, in a council of war, reſolved to attack Donawert, on the Danube, forced the enemy's intrenchments before the place, with the loſs of five thouſand men, on each ſide. This action happened on the ſecond of July; and, the next day, Donawert was deſerted by the Bavarians; and thus the allies obtained by their victory a bridge over the river, while they ſeparated from one another the troops of the enemy ſtationed on the Upper and Lower Danube. The poſition gained by the allies was not, however, ſufficient to enable them to penetrate into Bavaria [k], without removing themſelves too far from Nuremberg and Nortlingen, from whence they drew their ſupplies. To avoid a battle, in the ſituation of the Elector of Bavaria and the French, was ultimately to force the allies to retire back to the Maine. But the Elector having been reinforced with a freſh army

[i] Returns of the armies.

[k] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

under

under the command of the Mareſchal de Tallard, reſolved, after a ſhort negociation into which he had entered to amuſe the allies, to abandon his own fate and that of his country, to the event of a battle. The oppoſing armies, after the junction of Tallard with the Bavarians, were equal in number, conſiſting each of eighty thouſand combatants [1].

Situation of the armies.

THOUGH the allies had paſſed, without reſiſtance, the Danube, they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria. They wiſhed, therefore, with the utmoſt eagerneſs, to give battle; and they watched for that purpoſe every motion of the enemy that might furniſh them with the advantage which they ſo much deſired. The evil deſtiny of France, the ignorance and haughtineſs of her generals, the Mareſchals Tallard and Marſin, together with the vehemence of the Elector himſelf, offered, at length, the opportunity which the enemy ſought after in vain. Prince Eugene, having marched with twenty thouſand men, from the Rhine, to obſerve Tallard on his march through the black foreſt, had now joined the Duke of Marlborough. Having prevailed with the Prince of Baden to beſiege Ingoldſtadt, they rid themſelves of the councils of that general, and reſolved to give immediate battle to the enemy, which the latter, relying upon the ſtrength of their poſition, ſhewed no inclination to decline.

Battle of Blenheim, Auguſt 13.

THE French and Bavarians lay encamped with the Danube on their right. The village of Blenheim, on the bank of that river, ſtood a little advanced in the front of the right wing of their line. Their left was covered with an extenſive thick wood, from which ran a rivulet along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, as it paſſed through the plain, formed an almoſt continued moraſs, which would have been very difficult to

[1] Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere, p. 251.

paſs,

CHAP. VI. 1704.

paſs, had not the French and Bavarians, by a negligence fatal to themſelves, formed their line at a conſiderable diſtance behind. When the Elector and the mareſchals perceived that the enemy, who were encamped with their left to the Danube and their right extending to the wood, were reſolved to give them battle, they threw twenty-eight battalions and eight ſquadrons of dragoons, into the village of Blenheim. Eight battalions were, at the ſame time, placed in another village, toward the center, with a deſign, in conjunction with thoſe at Blenheim, to fall upon the rear of the enemy when they ſhould paſs the brook; and ſo place them between two fires. Such was the ſituation of the French on the morning of the thirteenth of Auguſt. Their wretched diſpoſition inſured the loſs of the battle. Their line, conſiſting chiefly of cavalry, formed at the head of their camp, was weakened by theſe large detachments, whilſt the enemy were permitted to paſs the moraſs, formed by the rivulet, without any reſiſtance [m].

The French and Bavarians routed.

THE Duke of Marlborough, who commanded the left of the allies, having formed his line, after paſſing the brook, ordered the two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himſelf led his cavalry againſt thoſe of Tallard. After ſeveral charges, with various ſucceſs, the courage of the French horſe began, at length, to abate. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, that had advanced while the cavalry were engaged. Theſe ſuſtained the charge for a conſiderable time, againſt the Engliſh foot. But the duke, in the mean time, having charged home with his horſe the French cavalry, already wavering, drove them in their flight, into the Danube, and moſt of thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword, were drowned in that river. The ten battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the ſame time, charged on all ſides and cut to pieces. Prince Eugene, who commanded on the right, had attacked the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareſchal de Marſin. The Prince,

[m] Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere. Kane's campaigns.

however,

however, could make no impreſſion on their line. But when they perceived that Tallard was defeated, they threw themſelves into three columns, and quitted the field with great dexterity and expedition. Had they now fallen on the flank of Marlborough, whoſe troops were employed in pillaging the camp of Tallard, the victory might have been recovered; or, at leaſt, the troops ſtationed in the two villages, might have been ſaved. Thoſe at Aberclaw found means to eſcape, in the confuſion. But the twenty-eight battalions of foot and twelve ſquadrons of horſe, in Blenheim, ſurrendered at diſcretion, to the allies.

Conſequences of the battle

THE battle of Blenheim, which ſeemed to decide the fate of Germany, turned the whole ſcale of the war againſt the houſe of Bourbon. The loſs of the French and Bavarians in killed, drowned, wounded, deſerters, and priſoners, amounted to near one half of their army. The Mareſchal de Tallard himſelf was among the priſoners. The camp, equipage, baggage, and artillery of the enemy, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with every other trophy attending on a complete victory. The battle, however, was not unbloody on the ſide of the allies. Fourteen thouſand men were either killed and wounded, and among the ſlain ſeveral officers of high merit and rank. The troops, under Prince Eugene, meeting with the greateſt reſiſtance, ſuffered the moſt. The Elector and the Mareſchal de Marſin, though they ſcarce could be ſaid to have been routed, retired, with every mark of a defeat, under the cover of night, to Ulm. They remained in that city only one day; and, having directed their rout through the black foreſt, joined the Mareſchal de Villeroi, on the Rhine.

of Blenheim.

No modern victory was ever more complete than that obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, and none could have more ſudden or more important conſequences. The conqueſts and dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the

CHAP. VI. 1704.

hands of the Emperor, who revenged ſeverely, upon that Prince's ſubjects, the exceſſes which had been committed by the enemy on his own. An extent of ſeventy leagues of country, which had fallen into the hands of the victors, felt all the miſeries and ravages attending upon conqueſt. The French, ruined, broken, and diſperſed, left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates, from the Danube to the Rhine. The remains of an army that, at the beginning of the year, extended terror to the gates of Vienna, were now forced to take ſhelter within the limits of France. The victors croſſed the Rhine. They entered Alſace, and the important fortreſſes of Landau and Trearbach fell into their hands, before the end of the campaign [n].

Campaign in Flanders and Portugal.

THE campaign in Flanders being merely defenſive, on both ſides, produced no event either brilliant or important. Auverquerque, who commanded the allies, on the frontiers of the States, bombarded Namur, without effect, in the month of July. The ſame good fortune which had attended the arms of the confederates on the Danube, was not general on every ſide of the war. The Archduke Charles, who had taken the title of King of Spain, had landed at Liſbon, on the ninth of March, with eight thouſand Engliſh and Dutch forces. Philip the Fifth, ſtrengthened with an army of twenty thouſand French, carried the war into Portugal, early in the ſpring. Several places, and particularly Portalegre, fell into his hands; and in various ſlight rencounters in the field, he defeated the Portugueze. Diſputes between the King of Portugal and the Duke of Schomberg, who commanded the Engliſh and Dutch auxiliaries, forced the Queen to recall that nobleman; who was ſucceeded by the Earl of Galway, through the intrigues of Mr. Methuen, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of Liſbon. The King of Portugal and the Archduke, having in vain attempted to croſs the river Angueda, and invade Caſtile, were forced to retreat

[n] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. Siecle de Lewis XIV.

from the preſence of the Duke of Berwick, into the heart of Portugal, where they diſtributed their troops in winter quarters [o]. 1704.

Campaign in Italy.

ON the ſide of Italy, the Duke of Modena having eſpouſed the cauſe of the Emperor, was deprived of his whole dominions, by the French, under the command of Vendôme. The Duke of Mirandola, who joined himſelf to the intereſts of France, experienced the like misfortune from the arms of the Imperialiſts. The Duke of Mantua, perceiving that his dominions were become the theatre of war, endeavoured, by marriage, to gain the favour of France. The campaign in Italy proved, upon the whole, favourable for the houſe of Bourbon. The caſtle of [p] Suza and the city of Pignerol were taken in June. Vercelli ſurrendered in July [q]. The city, the citadel, and the caſtle of Yvrea fell into the hands of Vendôme, in the month of September. No action of any note happened in the field. The Emperor having employed his chief force in the defence of his hereditary dominions in Germany, found himſelf in no capacity to reinforce his troops in the dutchy of Mantua. The French, therefore, took place after place, with little reſiſtance; and cloſed the campaign by the taking of Senſano, on the twenty-fifth of November.

Gibraltar taken.

THE taking of Gibraltar by the Engliſh, and an undeciſive battle between the French and the confederates near Malaga, rendered diſtinguiſhed the naval operations of the preſent year. The combined fleet that had carried the Archduke to Liſbon, having quitted that port, preſented themſelves before Barcelona; where a party had entered into a ſecret agreement with the allies to place that city in their hands. The plot was diſcovered and diſappointed by the viceroy of the province; but he durſt neither ſeize nor puniſh the conſpirators. The fleet quitting the coaſt of

[o] Hiſt. de Portugal, tom. ii. [p] June 12. [q] July 20.

CHAP. VI. 1704.

Catalonia, appeared before Cadiz, which city had been placed in a poſture of defence by the vigilance of the governor. Fortune conducted the allies thence to Gibraltar, which was ill provided and feebly defended. The inhabitants, terrified at the vivacity and courage of the Engliſh ſailors, ſurrendered the place on the firſt attack; and Sir George Rooke, who commanded in the expedition, fortified Gibraltar, in the name, and under the dominion of the Queen of England [r].

Undeciſive fight off Malaga.

THE taking of this important fortreſs had, at once, an effect on the war in Spain, and introduced another important event. Part of the army employed in Portugal being withdrawn from that kingdom, for the purpoſe of retaking Gibraltar, ſtopt the progreſs of Philip the Fifth. The French fleet, to the number of fifty-two ſhips, coming to the aid of the beſiegers, under the conduct of the Comte de Tholouſe, was met, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, about twelve leagues from Malaga, by Sir George Rooke and the Dutch admiral Calemberg, with an equal force. An obſtinate battle enſued, to which the night put, at length, an end. Both ſides claimed the victory, and both deſerved it, had ſucceſs depended on valour. Though no ſhips were ſunk or loſt, the fleets were ſo much diſabled, that neither ſhewed any inclination to renew the fight the ſucceeding day. Willing to get clear of each other, they gradually made their retreat. The French, unable to give aid to the Spaniards before Gibraltar, made the moſt uſe of the wind to carry them to their ports; while the fleet of the allies, having left a ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, directed their courſe to England [s].

Affairs in the Cevennes and Hungary.

THE want of ſucceſs, on the ſide of Savoy, prevented the allies, from ſending, as they intended, ſuccours to the inſurgents in the Cevennes. The court of France, ſenſible of the diſadvan-

[r] Naval Hiſt. Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, 11.

[s] Naval Hiſt.

tage

CHAP. VI. 1704.

tage of domeſtic diſturbances, while they were preſſed by a powerful and victorious enemy on their frontiers, reſolved, with lenity, to overcome men whoſe obſtinacy had, hitherto, defeated all the efforts of their arms. The Mareſchal de Villars was, accordingly, ſent to treat with the leaders of the inſurgents. He agreed, in the name of the King, to grant them the free liberty of their own worſhip [t]. But the fire was rather covered than extinguiſhed [u]. The impolitic conduct of the court of Vienna ſtill continued the troubles in Hungary. The expulſion of the Elector of Bavaria, and the reduction of his dominions, had ſo much depreſſed the malecontents, that they were ready to ſubmit upon any reaſonable terms. But the fierce and ſevere policy of the houſe of Auſtria, rejected all accommodation, except a total ſubmiſſion, with men whom they accounted the worſt of rebels. The inſurgents, collecting ſpirit from deſpair, and privately encouraged by France, ſpread their ravages far and wide; and though they were defeated in various ſkirmiſhes, Hungary was likely to continue, for ſome time, a ſcene of misfortunes and blood [w].

Affairs of Poland.

THIS year, remarkable for great events, produced a Revolution in Poland: The cardinal-primate, long in the intereſt of the King of Sweden, aſſembled a diet at Warſaw; and the throne was declared vacant, on the fourteenth of February. King Auguſtus, having iſſued manifeſtoes in vain, reſolved to ſupport himſelf with the ſword. He aſſembled his adherents in Poland. He called his allies the Ruſſians to his aid. The King of Sweden, in the mean time, preſſed the Poles to elect a new Sovereign. Staniſlaus Leczinſki, Palatine of Poſnania, was accordingly raiſed to the throne, on the twelfth of July. The war was continued with vigour. The Saxons were defeated, on the ſixth of Auguſt. They were again routed, on the nineteenth. But, notwithſtand-

[t] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. [u] Burnet, vol. iv. [w] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

ing

CHAP. VI. 1704.

ing theſe misfortunes, King Auguſtus found means to ſurpriſe Warſaw, on the fifth of September; and either to diſperſe or ſeize the adherents of his rival. He, however, was driven again from that capital, in the end of October; and forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions; which he almoſt ruined, by immenſe preparations for renewing, with vigour, the war for the recovery of the kingdom he had loſt [x].

A general joy.

THE great victory obtained by the allies at Blenheim, being chiefly, and very juſtly aſcribed to the valour of the Britiſh troops and the conduct and addreſs of their leader the Duke of Marlborough, a general joy was diffuſed over the nation on account of that ſplendid event. The Queen appointed a day of thankſgiving for this ſignal advantage; and with a pomp, not unſuitable to the pardonable vanity of her ſex, went in proceſſion to St. Paul's [y]. The Duke himſelf, beſides the great reputation which he had obtained abroad, from his ſucceſs, derived from it a ſolid advantage at home. On the ſucceſs of his expedition, his political importance was known to depend. The party excluded from office had, in a manner, openly declared, that they would attack him in parliament; and, it muſt be confeſſed, that notwithſtanding his great actions, he was not free from faults which his enemies might have ſeized with advantage. The torrent of his glory, however, came with ſuch rapidity and ſtrength on their deſigns, that they were levelled, and in a moment ruined. While foreign princes vied with one another to honour him abroad, he became, at home, the darling of a people fond of military fame.

Secret intrigues of Marlborough.

THE Whigs deſpairing of any ſucceſs from an oppoſition to Marlborough, ſeem, at this time, to have formed deſigns of inducing him to embark in their own cauſe. They had long

[x] Hiſt. de Pologne, tom. ii. [y] Sept. 7.

obſerved

obſerved that neither the Duke nor the lord-treaſurer had ever yet, even in appearance, renounced the pretenſions of the Prince of Wales. Their object, therefore, was to gain the Duke to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, by a marriage between his daughter and the electoral Prince. But this, with other ſchemes of the like kind, were dropt as difficult and uncertain [z]. The truth is, that though Marlborough and Godolphin had not lately appeared warm in the cauſe of the excluded family, they ſtill maintained a ſecret connexion, and encouraged private interviews with the agents of the court of St. Germains [a]. The Duke, though, perhaps, not ſo ſincere in his profeſſions as the treaſurer, was leſs guarded in his conduct. In the month of April, when he was preparing to break the power of the French in Germany, he regretted the abſence of his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, in Portugal; as he ought to be nearer Britain, to take advantage of ſuch events as might ariſe in favour of the exiled Prince. He gave, at the ſame time, the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his unalterable fidelity and attachment to the excluded family; and directed their agents to apply to the Lord Godolphin, upon any emergency that might ariſe during his own abſence in the campaign [b].

CHAP. VI. 1704.

DURING the important operations of the campaign abroad, ſome tranſactions in Scotland engaged a part of the attention of the nation at home. The country-party, inflamed at what they deemed an indignity, the interference of the Engliſh houſe of lords, with a plot ſuppoſed to have exiſted in Scotland, joined themſelves more cloſely with that party whoſe almoſt avowed intentions were to ſerve the intereſts of the excluded family. The Queen, in compliance with her promiſe to the houſe of peers, made no ſecret of her deſign to propoſe to the parlia-

Affairs of Scotland.

[z] Sir Rowland Gwynne's letters.
[a] Stuart-papers, 1704.
[b] Stuart-papers, April 22, 1704.

ment

CHAP. VI. 1704.

ment of Scotland, the ſettlement of the crown of that kingdom on the houſe of Hannover. To pave the way for this important buſineſs, ſome changes were made in the adminiſtration. The Duke of Queenſberry, who had rendered himſelf obnoxious, by his patronage of Fraſer and the plot, was diſmiſſed, to ſoften the popular party, from his place of ſecretary of ſtate; and the Marquis of Tweedale, a man of more honeſty than abilities, ſucceeded him in the office of lord-high-commiſſioner to the parliament.

Intrigues of parties.

PRIOR to the meeting of that aſſembly, the different factions uſed every art to ſtrengthen themſelves by gaining their opponents. The Duke of Hamilton, conſidered as the head of the Jacobites, aſſociated himſelf with the country-party, and ſent a deputation of their number to London, to oppoſe the deſigns and influence of his mortal enemy the Duke of Queenſberry. The perſons choſen for this kind of embaſſy were the Earls of Rothes and Roxburgh, together with Baillie of Jerviſwood, men leſs attached to the principles of their party, than to their own private intereſt. Having arrived at London, and joined their efforts with the Duke of Athol, they accompliſhed the diſmiſſion of Queenſberry. But, contrary to the intention of their confederates the Jacobites, they promiſed, in return, to the Engliſh miniſtry, to ſupport in parliament the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hannover. The Duke of Hamilton, and his party, though not ignorant of the deſigns of their agents, reſolved to purſue, with undeviating perſeverance, their own. They affected to appear ignorant of the agreement made between the members of the deputation and the court of England; while, at the ſame time, they gained the adherents of the Duke of Queenſberry to a reſolution of oppoſing the ſucceſſion, by agreeing that no examination of the plot ſhould be made in parliament [c].

[c] Lockhart's Memoirs.

IN

CHAP. VI.

1704. Proceedings of Parliament.

In this ſtate of affairs the parliament met at Edinburgh, on the ſixth of July. The Queen recommended, in her letter, unanimity of councils, and the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line; and demanded an immediate ſupply for maintaining the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the kingdom. The commiſſioner, the chancellor, and the Earl of Cromarty, now ſole ſecretary of ſtate, ſupported as uſual, the demands of the Queen in a ſucceſſion of formal ſpeeches. Their eloquence produced ſo little effect on the houſe, that they ſcarce had finiſhed when a motion was made, "that the houſe, without naming a ſucceſſor, ſhould ſtand by and defend her Majeſty's perſon and government. But that the houſe ſhould agree on ſuch conditions and limitations, to take effect after the Queen's death, as ſhould effectually defend Scotland againſt all Engliſh influence." The houſe adjourning without debate on the motion, the Duke of Hamilton made an overture, on the thirteenth of July, that the parliament ſhould not proceed to name a ſucceſſor to the crown, until the Scots ſhould conclude a treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other important concerns. When a motion was made for reſuming the conſideration of the overture [c], Mr. Fletcher of Salton laid, in a pathetic manner, before the houſe, the miſeries and hardſhips which the Scots had ſuffered ſince the union of the two crowns, and the impoſſibility of mending their condition without preventing the continuance of the ſame misfortune [d].

Act of ſecurity receives the royal aſſent.

THE eagerneſs with which theſe motions were received, convinced the court-party, that the project for ſettling the ſucceſſion was ill-timed. To allay the ferment which had prevailed in the nation ever ſince the Queen refuſed her aſſent to the act of ſecurity, her Engliſh miniſters had adviſed her to gratify the Scots upon that ſubject. Beſides, the oppoſition had reſolved, that till

[c] July 17.

[d] Memoirs of Scotland.

CHAP. VI. 1704.

the act of ſecurity ſhould receive the royal aſſent, no ſupply ſhould be granted. An act, in ſubſtance the ſame with that which had paſſed the houſe the preceding year, was read, for the firſt time, on the twenty-fifth of July; and, on the fifth of Auguſt, it was touched with the ſceptre. Though the Duke of Hamilton was in cloſe correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, ſome of the adherents of the excluded family had formed a ſuſpicion of his having views of his own on the crown. The act of ſecurity, they ſaid, chiefly carried by his zeal and induſtry, contained a clauſe which pointed out the Duke himſelf for the throne of Scotland. A proviſion was made, that the ſucceſſor ſhould be a Proteſtant, and of the royal line of Scotland; but that the perſon appointed ſhould not be, at the ſame time, ſucceſſor to the crown of England. Next the family of Hannover, who were, in a manner, excluded by the clauſe, the Duke of Hamilton himſelf was the neareſt Proteſtant of the royal line; being lineally deſcended, by a daughter, from the firſt branch of the houſe of Stuart, who reigned in Scotland.

Parliament prorogued.

THOUGH the adherents of the excluded family had gained to their own cauſe the votes of the adherents of the Duke of Queenſberry, with a promiſe, that the plot which had made ſo much noiſe in England in the preceding year, ſhould not be diſcuſſed in parliament, it was brought into debate by the Lord Belhaven *. In a digreſſion from the ſubject of his ſpeech, his Lordſhip gave a full account of the proceedings in the Engliſh houſe of peers concerning that ſuppoſed conſpiracy. This circumſtance induced Mr. Fletcher of Salton to preſent a reſolve to the houſe, which he deſired might be read and voted. The purport of this overture was, that the Engliſh houſe of lords, by their examination of the plot, and by addreſſing the Queen, in relation to a ſucceſſor to the crown of Scotland, had unduely interfered with the con-

* Auguſt 9.

cerns

cerns of Scotſmen, and had encroached upon the honour, ſovereignty and independency of the nation. This motion was oppoſed with great warmth by the court party, and even by many who had hitherto been conſidered as members of the country party. The thing itſelf was, however, too popular not to paſs. The carrying of this reſolution, and another for addreſſing the Queen, for laying before the houſe the evidence and papers relating to the plot, finiſhed the buſineſs of the ſeſſion, which was cloſed by a prorogation, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt [f].

Reflections.

THE refractory diſpoſition of the parliament of Scotland alarmed the favourers of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in England. Though the miniſter, the Lord Godolphin, was by no means of that number, the natural timidity of his diſpoſition rendered him, in ſome meaſure, averſe from a conduct which he ſecretly approved. He perceived, that things could not long remain in their preſent unſettled condition; and to prevent a criſis of affairs, which he had not courage to encounter, he deſerted his principles. There is no reaſon to believe that he privately encouraged the malecontents in Scotland, to reject the propoſal for ſettling the crown in the houſe of Hannover. But he had not yet opened that ſcene of corruption, which, afterwards, quieted the turbulence of the Scots; and which was, perhaps, neceſſary for the peace and ſafety of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Hamilton, who knew the principles of Godolphin, expreſſed his own fears of his want of courage [g]. He ſuppoſed, before the parliament of Scotland met, that many of the members were to be gained with money, by the lord-treaſurer of England; and to meet him, in the line of corruption, he demanded a large ſum [h] from France, for the purpoſe of purchaſing votes [i].

[f] Proceedings of the Scot. parl.
[g] Stuart-papers, 1704.
[h] 25,000 l.
[i] Stuart-papers, 1704.

CHAP. VI.

1704. Secret negociations and

THOUGH the Duke of Hamilton was unjuſtly accuſed in Fraſer's plot, as being privy to a deſcent from France in the preceding ſummer, he had, in the preſent year, ſeriouſly adviſed that meaſure, ſhould matters come to a rupture between the parliament of Scotland and the Engliſh miniſtry. He ſent a meſſage to the court of St. Germains, recommending that a force ſhould be held ready on the coaſt for an emergency. He aſſured the exiled family, that their party in Scotland, in conjunction with thoſe who adhered to the independence of their country, were reſolved, rather than ſubmit to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hannover, to throw every thing into confuſion, and leave the deciſion of the conteſt to the ſword. He gave it, as his opinion, that five thouſand men would be ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh the excluded line, on the throne of Scotland; and eventually to raiſe them to the ſovereignty of England. But before any deſcent ſhould be attempted he deſired to be informed concerning the views and promiſes of the adherents of the excluded Prince in the latter kingdom; as the force neceſſary for a ſucceſsful invaſion, ought to be greater or ſmaller in proportion to the quality and number of his Engliſh friends. The Marquis of Montroſe, the Earls of Errol, Marſhal, Breadalbin, and Panmure, the Viſcount Stormont, the Lord Balmarino, the deprived biſhops, and many of the chiefs of the highland clans, expreſſed the ſame inclinations and adhered to the ſame ſentiments, with the Duke of Hamilton[k].

Intrigues of the exiled family.

THE victory obtained in parliament over the propoſals of the Engliſh miniſtry, and the condeſcenſion of the Queen, in giving the royal aſſent to the act of ſecurity, prevented that rupture for which Hamilton ſignified his inclination to be prepared. The miniſters of the excluded Prince were, however, either incapable or unwilling to obtain, from the court of France, an armament for the invaſion of Scotland; and they made, therefore, their ap-

[k] Stuart-papers, 1704.

plication

CHAP. VI. 1704.

plication for a deſcent in England. On the twenty-ſecond of June, a memorial for that purpoſe was preſented to the Marquiſſes de Torcy and de Chamillart. They ſignified to thoſe miniſters, that an attempt on England would be leſs impracticable and more deciſive, than to carry the war into Scotland, though the majority in that kingdom were in the intereſt of the exiled family. They averred, with reaſon, that the poſſeſſion of England would inſure the ſubmiſſion of Ireland and Scotland; and that the former was now deſtitute of troops, or only left under the protection of a few guards and ſome new levies, diſperſed over the face of the country. They repreſented, that the month of March was the moſt proper time for a deſcent, before the ſupplies were levied or the fleet armed. They concluded with affirming, that nothing then ſhould remain to oppoſe their maſter, but a weak Princeſs, a timid miniſter, and a mercenary general; who would make a merit of fulfilling their former promiſes, to inſure their own intereſt and ſafety[1].

Parliament of England meets.

DURING the ideal projects, formed between the court of St. Germains and their adherents in Scotland, the parliament of England met at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-fourth of October. The Queen, having expatiated on the great and remarkable ſucceſs of the campaign, informed her parliament, that ſhe aſſured herſelf they were all diſpoſed to provide for every thing neceſſary to proſecute, with vigour and effect, the war. She inſinuated, that nothing was more obvious, than that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages, would enable them to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, and a firm ſupport for the liberty of Europe. To accompliſh theſe deſirable ends, ſhe demanded a ſupply from the commons. She told them, that ſhe believed they would find ſome charges neceſſary, in the ſucceeding year, which were not mentioned in the laſt; and that ſome extraordinary expences had been incurred, for which no proviſion

[1] Stuart-papers, 1704.

had

CHAP. VI. 1704.

had been made. Having aſſured the two houſes of her confidence in their affection, and her own unalterable love for her people, ſhe earneſtly recommended ſuch unanimity, temper, and prudence in their proceedings, as might contribute to render her kingdom flouriſhing and herſelf happy [m].

They grant liberal ſupplies.

THE commons, as far as the Queen and the public ſervice were concerned, were ſufficiently unanimous, expeditious, and zealous. The demanded ſupplies were granted, without heſitation [n]. They provided amply for the ſea [o] and land ſervices [p]. They ſupplied former deficiencies [q]. They guarded againſt them for the future. They granted to her Majeſty, beſide forty thouſand pounds as a ſubſidy to the Duke of Savoy [r], three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, as her proportion of the ſubſidies payable to her other allies, for the year 1705 [s]. They were as expeditious in finding the ways and means, as they were liberal in furniſhing the ſupplies. The whole buſineſs was carried forward with ſuch harmony, cheerfulneſs, and facility, that, on the ninth of December, all the money-bills received the royal aſſent. The general joy, which had diffuſed itſelf through their conſtituents, ſeemed to have communicated itſelf to the commons. But the ſpirit of diſſenſion was rather ſuſpended than extinguiſhed.

State of parties.

THE lord-treaſurer, though a Tory himſelf and even a Jacobite, had permitted a caution, which his enemies called timidity, to ſuperſede his principles, in the arrangement made in the departments of government, at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. To trim between the two great parties, who divided between them the nation, he had placed moderate Whigs in places poſſeſſed by violent Tories. He had the misfortune to loſe the latter, and not to gain the former. The poſſeſſion of power, under the ſpecious name of a difference in opinion, had long been the motive of con-

[m] Journals, Oct. 24. [n] Nov. 1. [o] Nov. 7. [p] Nov. 11.
[q] Nov. 9. [r] Nov. 11. [s] Nov. 21.

teſt

CHAP. VI.

1704.

teſt between theſe factions; and their mutual animoſities had aſcended to a height that diſdained a divided authority in the kingdom. The trimming Whigs, admitted by Godolphin into office, had promiſed to manage both parties, by playing their prejudices againſt one another. This conduct, to make it ſucceed, required the utmoſt dexterity and addreſs. Though the parties were ſo poized, that the weight of government could give to either ſide, at pleaſure, the victory, their conteſts, eſpecially in their preſent inflamed ſtate, were certain of embarraſſing, if not capable of entirely obſtructing the public buſineſs.

Bill againſt occaſional conformity.

DESERTED friends become frequently, through pride, the fierceſt enemies. The Tories, though as much offended with Marlborough as with Godolphin, reſolved to attack only the latter, as the high reputation obtained by the former had rendered him an object too great to be aſſailed. The bill againſt occaſional conformity, which had been twice loſt before in the houſe of lords, was again introduced by the church party, into the houſe of commons[t]. To embarraſs the miniſtry and to diſtreſs the Whigs, who abetted the Diſſenters, a motion was made for tacking the bill to the land-tax bill. The houſe of lords having no power to alter any money-bill, but either to paſs it entire or to reject the whole, that aſſembly would either have been obliged to agree to the bill, or to put an end to the war, which depended on the ſupplies. The miniſtry, eſpecially ſecretary Harley, himſelf a Diſſenter, procured by his own addreſs and the weight of government, a majority in the lower houſe, againſt the motion[u]. The bill, however, was paſſed by the commons, without being tacked. But, again it was thrown out by the lords. This new diſappointment increaſed the animoſity of the Tories againſt the Lord Godolphin; as they

[t] Nov. 23.

[u] Nov. 28.

CHAP. VI. 1704.

aſcribed their defeat, in a favourite project, to the weight which he had thrown into the hands of the oppoſite party.

Conduct of parties.

The two parties, during the remainder of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſeemed to have made an exchange of principles, could a judgment of their private views be formed from their public conduct. When the act of ſecurity which had been paſſed in Scotland, in the preceding ſummer, came to be debated in the parliament of England, the Whigs and Tories, complained againſt it with equal warmth. The firſt endeavoured to derive advantage from a circumſtance ſo favourable to their avowed principles. The latter pretended, from the like motives, to guard againſt its conſequences. The Tories, in their arguments in the houſe of commons, urged that the paſſing the act of ſecurity tended to defeat the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover. But when this propoſition was reduced into a motion, it was rejected by the Whigs, though they had profeſſed themſelves the only friends of the deſcent of the crown in the proteſtant line. The two parties, however, agreed that ſome vigorous efforts muſt be taken in England, to obviate the dangers ariſing from the proceedings in Scotland. The violent, on both ſides, were, however, well-pleaſed at bottom with meaſures which ſeemed equally calculated to promote their reſpective views. The republican part of the Whigs looked upon the act of ſecurity as highly favourable to their own principles; and the warm Jacobites among the Tories conſidered the excluſion of the houſe of Hannover, as a great ſtep towards the reſtoration of the excluded branch of the family of Stuart.

Proceedings of parliament.

THE houſe of lords were the firſt who entered into debate, on the means of obviating the inconveniences which were likely to ariſe, from the acts paſſed in the preceding ſummer, in Scotland. They reſolved, on the ſeventh of December, that no Scotſmen, not reſiding in England and Ireland, ſhould enjoy the privileges of Engliſhmen, until an union ſhould be made, or the

ſucceſſion

CHAP. VI. 1705.

ſucceſſion ſettled, as in England. That the bringing in of cattle from Scotland ſhould be prevented. That her Majeſty's ſhips ſhould be ordered to ſeize ſuch Scotiſh ſhips as they ſhould find trading with France; and that the exportation of Engliſh wool into Scotland ſhould be carefully hindered[w]. The houſe having approved of theſe reſolutions, ordered the judges to reduce them into bills. An act for appointing commiſſioners for treating with the Scots, concerning an entire union, was read a third time, on the twentieth of December, and ſent down to the commons for their concurrence. The lords, a few days before, had addreſſed her Majeſty, to put the town of Newcaſtle in a ſtate of defence, to ſecure the port of Tinmouth, and to repair Carliſle and Hull. They alſo requeſted the Queen to order the militia of the four northern counties to be diſciplined and armed; and that a competent number of regular troops ſhould be ſtationed on the borders towards Scotland, and in the northern parts of Ireland[x].

concerning the Scotiſh act of ſecurity.

THE bill formed by the lords, upon their own reſolutions, was rejected by the commons, under the pretence of its being a money-bill, on account of the fines appointed to be levied on offenders. They, however, framed a bill to the ſame purpoſe, and, having paſſed it, on the third of February 1705, ſent it to the lords, who returned it, four days after, without any amendment. Though the commons found themſelves under a kind of neceſſity to paſs a bill expreſſive of their jealouſy of the Scotiſh act of ſecurity, they proceeded, with manifeſt coldneſs, in the whole buſineſs[y]. The more violent Whigs and the moſt zealous Tories joined, as has been already obſerved, in opinion, that the unſettled ſtate of the ſucceſſion in Scotland, might favour their reſpective views in England. Upon this footing, the bill ſent down from the lords, was rejected, in hopes of provoking the upper-houſe into a reſentment, which might defeat the whole affair. The lords, aware of the deſign of

[w] Journals of the lords. [x] Ibid. Dec. 9. [y] Burnet, vol. iv.

CHAP. VI. 1704.

the commons, diſappointed them by paſſing the bill without amendments, and even almoſt without debate.

Arrival of the Duke of Marlborough.

THE unanimity between the two houſes, which was apparently forced, on the ſubject of the Scotiſh act of ſecurity, aſſumed an appearance of being ſincere in their acknowledgment of the important ſervices of the Duke of Marlborough. That general having, in the beginning of November, ordered the Engliſh troops to embark on the Rhine for Holland, directed his own courſe to Berlin, the reſidence of the King of Pruſſia. Having, in the ſpace of four days, concluded a treaty with that Prince, by which he engaged to ſend eight thouſand men to the aid of the Duke of Savoy; the Duke quitted Berlin, and arrived at the court of Hannover, on the twentieth of November. On the ſecond of December, he arrived at the Hague. Having concerted the operations of the next campaign, with the States, he embarked in the Maeſe, and, accompanied by the Mareſchal de Tallard and twenty-ſix other priſoners of note, arrived in the Thames, on the fourteenth of December. He was, the ſame day, received at St. James's, by the Queen, with every mark of favour, cordiality, and reſpect [z].

He is thanked and rewarded.

THE duke, having next day come to the houſe of peers, was congratulated upon his great ſervices, in the name of the lords, by the lord keeper, Sir Nathan Wright. The commons, at the ſame time, ordered a committee of their body to wait upon him, with their thanks, for the ſucceſs of his late negociations in the cabinet, as well as for his victories in the field [a]. They followed theſe expreſſions of reſpect with more ſolid marks of their favour.

1705. Having appointed a day for conſidering the ſervices of the Duke of Marlborough, they addreſſed her Majeſty to find means to perpetuate their memory [b]. The Queen, accordingly, acquainted the commons, by a meſſage, that ſhe intended to grant to the duke and

[z] Life of Marlborough. [a] Dec. 15. [b] Jan 11, 1705.

his heirs, the intereſt of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock and hundred of Wooton; and ſhe deſired the aſſiſtance of the houſe, in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundreds, which had been already given away for two lives. A bill was immediately brought in, in conſequence of her Majeſty's meſſage; and, notwithſtanding the number of the Duke's enemies in both houſes, it paſſed into a law without oppoſition.

1705. January.

His intrigues with the court of St. Germains.

WHILE the Duke of Marlborough was thus publickly gratified by the two parties, and favoured by the Whigs, he continued to make ſecret profeſſions and proteſtations of zeal for the intereſts of the excluded family. A few days after his arrival from Holland, he invited himſelf to ſupper with the Dutcheſs of Tyrconnel, who happened to be then in London. Her attachment to the court of St. Germains, and her knowledge of the Duke's connexions with the ſervants of the Prince of Wales, encouraged her to remind him of his former promiſes, and to ſuggeſt her expectations from his future ſervices. He anſwered her in general terms. But when ſhe urged him to agree on particulars, he ſolemnly aſſured her, that without deſcending to circumſtances or fixing the time, he would do every thing which honour and juſtice demanded at his hands [c]. The Lord Godolphin himſelf, though proſcribed by the Tories, as affecting the principles and views of the Whigs, notwithſtanding his natural caution, had, it ſeems, at the ſame time, given a proof of the continuance of his zeal for the excluded family, by inſinuating to their agents, that he would ſearch for an opportunity to pay a part, at leaſt, of the arrears of the jointure due to the exiled Queen [d].

Yet favours the Whigs.

NOTWITHSTANDING this appearance of their favouring ſecretly the views of the excluded family, Marlborough and Godolphin,

[c] Stuart-papers, Jan. 4, 1705.

[d] Ibid.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

in their public conduct, ſeemed willing to break with the Tories, who were deemed the enemies of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. Though Sir George Rooke had acquired ſo much reputation by the taking of Gibraltar and in the battle near Malaga, he was diſmiſſed from the command of the fleet, in the beginning of this year[d], on account of his own high-church principles, and the ſupport which his party gave to his actions, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding campaign. Sir Cloudſley Shovel, a man of mean birth, but a good ſeaman and attached to the Whigs, was raiſed into the place vacated by the diſmiſſion of Rooke. This circumſtance, together with other mortifications ariſing from the obvious partiality ſhewn by the miniſter to the Whigs, raiſed the reſentment of the Tories, who formed a majority of the commons; and contributed to a renewal of the former differences, which ſubſiſted between the two houſes of parliament.

Feb. Caſe of the men of Ayleſbury.

AN object of diviſion preſented itſelf to the commons in a matter in which their own privileges, as they maintained, were very eſſentially concerned. Five inhabitants of the borough of Ayleſbury brought their actions againſt William White, the mayor of that corporation, for having refuſed to receive their votes, in the election of members to ſerve in parliament. The commons ordered theſe men to be committed to Newgate, for a breach of privilege. But the priſoners brought their *habeas corpus* into the court of Queen's Bench; and provided themſelves with council, who pleaded, upon various grounds, that they ought to be diſcharged. The lord chief-juſtice Holt, who preſided on the bench, was of the ſame opinion, declaring that neither houſe of parliament, nor both jointly, without the concurrence of the ſovereign, have any power or right to diſpoſe of the liberty or the property of the ſubject. He affirmed, admitting that the com-

[d] Jan. 5.

mons

mons poſſeſſed a right of puniſhing perſons, with impriſonment, for a breach of privilege, that commencing of a ſuit was no breach of that kind; that a juſt cauſe of action, grounded on the common law, could not be conſtrued into a contempt, without ſubjecting the rights of the people and the common courſe of juſtice between man and man, to the caprice of a body who might chuſe to ſubſtitute the reſolutions of one branch of the legiſlature, in the place of regulations formed by the united conſent of the whole.

Reſolutions of the lords.

THE three other judges on the bench differing from the chief-juſtice in opinion, the priſoners were remanded to Newgate. Two of theſe, however, refuſing to acquieſce in the judgment, petitioned for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the lords. The commons, having addreſſed the Queen not to grant the writ, voted, that all thoſe that were either concerned in managing the writs of *habeas corpus*, or in procuring the writ of error, were diſturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the privileges of the commons of England. They ordered the four counſellors who had pleaded for the men of Ayleſbury at the bar of the Queen's Bench, to be taken into cuſtody. They ſent their ſerjeant at arms, at midnight, with every circumſtance of ſeverity and terror, to remove the priſoners from Newgate. The houſe of lords proceeding, in the mean time, on the petition for the writs of error, came to ſeveral important reſolutions. They voted, that neither houſe of parliament had any power to create new privileges, inconſiſtent with the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament. That every ſubject of England, who thinks himſelf injured, has a right to ſeek redreſs by an action at law; and that the houſe of commons, in committing the men of Ayleſbury, had intrenched on the conſtitution of the kingdom, by pretending to give to their own declaration the force of an eſtabliſhed law[f].

[f] Printed Caſe.

To

CHAP. VI.

1705. March. Counter-reſolutions of the commons.

To theſe reſolutions againſt the commons, the lords added others declaratory of the general rights of the people. They reſolved, that every Engliſhman who is impriſoned by any authority whatſoever, has a right to apply for and obtain his *habeas corpus*; and that the commons, in encroaching, by their animadverſions, on that undoubted right, had made a breach on the ſtatutes provided for the liberty of the ſubject. The lords followed theſe reſolutions with two writs of *habeas corpus*, returnable before the lord-keeper, in behalf of two of the council for the men of Ayleſbury, who had been taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms, by expreſs orders from the commons. The lower houſe having voted counter-reſolutions againſt thoſe of the peers, commanded the ſerjeant at arms, under a promiſe of being ſupported and protected, to make no return nor yield any obedience to the writs; and they, at the ſame time, acquainted the lord-keeper, that the writs themſelves ſhould be ſuperſeded as contrary to law, and the privilege of the commons of England[g]. The flame increaſing on both ſides, with great fury, the Queen was adviſed to put an end to a ſeſſion that promiſed nothing but turbulence, altercation, and noiſe. She accordingly came to the houſe of lords, on the fourteenth of March, and by an immediate prorogation, put an effectual end to the diſpute.

A ſeſſion of parliament in Ireland.

DURING theſe conteſts in England, the parliament of Ireland met at Dublin[h]. The affairs of that kingdom having ſuffered no material change ſince the preceding year, the ſeſſion furniſhed no tranſaction of great importance. On the fifth of March, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, voted a ſupply of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to her Majeſty, for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment for two years, commencing at Michaelmas 1705, and ending at the ſame term in the year 1707. A bill, introduced for the improvement of the hempen

[g] Journals, March 8. [h] Feb. 10.

and

and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom, raiſed a flame, which a prorogation only could extinguiſh. A clauſe in the bill having aſcertained the tithes of flax and hemp, the lower houſe of convocation of the clergy of Ireland preſented a memorial, ſigned by the prolocutor, requeſting the commons, that a clauſe ſo detrimental to their intereſt ſhould not paſs, till their reaſons againſt it ſhould be heard. The commons ordered the perſon who brought the memorial to be committed for a breach of privilege. They voted, that the convocation, by pretending to have any care of the civil rights of the clergy, were guilty of a contempt of the houſe. They, at the ſame time, ſignified their expectation, that the convocation ſhould make ſubmiſſion and acknowledge their error. That aſſembly adhering to their memorial, the commons ordered that all matters concerning it ſhould be eraſed from the journals and books of the convocation; upon which, the lord-lieutenant, to put an end to the diſpute, ſent a meſſage to both houſes, commanding them to adjourn [i] to the firſt of May.

The treaſurer intimidated,

THE parliament of England was ſcarce prorogued, when a material change happened in the higher departments of the ſtate. The natural timidity of the Lord Godolphin, at perpetual variance with his inclinations in favour of the excluded branch of the royal family, produced contradictions and inconſiſtencies in his conduct, that were unaccountable, at the time, as his motives were unknown. The Duke of Marlborough, in his conferences with the agents of the court of St. Germains, had inſinuated in the name of the treaſurer as well as in his own, that effectual meaſures ſhould be taken in the preceding ſummer, to prevent the ſettlement of the crown upon the houſe of Hannover from paſſing into a law in Scotland [k]. When, therefore, the Queen recommended to the Scotiſh parliament to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, it was ſuſpected, with reaſon, that her

[i] March 21.

[k] Stuart-papers, April 1705.

REVEALED

CHAP. VI. 1705.

REVEALED WILL, as the Earl of Cromarty expreſſed himſelf in his ſpeech in the houſe, was very different from the SECRET INCLINATIONS of her Engliſh miniſter. This circumſtance induced many who were in the ſervice of the Crown, to join the country-party in the vote which rejected the propoſal of ſettling the ſucceſſion on the family of Hannover [l].

joins the Whigs.

THE active leaders of the Whig-party in England, having turned their whole attention toward the means of poſſeſſing themſelves of power, kept a watchful eye on Godolphin. They were no ſtrangers to his character, and they were reſolved to work upon his fears. The Lord Wharton, in particular, knowing that nothing calculated to intimidate, would be loſt on Godolphin, ſaid, upon paſſing the act of ſecurity in Scotland, that he "had now the treaſurer's head in a bag." The expreſſion was coarſe, but it had all its weight with the miniſter. The Lord Haverſham repreſented to him his danger in a ſet ſpeech in the houſe of lords. To ſave himſelf from their reſentment, he made great advances to the party during the ſeſſion; and when it was cloſed, in the middle of March, he performed his engagements, by admitting ſome into office, and opening to others a proſpect of preferment. The Duke of Newcaſtle, though during the late reign ſecretly in the intereſt of the excluded family, and in correſpondence with the court of St. Germains [m], was conſidered by the nation as one of the principal leaders of the Whigs; and as ſuch he was raiſed [n] to the office of lord-privy-ſeal, vacant by the diſmiſſion of the Duke of Buckingham, who was known to adhere to the principles of the Tories. Some other changes of leſs importance convinced the latter, that the current of preferment ran in a channel very different from their own.

Parliament diſſolved.

THE Whigs, now favoured by the Court, were ſoon after furniſhed with an opportunity of ſecuring to themſelves, effec-

[l] Proceedings of the Parl. [m] Stuart-papers, 1694. [n] March 27.

tually,

tually, the advantage which they had extorted from Godolphin's fears. The preſent parliament, in conſequence of the triennial act being near expiring, the Queen, to preſerve the ancient prerogatives of the Crown, choſe to diſſolve it by proclamation, on the fifth of April. The tumult, clamour, and confuſion that commonly attend general elections, were now raiſed to an unuſual height, by the conteſts and animoſities between parties. The Whigs, more active than their antagoniſts, applied themſelves to the prejudices of the vulgar. They had the art to render the Tories odious where the returns depended on the humours of the populace; and having the countenance of Government, together with the moneyed intereſt on their ſide, they were enabled to awe the timid and to gain the venal. Beſides, the principles which they held forth to the public, were better qualified than thoſe of their opponents to gain the independent part of mankind, as they flattered their pride. The reſult of the whole was, that the elections in general went in favour of the Whigs, eſpecially in boroughs; and thus the Tories found themſelves at once diveſted of a power, which they had neither the courage to exert with ſpirit [p], nor the prudence to uſe with moderation. 1705.

DURING theſe domeſtic tranſactions, the war was carried on abroad with a degree of ardour. The Duke of Marlborough arrived in Holland in the beginning of April; and having concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, took the field in the firſt week in May. His great object was to improve the victories of the preceding campaign, by carrying the war by the Moſelle into the heart of France. With the ſame number of troops as in the laſt year, he marched through the country of Limbourg; and being joined near Treves by the Prince of Heſſe, he croſſed the Moſelle and the Saar, marched to the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Elſt. The French apprized of the de- Campaign of 1705.

[p] Burnet, vol. iv.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

ſigns of Marlborough, had aſſembled an army of ſeventy thouſand men on that ſide, under the command of the Mareſchal de Villars, who, occupying a ſtrong camp at Sirk, reſolved to remain on the defenſive. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialiſts, either from a perſonal diſlike to Marlborough, or unprovided with the means of taking the field, diſappointed him in his promiſe of joining the allies with the German troops; and thus the Duke remained inactive in his camp, for the ſpace of a month, in daily hopes of a reinforcement that never arrived [q].

Death of the Emperor.

THE death of the Emperor Leopold, which happened on the ſixth of May, changed, in nothing, the face of affairs. That Prince born with a degree of virtue, was deſtitute of talents. The apparent line of ambition which paſſed through his whole conduct, was rather the diſpoſition of his court than any paſſion of his own. His ſon, who had been, ſeveral years before, created King of the Romans, ſucceeded him in the Imperial dignity. That Prince inherited his father's miniſters as well as his dominions; and the ſame counſels continued to act under the name of Joſeph, that had uniformly prevailed in the reign of Leopold. The ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, the increaſe of the Imperial power, on the ruins of the authority of the German princes, and the reduction of the inſurgents in Hungary, were the principal objects of the preſent as well as of the late Emperor. But Joſeph was better calculated than his father to ſucceed in theſe views. His mind was active and full of fire, his diſpoſition vehement, his character enterpriſing; and to an induſtry, which ran violently from one ſcheme to another, he added a firmneſs of ſoul, that diſdained to yield either to accident or misfortune.

Slow meaſures of the Germans.

THE new Emperor, however, was incapable of infuſing his own fire into the ſluggiſh Germanic body, already languiſhing

[q] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

for

for repoſe. Deſtitute of reſources at home, he could not even animate into action his hereditary troops; or furniſh his part of the ſtrength employed, by the allies, againſt the common enemy. This inability in the court of Vienna, combining with the envious and obſtinate diſpoſition of the Prince of Baden, forced Marlborough to abandon his deſigns of carrying the war into France, by the courſe of the Moſelle. During the time that general remained at Delft, the French, under the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareſchal de Villeroi, had taken Hui[r], and were on their march to Liege. The States, alarmed at the progreſs of the enemy, requeſted the duke to quit the Moſelle, and to haſten back to their aid, on the ſide of Flanders. Having decamped, in the night, he repaſſed the dangerous defile of Tavaren without being moleſted; and, directing his march toward Liege, joined the Dutch under Auverquerque, which induced the enemy to retire beyond their lines. Hui was retaken, on the twelfth of July; and the duke reſolved to retrieve, with ſome enterpriſe of conſequence, the glory loſt by the prior inactivity of the campaign [s].

Marlborough forces the French lines.

To accompliſh his purpoſe, he formed a ſcheme of forcing the French lines, and encamped within a league of the enemy. The Elector and the Mareſchal de Villeroi, perceiving the deſign of the allies, drew their armies together, leaving only ſmall detachments to defend the lines, on either ſide. The Mehaigne ran about half a league on their right; on the left they had two barriers, for the convenience of the people of the country, at the diſtance of three leagues. On the ſeventeenth of July[t] the duke commanded the Dutch to march toward the Mehaigne, by way of a feint; while, at the ſame time, he ordered ten thouſand men to form on his right, and to lie down there, on their arms. When it grew dark, this body marched toward the barriers. They were followed cloſe by the army under Marlborough, and the Dutch, facing about, haſtened

[r] June. [s] Life of Marlborough. [t] N. S.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

the ſame way. The Elector of Bavaria, at length apprized of the Duke's deſign, ordered the left wing of his cavalry to march to prevent the allies from paſſing the barriers. He himſelf followed with the infantry. But the enemy had already formed within the lines. After a fierce ſhock between the Duke and the Bavarian infantry, the latter were obliged to give way. But ten battalions throwing themſelves into a hollow ſquare, marched off in ſpite of the cavalry of the allies, and protected, as they retreated, their flying friends [u]. The French and Bavarians having, after the action, retired behind the Dyle, the reſt of the campaign produced neither movement nor action of importance.

Operations on the ſide of Germany and in Italy.

THOUGH the Mareſchal de Villars had detached a great portion of his army to Alſace and Flanders [w], he found himſelf ſuperior to the allies, when the Duke of Marlborough retired from the Moſelle toward Flanders. The French forced the lines of Wiſſeimbourg, on the third of July. Hombourg ſurrendered, on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month, to the Marquis de Conflans. But the Mareſchal, enfeebled by detachments, was, however, unable to defend the lines of Haguenau, againſt the Prince of Baden; who, though he could not, on account of the advanced ſeaſon, recover Hombourg, found means to extend his quarters into the enemy's country. On the ſide of Germany, the campaign could not be ſaid to have been unfavourable for France. In Italy, their arms were, in general, attended with ſucceſs. Villa Franca fell into their hands in March [x]. The town and port of Nice was taken, on the ninth of April. The conqueſt of this place became important, as it cut off from the Duke of Savoy, every proſpect of relief by ſea. The Duke de Vendôme, after an obſtinate ſiege of ſix months, became maſter of Verue [y]. He had the good fortune to repulſe, in an obſtinate action, the allies under Prince Eugene,

[u] Hiſt. de France. Kane's Mem.
[w] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.
[x] March 7.
[y] April 10.

who

who attempted to force the paſſage of the Adda, at the bridge of Caſſano [z]. The Duke of Savoy found himſelf obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Turin, without any proſpect of relief [a].

Affairs of Portugal.

In Spain, the Mareſchal de Teſſé, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Gibraltar, on the twenty-third of April. He had the mortification, a few days before, to be an eye-witneſs of the defeat of De Pointis, whoſe ſhips, conſiſting of five men of war, were ſurpriſed in the bay, and all taken or deſtroyed, by an Engliſh ſquadron, under Sir John Leake. The campaign, on the confines of Spain and Portugal, opened favourably, for the archduke and the allies. The ſiege of Gibraltar having forced the French and Spaniards to draw the beſt part of their forces to that ſide, the confederates were encouraged to enter the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alantejo. The Portugueze reduced the principal places in the province of Eſtramadura. Salvatierra, Valencia, d'Alcantara [b], and Albuquerque [c], fell into their hands. The progreſs of the ſpring campaign was, however, ſtopt by a body of French and Spaniards, who forced the Marquis das Minas, who commanded the Portugueze, to retire within the limits of his own country. In the end of autumn, the Portugueze and the other allies who had quarrelled about the projected operations, opened, at length, the campaign, with the ſiege of Badajox. But the Mareſchal de Teſſé, having thrown a reinforcement of a thouſand men into the place, the enemy were forced to relinquiſh their enterpriſe, and to retire again into Portugal [d].

Succeſs of the allies in Spain.

During theſe operations in Portugal, affairs of much greater conſequence happened in Spain. Five thouſand troops, under the joint command of the Earl of Peterborrow and Sir Cloudſley Shovel, having, under the eſcort of a ſquadron of men of war, ſailed from St. Helen's, in the end of May, arrived in the port of

[z] Aug. 16. [a] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii. [b] May 8. [c] May 22.
[d] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii.

Liſbon

CHAP. VI.

1705

Liſbon about the middle of June. Being joined in that place, by a ſquadron of Dutch under Admiral Allemonde, and reinforced with ſome horſe, from the Earl of Galway's army in Portugal, they took the Archduke Charles on board, ſailed to Gibraltar, and directed from thence their courſe to the coaſt of Catalonia. The arrival of ſuch a great force ſpread terror and confuſion through all Spain. The fortreſſes of Lerida and Tortoſa were delivered into the hands of the Archduke, without a blow. Barcelona was forced to capitulate; and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, ſubmitted themſelves to the new King. The fleet of the confederates, having retired from the coaſt of Spain, upon the approach of winter, the land forces of the allies took up their quarters in the heart of that kingdom [e]. Though this campaign, upon the whole, was much leſs unfavourable than the preceding, to the houſe of Bourbon, it is apparent, that they owed more to the languor of ſome of their enemies, than either to their own force or their conduct.

Affairs of Poland.

THE war in Poland, produced ſome events of importance during the preſent campaign. The good fortune which had hitherto attended his enterpriſes, ceaſed not to favour the active ſpirit of the King of Sweden. But neither the ſucceſs of his arms, nor his own abilities and perſeverance, were capable of reſtoring to peace and order that diſtracted kingdom. The cardinal primate having iſſued the univerſalia, a diet was held, in the month of July, at Warſaw, under the protection of a body of Swedes. The Saxons, in endeavouring to diſturb the deliberations of that aſſembly, were defeated by the enemy, and forced to retire with conſiderable loſs; while, in the ſame month, the Ruſſians were routed by the Swedes, in Courland, with the loſs of ſix thouſand ſlain. But, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the King of Sweden found it impoſſible to decide the fate of the war. The Czar, after the defeat of one army, poured a ſtill greater force into Cour-

[e] The Earl of Peterborrow's conduct.

land,

land, and reduced the victorious Swedes to the neceſſity of retiring under the cannon of Riga. Mittau itſelf fell into his hands. The Czar beſieged Riga. But, deſpairing to take the place, directed his march towards Warſaw. Auguſtus was, in the mean time, a kind of fugitive in his own dominions; while Staniſlaus exerciſed ſome feeble acts of royalty, under the protection of his maker, the King of Sweden [f]. CHAP. VI. 1705.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh [g]. The late obſtinate and determined conduct of that aſſembly had involved the Engliſh miniſter in difficulties, from which he could only extricate himſelf, by gaining, through motives of advantage to themſelves, the moſt active and vindictive of his political enemies. To prevent the return of dangers which he had juſt eſcaped, he reſolved to uſe all the power and influence that his office had placed in his hands, to promote the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the union of the kingdoms: meaſures which both he himſelf and the Duke of Marlborough had ſecretly oppoſed [h], in the preceding year. To effectuate his purpoſe, the Lord Godolphin, through the dictates of his own caution and the advice of his friends, came to a reſolution of placing the management of the affairs of Scotland in other hands. The Duke of Queenſberry, raiſed to the place of lord privy-ſeal, was conſidered as the acting miniſter; and the Duke of Argyle, an active, forward, and ſpirited young man, ſucceeded the Marquis of Tweedale as commiſſioner to the parliament. A general change, in the inferior departments, was made; and all the privy-counſellors, laid aſide by the preceding miniſtry, were reſtored, except Lockhart of Carnwath and Sir James Foulis of Collington [i]. Affairs of Scotland.

THE removal of the late miniſtry formed a new party in parliament, which, from throwing its weight alternately in the ſcale A ſeſſion of Parliament.

[f] Hiſt. du Nord. [g] June 28. [h] Stuart-papers, 1705. [i] Mem. of Scotl.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

of the Jacobites and in that of the favourers of the Revolution, acquired the cant name of the flying ſquadron. Theſe, without any fixed principle on either ſide, endeavoured, by balancing the two other parties, to ſeize again the reins which had been ſtruck from their hands. The views of each being fixed on their reſpective objects, the public buſineſs was opened, with reading the Queen's letter to the houſe. She recommended, with great earneſtneſs, the ſettling the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and an union between the two kingdoms. To induce them to apply heartily to the firſt, ſhe promiſed to give her aſſent to ſuch proviſions and reſtrictions as ſhould appear neceſſary in ſuch a caſe; and ſhe ſignified her deſire, that the means of promoting the latter might be followed through the ſame line, with that marked by the parliament in England [k]. The lord commiſſioner and the Earl of Seafield, who had been appointed chancellor, enforced, in their ſpeeches to the houſe, the important matters recommended in the letter from the Queen.

Proceedings.

The firſt motion made in parliament [l], propoſed that, prior to all other buſineſs, the houſe ſhould proceed to the conſideration of ſuch limitations and conditions of government, as ſhould be deemed neceſſary to circumſcribe the royal authority, under the next ſucceſſor in the proteſtant line. This overture, however, was ſuperſeded, by a motion for entering, prior to any other matter, upon the trade of the nation. To ſupply the kingdom with money, two propoſals for eſtabliſhing paper-currency were laid before the houſe. Theſe were, upon a debate, rejected. But ſome other overtures regarding commerce, were paſſed into a law. A council of trade was, at the ſame time, appointed, to put the laws of commerce in execution; and to bring the exports and imports of the nation into a balance, to be laid before the next ſeſſion of parliament. During the dependence of this bill, the Duke of

[k] Queen's letter. [l] July 17.

Hamilton

Hamilton preſented[m] a reſolve, that the nomination of a ſucceſſor ſhould be poſtponed, till a treaty with England could be obtained, with regard to the commerce and other concerns of the Scotiſh nation. Though the flying ſquadron, if a cant name may be uſed, joined their votes to thoſe of the adherents of the court, this motion was carried by a great majority.

Intrigues of the Jacobites, act of limitation.

THOUGH the cavaliers, in conjunction with the country party, were ſucceſsful in this important queſtion, the firſt had formed no great hopes of ſucceeding to their wiſhes in parliament. They had, ſome time before the meeting of that aſſembly, ſolicited the court of St. Germains[n], for twelve thouſand French, as a more powerful argument in favour of their cauſe than idle reſolutions, which, they knew, were deſtined to be defeated, by the great weight which the miniſtry of England had thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. The preſſure of the allies, on every ſide of the dominions of the houſe of Bourbon, had rendered ſuch an expedition impoſſible in the eyes of the court of Verſailles; and, therefore, the Jacobites were left to their own addreſs and influence in the Scotiſh parliament. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of his laſt overture, the Duke of Hamilton moved, on the thirty-firſt of July, that in preference to an act for treating with England, the houſe ſhould proceed to the conſideration of limitations, with regard to the ſucceſſor to the crown. Overtures for various acts to that purpoſe, were accordingly introduced; and ſeveral were paſſed, that, in a manner, annihilated the power of the ſovereign. Among other ſecurities provided for the ſubject, an act for triennial parliaments was agreed to by the houſe. But notwithſtanding the ſolemn promiſes of the miniſtry, that it ſhould be touched with the ſceptre, when they obtained the act for a treaty with England, the royal aſſent was refuſed to the triennial bill.

[m] July 17.

[n] Stuart-papers, 1705.

CHAP. VI.

1705. Act for treating with England paſſed.

THERE is, however, reaſon to believe, that the miniſtry, through the aid of their friends in England were now enabled to convince the parliament, with arguments more ſolid than vague promiſes, of procuring the royal aſſent to the triennial bill. The temper of the houſe ſuffered ſuddenly ſuch a manifeſt change, that the ſecret diſtribution of Engliſh money was much ſuſpected, by thoſe perſons who remained firm to their former views. The Jacobites and country party perceiving an alteration in the ſentiments of many members, when the bill for treating concerning an union with England was brought under debate, endeavoured to defeat, by conditional clauſes, a meaſure, which it was now vain to oppoſe. The Duke of Hamilton moved a clauſe importing, that the propoſed union, "ſhould no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scotiſh nation." This overture was ſo popular, that, but for the negligence of the duke's own party, ſeven or eight of whom happened to be abſent, it muſt have certainly been carried; and when it even came to the vote, it was loſt only by two voices. The other attempts made by the cavaliers to clog the act, were impotent and ill-ſupported. The act for treating with England was paſſed, without any conſiderable amendments; and the parliament having finiſhed this important buſineſs, and granted the demanded ſupplies, were adjourned, on the twenty-firſt of September.

October. New parliament of England meets.

ON the twenty-fifth of October, the new parliament of England, after various prorogations, met at Weſtminſter. The great ſucceſs of the Whigs, in the late elections, appeared in the choice of a ſpeaker, for the houſe of commons. The high-church party having propoſed Mr. Bromley, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debates on the bill againſt occaſional conformity, as a zealous adherent of Toryiſm, the Whigs oppoſed him, with the nomination of Mr. Smith. Upon a diviſion, Smith carried the office of ſpeaker,

ſpeaker, by a great majority[o]; and on the twenty-ſeventh of October, he was approved by her Majeſty, according to the uſual form. The Queen addreſſed to the two houſes a ſpeech, penned by Cowper, the new lord keeper, which, though ſuitable to the times, ſhewed that the meaſures of the court were no longer guided by Tory principles. She urged, with earneſtneſs, the neceſſity of proſecuting the war, to reſtore the balance of power, which, ſhe ſaid, the poſſeſſion of Spain by the houſe of Bourbon, had deſtroyed. She demanded the neceſſary ſupplies, for ſupporting the operations of the allies, as well as for exerting the force of her own kingdoms. She informed them of the act paſſed in Scotland, for treating concerning an union; and ſhe concluded, with taking an obvious part with the Whigs, by declaring that the church was in no danger; a circumſtance urged with vehemence by the Tories, to arm the prejudices of the populace to favour their own deſigns.

November. A ſupply. Pretences of parties.

THIS ſpeech was ſo ſuitable to the ſentiments of the prevailing party, and the ſubject in general ſo popular, that an addreſs of thanks was voted by the commons, without either debate or one diſſenting voice[p]. The ſupplies, for the next year, amounting, beſides the ordinary revenue appropriated to the civil liſt, and the payment of intereſt for debts, to more than five millions, were voted, with the ſame unanimity and ſeeming zeal[q]. The war was not the topic upon which the contending parties reſolved to try their force. Public pretences were invariably uſed throughout this reign, by the leaders of the two parties, to cover their own private deſigns upon office and the poſſeſſion of power. The leaders of the Tories, on the one hand, expreſſed the utmoſt ſolicitude for the church of England. Thoſe of the Whigs diſcovered a wonderful zeal for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line. They both aſſailed the weakneſs of their leſs in-

[o] 248 againſt 205. [p] Nov. 1. [q] Nov. 10.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

telligent followers, through theſe channels; and, arming themſelves with the prejudices of the populace, endeavoured alternately to take the cabinet by ſtorm. The Tories, having been deſerted by the miniſtry, applied themſelves to the people. Papers, publications, and pamphlets, were written with zeal and propagated with ardour; and the nation were perpetually alarmed with inſinuations of ſecret conſpiracies, and open attacks made by the miniſtry and Whigs, upon the doctrines and even againſt the very being of the church of England.

Inconſiſtency of the Tories.

THOUGH the Whigs yielded not to the Tories, in beſpeaking the favour of the populace againſt their opponents, the latter were guilty of inconſiſtencies, which threw diſcredit on their party. To haraſs their ſovereign, to embarraſs their political enemies, perhaps to gain ſome popularity for themſelves, and, above all, to vent their reſentment againſt the miniſter, they had, long before the meeting of parliament[r], reſolved to propoſe, either by bill or addreſs, to demand from the Queen, that the Princeſs Sophia ſhould be invited into the kingdom, as the next heir of the crown. A propoſal of the ſame kind, when urged by the Whigs, had been rejected by the Tories themſelves, when poſſeſſed of power. But neither the inconſiſtency of the meaſure, nor its contrariety to their own private opinions, could prevail with them to forego a motion, from which they hoped to derive leſs advantage to their own views, than a kind of malignant pleaſure in diſconcerting their enemies. On the fifteenth of November, the Lord Haverſham, choſen upon the occaſion to be the mouth of the party, after having, in a ſet ſpeech, inveighed againſt the conduct of the allies, in the laſt campaign, and, by implication, blamed the Duke of Marlborough, concluded with a motion, that her Majeſty ſhould be addreſſed to invite the preſumptive heir, according to the act of ſettlement, into England [s].

[r] Stuart-papers, 1705.

[s] Haverſham's Speech, Nov. 15, 1705.

CHAP. VI.

1705.

HAVERSHAM was ſupported in his motion, with great warmth, by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter. The reſentment of theſe noblemen againſt the government and the party now in power, induced them to contradict, not only their own ſecret principles [t], but even thoſe which they had uniformly avowed to the world. They urged, that as they had ſworn to maintain the proteſtant ſucceſſion, they were obliged to adhere to the motion, as the beſt means to enſure the poſſeſſion of the crown to the heir eſtabliſhed by law. They affirmed, that it appeared, throughout the annals of former times, that the Prince, who firſt came to England, had always carried the crown of that kingdom. They inſinuated, that the pretending ſucceſſor might be in London in three days, while three weeks would, at leaſt, be neceſſary for bringing the declared ſucceſſor to that city. To theſe arguments, they added others of little weight, as they themſelves were deemed inſincere. The Whigs, by a ſtrange reverſe, were forced to oppoſe the motion, to preſerve their own influence with the Queen. They alleged, that it was neither ſafe for the crown nor ſecure for the nation, that the preſumptive heir ſhould not be in an entire dependence on the reigning ſovereign; and they urged, with propriety, that the rivalſhip between the two courts, would inevitably involve the kingdom in all the diſtractions incident to the animoſities of counteracting parties and intereſts [u].

Their motion for inviting the proteſtant heir rejected.

THE weight of the party in power contributed, however, more to the rejecting of the motion than the force of argument. But if the Tories were not ſincere in their profeſſions in favour of the houſe of Hannover, they were, at leaſt, the means of ſtrengthening the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion of the crown in that family. The Lord Wharton having, with a happy irony, congratulated the houſe, on the manifeſt miracle, that had ſo ſud-

Bill of regency.

[t] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

[u] Burnet, vol. iv.

denly

CHAP. VI. 1705.

denly changed the principles of the Tories, an order was made, that the judges ſhould prepare and preſent to the lords a bill, for the further ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. This bill, by forming an eventual regency, of the firſt officers of ſtate, upon the death of the Queen, effectually ſecured the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal government, till the ſucceſſor ſhould arrive and aſſert his own authority. But thoſe who ſeemed moſt to urge the invitation to the preſumptive heir, were leaſt inclined to the bill of regency. The Tories oppoſed it in every clauſe, and propoſed additions apparently more deſigned to gain the populace, than either neceſſary or even uſeful in themſelves. One of their amendments was manifeſtly calculated to defeat the intention of the bill, by rendering it ridiculous. It was offered, as a limitation on the regency, that they ſhould poſſeſs no power of repealing the very act of ſettlement [w], for the ſecurity of which, they themſelves were to be inveſted with that authority.

A vote that the church is not in danger.

THE vehement and inconſiderate meaſures, into which their own reſentment had betrayed the Tories, furniſhed their opponents with another opportunity of mortifying their pride. A cry that the church was in danger, had been propagated with ſuch induſtry, without doors, that the Whigs reſolved to check the panic which had ſpread among the people, by a declaratory vote in parliament. The Lord Halifax, having moved for a day to examine into the pretended danger of the church, a debate enſued, more expreſſive of the violence of the parties, than ſuitable to the ſubject. The act of ſecurity in Scotland, the loſs of the bill of occaſional conformity in England, the abſence of the next ſucceſſor to the crown, beyond ſeas, the increaſe of preſbyterian academies, and the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, were produced by the Tories, as proofs of the danger of the church. The Whigs argued, on the other ſide, that the Scotiſh act of ſecurity regarded

[w] Burnet, vol. iv.

only

only temporal concerns. That the abſence of the ſucceſſor was ſupplied by the act of regency. That the bill of occaſional conformity having been conſidered and rejected by the houſe, the queſtion was now determined; and that the Preſbyterian academies were ſcarce more numerous than thoſe taught by Non-jurors. They agreed with the Tories, that the licentiouſneſs of the preſs had been carried to extremities; but by none further, than by the pretended friends of the church of England. A vote was paſſed, with which the commons concurred, that the church was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and that whoever ſhould ſuggeſt that the eſtabliſhed religion was in danger, was an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom [u].

Progreſs towards an union.

DURING theſe diſputes between the parties with regard to the internal affairs of England, the two houſes proceeded almoſt without debate, in the buſineſs of the union with Scotland. The parliament of the latter kingdom had addreſſed the Queen, againſt any progreſs in that important treaty, till the Engliſh act which conditionally declared the Scots aliens ſhould be repealed [w]. The Whigs having firſt moved for that compulſatory law, the Tories imagined that they would ſtill adhere to their own work. They reſolved, therefore, to preſs them on that ground, by promoting an immediate repeal [x]. But their opponents yielding prudently the point, without oppoſition, they were diſappointed in their views. The act declaring the Scots aliens by a certain day, was not only reverſed; the Whigs went ſtill further, and moved that the act relating to the manufacture and trade of Scotland ſhould be alſo repealed. Theſe meaſures, by opening a way for an immediate treaty, were as popular as they were neceſſary. Though a majority of the parliament of Scotland were already gained by private means, the body of the people were ſtill inflamed to a degree of fury, with regard to their independence as

[u] Dec. 6, 1705. [w] Journals, Nov. 23. [x] Burnet, vol. iv.

a nation.

CHAP. VI. 1705.

a nation. Any backwardneſs in the parliament of England, on the ſubject of the compulſatory laws, would have brought matters to extremities; and, conſidering the party in favour of the lineal ſucceſſion among the Engliſh, a war could ſcarce terminate in any event ſhort of a ſubverſion of the ſettlement of the crown in the Proteſtant line.

Unanimity with regard to the war.

THE ſame unanimity which was obſerved with regard to Scotland, was purſued without deviation in whatever concerned the effectual proſecution of the war. Though the campaign in Flanders was neither ſplendid nor followed with ſtriking conſequences, the reduction of a conſiderable portion of Spain, through the ſole efforts of the Engliſh nation, had raiſed among the people an eagerneſs for continuing hoſtilities, which imparted itſelf to their repreſentatives in parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, having viſited Vienna, where he was raiſed to the dignity of Prince of Mindelheim, by the Emperor, arrived in London on the thirtieth of December. Though he received the thanks of the

1706. January.

houſe of commons [y], for his ſervices in the laſt campaign, ſome attacks, but indirectly, were made in the houſe of lords on his conduct by the excluded party. The diſappointments on the Moſelle, were by an implication laid to his charge; and though the blame of the inactive campaign in Brabant was placed to the account of the Dutch, it was apparent, that the Tories, had circumſtances become more favourable, intended to paſs a cenſure on the Duke of Marlborough.

March. Proceedings of the two houſes.

THOUGH the remaining part of the ſeſſion was diſtinguiſhed with no buſineſs of importance, the animoſities between the two parties filled every debate with altercation and noiſe. The people without doors were not diſintereſted ſpectators of the tranſactions within. They were rouſed with libels and pamphlets which

[y] January 7, 1706.

zealots,

zealots, on both ſides, poured daily from the preſs; and they ſuffered themſelves, as uſual, to be deceived by the deſigning, or inflamed by the violent and weak. Among the publications concerning the propoſed invitation of the preſumptive heir of the crown to England, one commanded the attention and incurred the cenſure of parliament. Sir Rowland Gwyne, a buſy, ſelfiſh, forward, and intriguing man; violent in his principles, ſuſpicious through weakneſs, deceiving others, and, perhaps, deceived himſelf, by ſeeing objects, through the muddy medium of a clouded underſtanding, had repaired to the court of Hannover to gain the favour of the electoral family, by alarming their fears concerning the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh crowns. Upon the ſubject of the invitation to the Princeſs Sophia, Gwyne wrote a letter to the Earl of Stamford which found its way to the preſs. This ill-worded, unmeaning, and confuſed performance, though it ſeemed to approve of the principles of the Whigs, ſeverely cenſured that party for refuſing their conſent to the propoſed invitation of the Princeſs Sophia into England. The commons, on the eighth of March, voted Gwyne's letter a ſcandalous, falſe, and malicious libel. The lords concurred with them in an addreſs, upon this occaſion, to the Queen; who replied, that being fully ſenſible of the pernicious tendency of the paper which they had cenſured, ſhe would comply with their requeſt, and give orders to proſecute the printer and author [z].

CHAP. VI. 1706.

THE great buſineſs of the nation being finiſhed, the parliament was prorogued, on the nineteenth of March. The conteſt between parties, contrary to former experience, had been productive, in this ſeſſion, of meaſures conſidered highly favourable to the proſperity and repoſe of the kingdom. The Tories, in endeavouring to take the ground of the Whigs, and to appropriate

Parliament prorogued.

[z] March 8.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

to themſelves their popularity, produced the act of regency, which gave the firſt great ſecurity to the deſcent of the crown in the Proteſtant line. Though the laws had fixed the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hannover, five years before, the ſuppoſed attachment of the Queen to her own family, the numerous party known to be well-affected to the pretended Prince of Wales, the prejudices of the people againſt foreigners, and the memory of the inconvenience of connexions abroad in the laſt reign, had rendered the ſucceſs of the act of ſettlement extremely doubtful. During this ſtate of uncertainty, little court was paid by the ſubjects of England to the electoral family. Few viſited the court of Hannover; and thoſe who made their appearance there, either through zeal or weakneſs, like Gwyne, hurt the cauſe which they meant to ſerve [a].

Act of regency, &c. ſent to Hannover.

THE Princeſs Sophia herſelf, either ſuſpecting the ſincerity of Queen Anne and her miniſters, or miſled by the repreſentations of the few Engliſh who reſorted to the court of Hannover, entertained little hopes that her family ſhould ever mount the throne. She even ſeems to have placed no value on the acts of regency and naturalization which paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion [b]. She probably ſoon after changed her ſentiments. On the fourth of April, her grandſon, the electoral prince, was made a knight-companion of the garter. The Lord Halifax, accompanied by Clarencieux king at arms, was ſent to Hannover to carry the enſigns of the order to the prince, and to preſent the act of naturalization to his family. The current began to run with vehemence in that channel. The lords who could claim any merit in promoting the acts in favour of the houſe of Hannover, made their court with letters full of expreſſions of attachment and zeal. The Whigs adopted chiefly this mode of removing the unfavourable impreſſions

[a] Hannover-papers. [b] Ibid.

made

made on the minds of the electoral family, by the inconſiderate inſinuations of Sir Rowland Gwyne, and other zealots of the ſame kind [c].

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Obſervations.

The ſtrife between the Whigs and Tories, in ſhewing an appearance of zeal for the family of Hannover, proceeded more from the ſelfiſh views of their reſpective leaders, than from motives of public good. To ſecure the good opinion of the people, in countries poſſeſſed of liberty, is the ſhorteſt way of gaining, and the ſureſt means of retaining power. In the political farces too frequently exhibited by parties, the populace are the ſpectators; and thoſe who ſuit their antick geſtures beſt to their prejudices, carry the moſt applauſe. Two principles had long been predominant in the minds of the Engliſh nation: a fixed averſion to France; and a zeal, which bordered on enthuſiaſm, for the Proteſtant religion. The manly ſpirit which undeviatingly looks forward to public freedom, independent of common prejudices, fell only to the ſhare of a few. The pretence to that ſpirit, though a ſtale impoſture, ſeldom failed to impoſe on the world. The Whigs, when they affected to give the great ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, paid their court to the populace, in a manner inconſiſtent with the avowed principles of their party. They repealed, in the bill of regency, the limitations which the Tories had impoſed on the ſucceſſor in the act of ſettlement; and, with a frankneſs ſcarce conſiſtent with common prudence, boaſted openly, that they reſtored to the crown all its former prerogatives. The ſpirit of party, however, had been carried to ſuch a pitch, that every meaſure calculated to annoy their adverſaries, was deemed, not only juſtifiable, but even laudable, by both ſides.

Secret conduct of Godolphin.

THOUGH the happy timidity of the Lord Godolphin had much contributed to give the great ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion,

[c] Hannover-papers.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

he was too much attached to the excluded family to take any merit to himſelf with their rivals. His actions were even at variance with his principles in his public conduct. In his private capacity, with an odd inconſiſtent ſpecies of ſincerity, he avoided to make profeſſions where he wiſhed not to be of ſervice. When he promoted, in the face of the world, the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hannover, he continued his intercourſe with the family of Stuart, through their agents[d]. His fears of impeachment, however, prevailed over his affection for the excluded race. Though the Duke of Marlborough had promiſed[e], in his name, to the agents of the court of St. Germains, that no money ſhould be given to gain votes for the union, in the parliament of Scotland, the terrors of Godolphin returned, and he opened the treaſury to the avarice of the venal and the neceſſities of the needy. The ſecret ſpring which moved the great meaſures of his adminiſtration, lay in a defect of his mind; and, by a ſingular piece of good fortune, to his character, his country aſcribed to his diſtinguiſhed parts, a line of conduct which ſprung from his political cowardice.

Campaign of 1706.

DURING theſe important tranſactions at home, preparations were made abroad for opening, with vigour, the campaign, on every ſide. The Duke of Marlborough having left the Hague, on the ninth of May, joined, on the twentieth of the month, the united armies of England and the States, between Borchloen and Groſzwaren. France, in an evil hour for herſelf, had reſolved to act offenſively in Flanders. The Mareſchal de Villeroi, iſſuing from the lines which he had formed behind the Deule, advanced to Tirlemont; and, without waiting for the arrival of the Elector of Bavaria, with whom he was joined in the command, puſhed forward precipitately to Ramillies. When his front had advanced to the heights where riſes the little Geette, he per-

[d] Stuart-papers, 1706. [e] Ibid.

ceived

ceived the allies, on full march, appearing in ſight. He immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impaſſable moraſs running along its banks, covered his left wing; and prevented it alike from being attacked itſelf and from charging the enemy. The village of Ramillies, ſituated in a plain near the ſource of the Geete, was advanced before his centre, which conſiſted entirely of infantry. The village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaigne, covered his right wing; and an open and level ſpace, between Tavieres and Ramillies, about a mile and a half in length, was filled with one hundred ſquadrons of horſe. In this narrow aperture the battle of Ramillies was fought, on the twenty-third of May[f].

CHAP. VI. 1706.

On a riſing ground, oppoſed to the left of the enemy, along the ſwampy ſide of the Geete, the Duke of Marlborough formed his right. His line extended through the plain to the left, which was covered by the river Mehaigne. Having, by a feigned attack on the right of the French, which was in fact impracticable, deceived the Mareſchal de Villeroi, he obtained his purpoſe of obliging the enemy to thin their left, which introduced a confuſion, while it weakened their line in the only place where they could be attempted with advantage. The Duke, in the mean time, ordered Auverquerque, with the Dutch infantry, to begin the battle on the left, while he himſelf, covering his motions with the riſing ground, fell at once on the centre of the enemy, with all the foot that formed his own. The French making a gallant reſiſtance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to make a home charge. But, in the hurry, he himſelf, being a bad horſeman, falling to the ground, was in danger of being trampled to death by his own ſquadrons. Being remounted, he purſued his plan of attack, while, at the ſame time, the Daniſh horſe, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, fell on their flank, and completing

Battle of

[f] N. S. Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere.

the

CHAP. VI. 1706.

the diſorder which Marlborough had begun, the whole center of the enemy, on which the ſtreſs of the battle lay, were routed and put to flight [f]. The horſe having abandoned the foot with which they were interlined, the latter were cut to pieces.

Ramilli. s.

THE Elector of Bavaria and the Mareſchal de Villeroi, ſhewed more courage in endeavouring to retrieve the battle, than they ſhewed of conduct in forming their line. They made repeated, but vain, efforts to bring back the cavalry to the charge. The houſehold troops rallied, renewed the battle, and were again forced to fly. To complete the misfortunes of the French, the remarkable circumſtance, which happened at the village of Blenheim two years before, was a ſecond time exhibited, at that of Ramillies. Eight battalions, which De Villeroi had placed in that village in his front, maintained their poſt, till they perceived their main body driven from the field. In endeavouring to retreat, toward their left, which had not been at all engaged, they were attacked by the cavalry of the allies, before they could form themſelves in the field. Confuſion, ſlaughter, and flight prevailed. Many were cut to pieces, the reſt were diſperſed. The right wing, in the mean time, gave way before the Dutch, and directed their flight toward Charleroy. A complete victory remained to the allies. The remains of the enemy, having attempted, in vain, to ſtand behind the Deule, were forced to retreat from thence, and to take ſhelter under the cannon of Liſle [g].

Conſequences of that important action.

THOUGH no victory could be more complete than that obtained at Ramillies, the action may rather be called a rout than a battle. The allies, through the wretched diſpoſition of Villeroi, beat in leſs than a quarter of an hour, an army of eighty thouſand men, who left no more than three thouſand dead in the field [h], took one hundred pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of bag-

[f] Mem. de Feuquiere. [g] Ibid. Kane's Mem. [h] Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere.

gage,

gage, together with all the various trophies of war[1]. The conſequences of this rout were as important in themſelves, as they were ſtriking and extraordinary. The fugitives were not to be rallied, till they had carried themſelves, not only beyond the purſuit, but even the very report of the enemy. Their firſt ſtand was made about eighty miles from the field of battle. Nor durſt they even remain at Courtray, where firſt they formed the appearance of an army. Some were placed in the frontier garriſons of France. The boldeſt formed themſelves into two inconſiderable flying armies, more calculated to amuſe, than to oppoſe a victorious enemy. The total conqueſt of Brabant, and almoſt all Spaniſh Flanders, was the immediate conſequence of the victory. Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Alorſt, Ghent, and Oudenarde, ſurrendered without firing a gun; and the firſt ſtop was put to the progreſs of the allies, by Dendermonde and Oſtende. The latter, however, was forced to capitulate, after the trenches were open eight days. Menin ſurrendered after an obſtinate reſiſtance; and the ſieges of Dendermonde and Ath, which were taken ſucceſſively, concluded, in Flanders, the operations of this important campaign.

Campaign in Italy.

THE Mareſchal de Villeroi being recalled, he was ſucceeded in his command, by the Duke de Vendôme. The removal of the laſt from Italy, contributed to freſh misfortunes, which loſt to the houſe of Bourbon, Savoy, Piedmont, and the whole Milaneſe. The beginning of the campaign in Italy, was favourable for France and Spain. The Duke of Berwick took the caſtle of Nice, on the fourth of January. Vendôme having defeated the Germans at Calcinato, on the nineteenth of April, ordered Turin itſelf to be inveſted, on the third of May. The trenches were opened by the French, on the night of the ſecond of June; and the fate of the war in Italy, ſeemed to

[1] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

depend

CHAP. VI. 1706.

depend on the taking of that important place. The Duke of Savoy, avoiding to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, and having ſent his family to Genoa, retired, with a few troops, to the vallies of Lucerne, among his proteſtant ſubjects, the Vaudois. The ſtrength of the town, the bravery of the garriſon, together with the languor, and even unſkilfulneſs of the enemy, who were nominally under the command of the Duke of Orleans, protracted the ſiege to the beginning of September, when a great event put an end, in Italy, to all the hopes and efforts of the houſe of Bourbon.

Battle of Turin.

PRINCE Eugene, who commanded the German army, on the frontiers of the dominions of Venice, after a long and painful march, and having paſſed ſeveral rivers and many defiles, without being oppoſed, arrived in the neighbourhood of Turin, in the firſt week of September, joined the Duke of Savoy, and reſolved to attack the enemy. The Duke of Orleans and the Mareſchal de Marſin, who commanded the French army, had ſtrongly fortified themſelves with intrenchments, which extended all the way between the Doria and Stura, at the junction of which is ſituated the city of Turin. Though the enemy had made little impreſſion on the works, the garriſon began to be in great danger, through the want of ammunition. No time was, therefore, to be loſt. The Prince, having made his diſpoſitions for the attack, fell ſuddenly on the intrenchments of the enemy; and, after an obſtinate conteſt, for two hours, entered their camp, drove them from the field, took all their cannon, mortars, heavy baggage, ammunition, and implements employed in the ſiege. The Duke of Orleans himſelf was wounded. The Mareſchal de Marſin was killed. The fugitives, inſtead of retiring to Caſal, which would have maintained the Milaneſe, directed their retreat to Pignerol. In the ſpace of four hours, the Modeneſe, the Mantuan, the Milaneſe, Piedmont, and ultimately the kingdom of Naples, were loſt to the houſe of Bourbon. A complete victory obtained by the Count de Medavi,

over

over a ſmall army of Imperialiſts, under the command of the Prince of Heſſe, two days after the battle before Turin, ſerved only to aggravate the misfortunes of that action [k]. CHAP. VI. 1706.

The houſe of Bourbon were perſecuted in Spain, with misfortunes ſimilar to thoſe which they ſuffered in Flanders and in Italy. Except the taking of Villareal, which was forced, on the eighth of January, by the Conde de Las-Torres, the whole of the campaign formed one continued train of diſgraces and loſſes. The Archduke Charles having, by the aid of the Engliſh, eſtabliſhed himſelf in the winter in Spain, Philip the Fifth, and the Mareſchal de Teſſé advanced, with twenty thouſand men, and ſhut him up at Barcelona, while the Comte de Toulouſe blocked up the place by ſea, with a French fleet. When a practicable breach was made, a fortunate accident preſerved the place, and, with it, the footing which the allies had eſtabliſhed in Spain. A ſuperior fleet appearing, under Sir John Leake, on the coaſt, the Comte de Toulouſe precipitately retired in the night. A reinforcement of troops was thrown into Barcelona. Philip and the Mareſchal de Teſſé raiſed the ſiege in the utmoſt confuſion. An almoſt total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened on the twelfth of May, and covered the country with a ſudden darkneſs, completed the conſternation of the ſuperſtitious Spaniards. They abandoned their camp, their proviſions, their cannon, their implements of war; and were purſued, with ſlaughter, by the enemy, through the uncommon darkneſs which had excited ſo much their fear. Philip having taken a circuit, with his broken and ruined army, through a part of the dominions of France, returned in diſgrace to Madrid [l]. Progreſs of the war,

On the ſide of Portugal, the Engliſh and Portugueze took the field, with forty thouſand men, under the command of the Earl of and ſucceſs of the allies in Spain.

[k] German accounts. Hiſt. de France. Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere. [l] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Galway and the Marquis de Las-Minas. They entered Eſtramadura, they took Alcantara, they forced Cividad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the poſt of Eſpinar. They directed their march, and penetrated, without reſiſtance, to Madrid. Philip the Fifth, having abandoned his capital, removed the Queen and the court to Burgos. The Engliſh and the Portugueze entered the city in triumph; and to complete the misfortunes of the King of Spain, he received intelligence, that the count de Sancta-Cruz had delivered Carthagena and the gallies to the enemy. The unaccountable errors of the Engliſh and Portugueze prevented the Spaniſh crown, from being for ever transferred from the houſe of Bourbon. They loitered in the midſt of diſeaſe, debauchery, and ſloth, at Madrid, till they were rouſed by the approach of Philip, with a ſuperior force. Galway and Las-Minas were forced to retire from Madrid. Having joined the Archduke, they paſſed into the kingdom of Valencia; and diſpoſed their quarters in ſuch a manner, as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and maintain a free entrance into Caſtile. The Duke of Berwick hung cloſe on their retreat; and, before the end of the campaign, retook Carthagena. But that loſs was balanced, by the reduction of the iſlands of Majorca and Ivica, which the Engliſh fleet, under Sir John Leake, ſubjected to the dominion of the Archduke [m].

Operations on the ſide of Germany.

On the ſide of Germany, the French enjoyed a gleam of that good fortune which had formerly attended their arms. The Mareſchal de Villars, with a well-appointed army, was oppoſed to the Prince of Baden, who was himſelf in a declining ſtate of health, while, at the ſame time, he was ill ſupported by the court of Vienna. The French forced the Imperialiſts to raiſe the blockade of Fort-Louis. They ſeized the retrenchments of Druſenheim [n], which the Prince of Baden had abandoned. They recovered all they had loſt, in the preceding campaign; and ſuch was their ſuperio-

[m] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne. Naval Hiſt. &c.

[n] May 2.

rity and the languor of the Germans, that had not the misfortunes in Flanders and Italy diſconcerted the court of Verſailles, and weakened, by the neceſſary detachments, the army of the Mareſchal de Villars, that commander might have penetrated, with ſucceſs, into the heart of Germany. But oppreſſed with the misfortunes which attended the arms of France in every other quarter, Villars diſcovered a kind of melancholy conſolation, in having found himſelf capable of avoiding diſaſters, without endeavouring to retrieve, in Germany, the laurels which his country had loſt on every other ſide [o].

Naval tranſactions.

THE operations of the fleet, in the Mediterranean, contributed much to the ſucceſs of the allies, on the ſide of Spain. But no naval tranſaction of any importance happened, in the ocean. A Frenchman, who aſſumed the title and character of the Marquis de Guiſcard, had, with a kind of vivacity, which paſſed upon the world for parts, inſinuated himſelf into the favour and confidence of the Engliſh miniſtry, and formed the plan of an expedition to the coaſt of France. In compliance with the intelligence communicated by this adventurer, land forces, to the number of ten thouſand men, were ſent on board of tranſports, under the protection of the confederate fleets, commanded in chief by Sir Cloudſley Shovel. The Earl of Rivers, a man of a profligate character [p], and venal principles, but perſonally brave, was placed at the head of the forces deſtined for the expedition. But the plan was ſo indefinite and ill-projected, that a contrary wind, which drove back the fleet, and confined the ſhips of war and tranſports to the channel, till the ſeaſon for action was paſt, might be conſidered as a ſingular interpoſition of good fortune. The avowed ſcheme of the Marquis de Guiſcard was to reſtore liberty to France. But he behaved himſelf with ſuch tyranny and folly, in a command in which he had been placed by the indulgence of

[o] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

[p] Swift's Notes on Macky, MS.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

the Engliſh government, that he was recalled from the fleet, at the ſpecial requeſt of the admiral.

Affairs of the North.

DURING theſe important tranſactions in the ſouth and weſt of Europe, the affairs of the north and eaſt ſuffered a material change. The death of Auguſtus Frederic, Biſhop of Lubec, had threatened, in the end of the preceding year, to involve the north in new troubles. Prince Charles of Denmark, and the Duke Adminiſtrator of Holſtein-Gottorp, had their reſpective pretenſions on the vacant biſhopric. The latter took poſſeſſion in virtue of an election made of himſelf, in the quality of coadjutor. Prince Charles, ſupported by his brother, the King of Denmark, made himſelf maſter, by force, of the caſtle of Eutin; while the King of Sweden and the Elector of Hannover, declared themſelves on the other ſide. While the forces of the two laſt Princes were ready to march againſt the Danes, the Queen of England and the States of the United Provinces interpoſed their good offices, in quenching the flame which was ready to involve the whole north in a freſh war. The troops of Denmark retired from the caſtle of Eutin; and the place was delivered, in ſequeſtration, to the reſidents of England and Holland. The reſidents, however, reſtored the poſſeſſion of Eutin and its dependencies to the Prince Adminiſtrator of Holſtein-Gottorp, without prejudice to the rights of Prince Charles of Denmark [q].

Affairs of Poland.

IN Poland, the invincible courage of the King of Sweden triumphed over all the ſchemes of his active and obſtinate enemies, the Ruſſians and the Saxons. That indefatigable Prince profited by the winter, and flew to freſh victories along the ice, with which the rigour of the ſeaſon had covered the rivers and marſhes. Renſchild, his general, having, by a feint, inveigled the enemy from their ſtrong poſts in the woods, defeated the combined

[q] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. i.

armies,

CHAP. VI. 1700.

armies, with great ſlaughter, on the thirteenth of February. In this deciſive battle, in which no quarter was granted to the Ruſſians, ſeven thouſand men were killed on the ſpot. Eight thouſand priſoners, with the baggage, cannon, colours, and proviſions of the enemy, fell afterwards, into the hands of the victors. To put an end to the troubles of Poland, by carrying the war into the hereditary dominions of King Auguſtus, Charles the Twelfth, with twenty-four thouſand men, directing his march toward Sileſia, paſſed the Oder, entered Saxony, and placed his camp at Alt-Ranſtadt, near the plains of Lutzen, famous for the victory and death of Guſtavus Adolphus. King Auguſtus, unable to cope with a powerful and victorious enemy, in the heart of his country, had no reſource but in a treaty of peace; which he could only obtain on the moſt humiliating terms. He was forced to renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Staniſlaus as lawful ſovereign of that kingdom[r].

King of Sweden feared and courted by all.

His march into the heart of Germany, his victories in the courſe of the war, the humiliating terms of peace, to which he had reduced King Auguſtus, the ſtate of the contending powers in general, and the kind of balance which was ſtill preſerved, not withſtanding the victories of the allies over the armies of the houſe of Bourbon, had raiſed the King of Sweden into the eminent ſituation of being the umpire of the fate of Europe. Mankind turned their attention to that monarch, in a degree equal to their hopes from his ſpirit, or their fears from his power. France courted his friendſhip, with a vehemence proportionable to the diſtreſſed condition of her affairs. The emperor dreaded that the preſence of Charles in Germany might kindle diſturbances, which, by employing the force of the empire at home, might diſappoint the views of his own family on the Spaniſh throne. The diet of Ratiſbon ſhewed a diſpoſition of declaring the King of

[r] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

Sweden

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Sweden an enemy to the empire. But the Emperor himſelf found means to ſoften any reſentment that might ariſe in the breaſt of that enterpriſing Prince, by flattering his pride. Beſides, the mind of Charles was too much engaged, with the deſign of reducing the Czar of Muſcovy, into the ſame abject condition with the Elector of Saxony, to permit him to entertain thoughts of any other kind. He, therefore, liſtened, without being moved, to the inſtances of France; and yielded to the deſire of the Emperor, without any attachment to his cauſe [s].

Articles of union ſettled.

WHILE the preſent year was rendered remarkable abroad, with military tranſactions of great importance and renown, it was diſtinguiſhed at home, by an event equally memorable in the civil line. The Queen, in conſequence of powers veſted in her perſon, by the parliaments of England and Scotland, had appointed commiſſioners of both nations to meet, and treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms. They met accordingly, for the firſt time, at the Cockpit, on the ſixteenth of April; and, having continued their ſittings, at intervals, to the twenty-third of July, they preſented the articles, upon which they had agreed, to her Majeſty. The moſt material of theſe were the following: That the two kingdoms ſhould be united into one, by the name of Great Britain. That the ſucceſſion of the united kingdom ſhould remain to the Princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants. That the whole people of Britain ſhould be repreſented by one parliament, in which ſixteen peers and forty-five commoners choſen for Scotland, ſhould ſit and vote. That the ſubjects of the united kingdom ſhould enjoy a full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation; and a reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the ſubjects of either kingdom.

[s] Hiſtoria Polona, p. 324.

BUT

CHAP. VI.

1706.

But though the commiſſioners had ſettled, without much difficulty, the articles of union, there was reaſon to apprehend, that the treaty would meet with great oppoſition, in the parliament of Scotland. The body of the people, either ſwayed by the adherents of the excluded family, or yielding to the dictates of their pride, were utterly averſe to a meaſure which annihilated them, in a manner, as a nation. The hopes of the court of St. Germains roſe in proportion, to the violence which prevailed among the Scots. Relying, in ſome degree, on the promiſes of the Duke of Marlborough [t], that no money ſhould be ſent from the treaſury of England, to gain votes in Scotland, they hoped that the treaty would be rejected by a majority in parliament; and they extended their views to an immediate advantage to their own cauſe, from a certainty of the diſturbances that were to enſue. Their party in Scotland, endeavoured, in the mean time, to be provided againſt the worſt events. Conſcious of the venality of many of their own number, they could not truſt the fate of the meaſure to their avowed principles. They, therefore, demanded ſuccours from France; and reſolved to appeal from parliament to the deciſion of the ſword. Having long foreſeen what afterwards happened, they had opened a communication with Lewis the Fourteenth, whoſe intereſt, they knew, eſpecially in the untoward ſtate of his affairs, was intimately connected with their cauſe. Views and

The eagerneſs, with which the Whigs in England, preſſed the miniſtry of that kingdom to accompliſh an union with Scotland, had greatly increaſed the number of the friends of the excluded family. In the two preceding years, the Jacobites had made frequent propoſals to the French King, to which he paid little attention, as long as the misfortunes of the war had left him the power of giving effectual aid. To ſatisfy himſelf, however, concerning the ſolidity of the aſſurances tranſmitted repeatedly from Secret intrigues

[t] Stuart-papers.

Scotland,

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Scotland, he ſent one Hooke, an Engliſh Catholic, and a colonel in his ſervice, with letters from himſelf and the pretended Prince of Wales, to the leaders of the malecontents in that kingdom. Hooke arriving in the month of Auguſt 1705, executed his commiſſion, in a manner calculated to defeat his own views. Attaching himſelf to a particular ſet of the cavaliers, he offended the reſt; while his extreme vanity and arrogance diſguſted ſome, and rendered all unwilling to truſt themſelves in his hands. They, however, made general aſſurances of their fidelity, and promiſed their utmoſt exertions in favour of the excluded family, ſhould the French King land the pretender in Scotland, with a force ſufficient to protect his perſon, till his friends ſhould aſſemble in arms[u].

of the Jacobites.

HOOKE, having received theſe general aſſurances, returned to France; and the Jacobites unanimouſly made choice of one Captain Stratton, as their agent, to inquire into the real diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles. They had previouſly ſounded the Tories in England, particularly the Duke of Leeds and the Lord Granville. But they found them more cautious than themſelves; and unwilling to agree to any attempt in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales, during the life and reign of his ſiſter Queen Anne. The Scots, however, were not diſcouraged. Urged by their violent principles, and beyond meaſure averſe to the union, they reſolved to hazard every thing to accompliſh their views. Stratton was well received by the court of Verſailles. But the battles of Ramillies and Turin had diſconcerted all their meaſures. Lewis declared, that he could ſpare neither men nor money, in the preſent untoward ſtate of his affairs. That, however, he would ſearch for a more favourable conjuncture, and effectually ſupport the cauſe of the excluded family. With theſe aſſurances, and with letters from the Pretender to the leaders of his party, Stratton returned; and the Jacobites found themſelves obliged to abandon

[u] Stuart-papers. Lockhart's Memoirs.

the

the fate of the union to their efforts, in conjunction with the country-party, in the approaching ſeſſion of parliament.

THEY, however, entertained no hopes of ſucceſs, nor had they reaſon to expect it in a legal way. They were ſtrangers neither to the venality of the members, nor to the effectual meaſures taken by the court of England to gain a majority, through the channels of ambition and avarice. The repeated promiſes of the Duke of Marlborough [w], to the court of St. Germains, that no money ſhould be ſent to Scotland were little regarded by Godolphin. His fears for himſelf had overcome his attachment to the excluded family: and, though he ſeemed, from the wretched pittance he beſtowed, in ſome meaſure unwilling to enſure ſucceſs, no ſum was too little for purchaſing the votes of the Scotiſh members. A great majority being thus procured, the parliament, to which Queenſberry was appointed commiſſioner, was ſuffered to meet, on the third of October. The treaty of Union being read, was ordered to be printed, and the houſe adjourned for ſeven days. The people, who had been hitherto ſoothed with favourable reports of the articles, became outrageous, finding themſelves, as they thought, deceived. The interval of the adjournment was filled with tumults, clamour, and confuſion, without doors. But, within, a determined reſolution was formed to adhere to the articles of the treaty [x].

October 3. Parliament meets.

THE members in oppoſition endeavouring to protract meaſures which they could not prevent, moved for a day of faſting and prayer, to procure the direction of the Almighty in the important affair of the Union. The motion being over-ruled, together with another for a delay of eight days, the houſe proceeded to the conſideration of the treaty, article by article. On every vote, a majority of more than two to one appeared for the

A great majority for the Union.

[w] Stuart-papers, 1705, 1706.

[x] Lockhart's Memoirs.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Union. The peers, who gained the leaſt by the treaty, were the moſt eager for its being approved. Many of that order, in particular the Earl of Roxburgh, ſacrificed their former zeal againſt an union, to promiſes of being advanced to higher honours. Others yielded to their neceſſities, or liſtened to their avarice. Some, who perceived the violence of the Jacobites, abetted, through principle, a treaty, which was likely to put an end to the romantic ſchemes of that reſtleſs party. A few, tired of the unmeaning factions which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom, favoured the Union from a view of repoſe. All ſeemed to be flattered with the hopes of extending, in time, over Great Britain, thoſe privileges and honours which were now confined to a narrow corner of the iſland. Theſe motives combining with that ſubſerviency to the views of the reigning prince, which peers derive from the crown with their patents, threw the weight of the nobility of Scotland on the ſide of a treaty, that ſeemed calculated to render their order inſignificant, if not contemptible.

Tumults in Scotland.

THE whole month of October [y] was ſpent in reading and debating, article by article, the treaty of Union. Though no deciſive vote was yet propoſed, the people perceived from the complexion of the houſe, that the whole would be approved by the parliament. During the debates the mob roſe at Edinburgh, and committed every ſpecies of outrage and extravagance. The members who favoured the Union, the ſervants of government, and the commiſſioner himſelf, were menaced and inſulted. Thoſe who oppoſed the treaty were received with the acclamations of the populace every where, and denominated the friends, patrons, and even ſaviours of their native land. But when, in the beginning of November, the parliament proceeded to approve of the articles, addreſſes againſt the Union were poured in from every ſide. The populace, rouſed to a degree of fury, throughout the kingdom,

[y] Proceedings of Scot. parl.

threatened

threatened to come in a body to Edinburgh, to diſſolve a parliament, which, they ſaid, was ready to betray their country. In Glaſgow in particular, the inhabitants took arms, drove their magiſtrates out of the city, inſulted ſuch as favoured the Union, and hung, in effigy, the commiſſioners who had agreed to that treaty. The uncommon rigour of the ſeaſon could only ſave the parliament from the vengeance of the people; who, had they not been prevented by the inclemency of the weather, were determined to pour from every quarter to Edinburgh, to tear to pieces the obnoxious part of their repreſentatives [z].

Debates in the houſe.

WHILE the populace exhibited ſuch ſymptoms of fury without doors, the country-party endeavoured to rouſe the ſpirit of the members within. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, the Lord Belhaven, and particularly the Duke of Hamilton, uſed, upon the occaſion, all the force of their pathetic eloquence. On the ſubject of the unequal repreſentation of Scotland, the latter expreſſed himſelf in terms full of animation and force. "Shall we then, in an hour," he ſaid, "yield with a vote, what our fathers maintained, for ſo many ages, with the ſword? Am I now heard by none of the deſcendants of thoſe illuſtrious patriots, who aided Bruce to reſtore the conſtitution, to revenge the treachery of England, to overturn the mean uſurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglaſſes? Where the Campbells? Where are the peers, and where the barons, once the bulwark of our nation? Have they left no poſterity either to improve on their glory, or to defend the rights which they have tranſmitted from ancient times? The children of thoſe who aided them in the purſuit of honour, are more faithful to the reputation of their anceſtors. The people have neither forgot nor contemned the freedom which their fathers preſerved with their blood. But the nobles, a degenerate race, are ready to ſtain the honours, though they bear the titles of their anceſtors. Shall we then tamely give up the independence and ſovereignty of our

[z] Mem. of Scotland.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

country, when we are entreated and even commanded to preſerve them, by thoſe whom we repreſent? Shall we yield to our fears, or if poſſible, to meaner motives, when we are aſſured of the ſupport of a whole nation, rouſed to rage by indignity and ſhame?"

Arguments

To theſe declamatory apoſtrophes, the Duke and other members added arguments of a more ſolid kind[u]. They averred, that all the advantages from a participation of government with England, and the repoſe that might be expected from an union with a powerful kingdom, were but mean conſiderations for the ſpirit which the people muſt loſe with their independence as a nation. They argued, that though individuals might profit by the change, the country in general muſt ſuffer decay from the removal of the ſeat of government, which, like the heart in the human frame, threw life and vigour from the center to the extremities of the kingdom. They affirmed, that inſtead of bringing a part of the commerce of England into Scotland, the Union would ruin that of the latter kingdom, by carrying away from their native country, to which they would probably never return, the moſt enterpriſing and the moſt induſtrious of its inhabitants. They ſaid, that impoſts already laid on the trade of England, would more than counterbalance the preſent diſadvantages of that of the Scots, whoſe imports and exports were leſs burdened; and they affirmed, that though ſome change for the better might happen, with regard to commerce in ſome particular places, that circumſtance ought rather to be aſcribed to an increaſe of induſtry in a few individuals, than to the general proſperity of the country.

againſt the Union.

THEY deſcended from theſe more obvious arguments, to ſpeculative obſervations. They affirmed, that Scotland, as an independent kingdom, ought to have met England on equal

[u] Mem. of Scotland.

ground.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

ground. They ſaid, that an union which deprived any ſubject of the rights which he already poſſeſſed, looked more like terms obtained from the indulgence of conquerors, than a treaty voluntarily concluded between free nations for mutual advantage. They averred, that the Scotiſh peers, by relinquiſhing the right of their order to ſit and vote in parliament, had betrayed the honour of their country, and actually altered its conſtitution; and that the ſmall number of the repreſentatives of the people, had effectually thrown the nation under the dominion of ſtrangers, while it deprived many individuals of the honour and advantage of having a ſhare in framing laws by which they were to be governed. They derived an argument againſt the Union, from the dangers in which it might involve even the freedom of England, and conſequently that of Scotland, as united with that kingdom, in its misfortunes, rather than in its advantages. The repreſentatives of the Scots, they ſaid, would inevitably become a poor and deſpicable race, depending on the purſe, and conſequently on the will of the Crown; and having ſhewn ſo little concern for the ſupport of their own conſtitution, it was not to be expected they would pay any regard to that of another nation.

The articles approved.

ON the other ſide it was urged with vehemence, that the Union, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, was neceſſary, and that no better terms could be obtained from the Engliſh nation. To this the Duke of Hamilton fiercely replied; that "he thought the Scots, being on the ſame continent with the Engliſh, might furniſh their own commiſſioners with a very deciſive argument on that ſubject." A profound ſilence followed theſe words [b]. None offered to make any reply to an obſervation which was, in fact, unanſwerable. Though Scotland had been long torn to pieces with violent factions and obſtinate parties, the Union had become much more neceſſary for England than for that kingdom.

[b] Oct. 29.

Had,

CHAP. VI. 1706.

Had, therefore, the parliament of Scotland regarded their own future intereſt more than a trivial advantage at preſent, there is ſcarce any doubt but they could have commanded terms more conſonant to the independence which they claimed in the name of their country. But though the Jacobites aſcribed the paſſing of the act of Union to the venality of the members, they might with equal juſtice accuſe their own want of ſpirit and folly. The Duke of Hamilton himſelf, who ſhewed ſo much vehemence in ſpeaking, yielded, when matters demanded action, to a happy timidity, more deciſive, with regard to the Union, than all the purchaſed votes of his opponents [c]. Having ſettled with all thoſe who oppoſed the treaty, to quit, under a proteſt, the houſe in a body, he ſhrunk unexpectedly from his own ſcheme. The country-party, and moſt of the Jacobites, in diſguſt or deſpair, left the town, in the beginning of January, and ſuch articles as had not been hitherto approved, were carried with little oppoſition [d].

The Preſbyterians reſolve to diſperſe the parliament.

The prudence, timidity, or, according to the Jacobites, the treachery and private views of the Duke of Hamilton, by diſconcerting the oppoſition, were the chief ſprings on which the ſucceſs of the Union turned [e]. The lower ſort of people throughout the kingdom were inflamed to a degree of madneſs, at the thoughts of being ſubjected, as they conſtrued the conſequences of the Union, to the government and tyranny of the Engliſh nation. The act of ſecurity, by placing arms in their hands two years before, had rendered them fit for war. The nobility and chiefs of clans, under the ſanction of law, had, for two ſucceſſive ſummers, called their vaſſals to the field, formed encampments, and eſtabliſhed a degree of diſcipline. The Preſbyterians of the Weſt, who had ſuffered much under the government of the houſe of Stuart, were now the moſt violent to forward their

[c] Mem. of Scot. Anna's of Q. Anne.
[d] Mem. of Scot.
[e] Hooke's Negociations.

cauſe

CHAP. VI. 1706.

cauſe, by defeating the Union, and conſequently the ſucceſſion in the family of Hannover. They ſent to inform the Duke of Hamilton, that they were preparing to march to Edinburgh to diſperſe, to uſe their own expreſſions, a wretched parliament, who by ſuffering themſelves to be purchaſed to the betraying of the honour, proſperity, and independence of their country, had forfeited their right to determine for their conſtituents, and had become an aſſembly of lawleſs and abandoned robbers [f]. The Duke of Hamilton oppoſed neither the juſtneſs of their opinions nor the propriety of their deſigns. But he prevented the execution of the latter, by ſhewing them that it was not yet the proper time. The Earl of Strathmore and the Viſcount Stormont made the ſame violent offers for the counties of Perth and Angus, but they were alſo diſappointed by the Duke of Hamilton.

They are prevented by the Duke of Hamilton.

THIS myſterious conduct of Hamilton requires to be explained. He was in his principles a violent Jacobite, from the Revolution to the end of the ſecond year of Queen Anne. His undeviating adherence to the intereſt of James the Second, his induſtry and negociations in that Prince's favour in England, till the affair of Darien had rendered Scotland a more promiſing field for intrigue, had gained to the Duke an unbounded confidence from the court of St. Germains. He conducted himſelf according to their inſtructions, and THEY paid the utmoſt deference to his advice. When the country-party, in conjunction with the Jacobites, had carried repeated reſolutions in parliament, that the ſucceſſor to the crown of England ſhould NOT mount the throne of Scotland, a gleam of royalty ſeems to have opened on the Duke of Hamilton's mind. This cooled his zeal for the family of Stuart and diſconcerted his own meaſures, by being an object too great and too difficult for his limited capacity. Though after the poſterity of James the Firſt of England, the Duke was the next

[f] Letter of the Laird of Kerſland, MS.

Proteſtant

CHAP. VI.

1707.

Proteſtant heir to the crown of Scotland, he was, by no means, qualified to gratify his ambition. His eſtate was not great, and he was overwhelmed with debt. He had few vaſſals and ſcarce any followers, except ſuch as looked up to him as the head placed over them by the court of St. Germains. When he heſitated to join in their violent ſchemes againſt the Union, he loſt their confidence. His moſt intimate friends deſerted a man, who was believed to have betrayed his party. He was openly accuſed of treachery and venality; and the reflections of others, combining, perhaps, with his own regret, for having abandoned what fortune had placed in his hands, threw him into a violent illneſs, which threatened his diſſolution[1].

Reflections.

THOUGH the terms of the Union were by no means calculated to flatter the pride of the Scots, as an independent people, no expedient could be deemed unfortunate that put an end to their own government, as it then ſtood. There were radical defects in the conſtitution of the kingdom, which in the beſt times and in the ableſt hands, could not fail to be productive of perpetual evils to the nation. The eſtates of parliament, by meeting in one houſe and voting promiſcuouſly, in all debates, created a confuſion and promoted a jarring of intereſts, more likely to embarraſs than to tranſact the buſineſs of the public, with regularity and preciſion. The number of the peers, the poverty of that order, and their conſequent dependence on the crown, by carrying every vote in parliament, left the body of the people, in a manner, without a repreſentative. The weight, which the poſſeſſion of England threw into the ſcale of the ſovereign, had improved his authority, before the Revolution, into an almoſt uncontroulable tyranny. The crown was abſolute, though government was permitted to retain its ancient form. The blow, which the royal prerogative received in Scotland, in the memorable year 1688, eſtabliſhed

[1] Lockhart's Mem. Hooke's Negociations. Stuart-papers, 1707.

licen-

licentiouſneſs rather than freedom, in that kingdom. The parliament were placed in a ſituation to make the moſt for themſelves, at the hands of the King, while the people felt nothing from the alteration in government, but a change of tyrants. CHAP. VI. 1706.

on the union.

NOTWITHSTANDING this untoward picture of the affairs of Scotland, the period of time between the Revolution and the paſſing of the act of union, produced men of eminent talents in that kingdom. The freedom of debate, which was introduced by the Revolution into parliament, furniſhed many with the means of diſcovering their own parts; and animated them with an eagerneſs, which mankind miſtook for public ſpirit. In an evil hour, for the nation, they were divided into many and irreconcilable factions; a circumſtance hurtful in any country, but particularly ruinous, where the field of conteſt is too ſmall. While they watched the motions of one another, the golden opportunity of mending their own conſtitution at home, or of incorporating themſelves, upon honourable and advantageous terms, with England, was for ever loſt. The peculiar ſituation of the latter kingdom had placed the fate of her monarchy, in ſome meaſure, in the hands of the Scots; and the latter could ſcarce be called unreaſonable, ſhould they inſiſt upon meeting their more powerful neighbours upon a footing of greater equality. But in the animoſity of parties, all regard for the public was loſt; and a kind of mean ſelfiſhneſs, which ſcarce deſerved to be dignified with the name of avarice, took poſſeſſion of every breaſt, and marked the age with indelible infamy.

Peace offered by France.

WHILE the great event of the union between the Britiſh kingdoms, was ready to ſecure the tranquillity of England at home, ſhe prepoſterouſly rejected propoſals for reſtoring, upon the moſt honourable terms for herſelf, the general peace of Europe. The French King, broken with the misfortunes of the campaign, on every

CHAP. VI. 1706.

ſide, began ſeriouſly to think of putting an end to a war, which had already fallen ſo heavy on his ſubjects, and even threatened the monarchy of France with danger, if not with diſſolution. Having privately made ſome ineffectual applications of this kind to the States of the United Provinces, he reſolved publickly to ſignify his earneſt deſire of peace; and he, for that purpoſe, ordered the Elector of Bavaria to write letters to the Duke of Marlborough and the field-deputies of the States, to propoſe the opening of a general congreſs [k]. As a proof of his ſincerity, he mentioned at once the terms. He offered the dominions of Spain in Italy to the Archduke Charles, a barrier in the Netherlands to the States, and a compenſation to the Duke of Savoy, for the waſte made by the war in his territories. In return, he expected, that the territories of Bavaria ſhould be reſtored to their native Prince; and that his grandſon Philip the Fifth, ſhould ſit on the throne of Spain and the Indies [l].

Wantonly rejected by the allies.

THOUGH theſe terms were better than thoſe afterwards obtained, conſidering the expence of treaſure and blood, they were not likely to prove agreeable to thoſe who led the counſels of the allies. The Duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as of the glory of war. Prince Eugene, beſides being actuated by ſimilar motives, carried an irreconcilable averſion to France, into all his views; and the penſionary Heinſius, who had the addreſs to lead the counſels of the States, in acting in ſubſerviency to the two generals, yielded to his own intereſt. Theſe three diſtinguiſhed perſons, were the great ſprings that now moved the grand alliance. Beſides, the people of England animated with the ſucceſs of the war, were unwilling to put an end, by a peace, to the amuſement ariſing from further victories. The Emperor, having the good fortune to have HIS war ſupported by the benevolence and generoſity of ſtrangers, had relaxed his exertions to a degree

[k] Oct. 21.

[l] Burnet, vol. iv. Life of Marlborough.

that

that ſuited his convenience; and he was indifferent how long a conteſt, in which he might gain much and could loſe nothing, might continue. The King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy were ſo little conſidered, that they were not conſulted; and, from all theſe various cauſes, Europe was deſtined to remain, for ſeveral years more, a ſcene of carnage, diſtreſs, and confuſion. The Whigs, who were now poſſeſſed of the whole power of government in England, inſulted common ſenſe, in the reaſon which they gave for rejecting the propoſed peace. They ſaid, the terms offered by France were too good to be the foundation of a laſting tranquillity[m]; and therefore, that they ought not to be admitted.

CHAP. VI. 1706.

In the attention paid by the people and miniſtry, to affairs beyond the limits of the kingdom, nothing memorable could have happened at home. The parliament having met at Weſtminſter, on the third of December, the commons proceeded, with ſuch unanimity, to grant the ſupplies, that an ample proviſion was made, in the ſpace of eighteen days, for the ſervice of the ſucceeding year. Though the excluded party had neither forgotten their own misfortunes, nor forgiven thoſe in office, the ſplendour of victories abroad, and the reputation of their meaſures at home, had placed the miniſtry beyond the power of any ſucceſsful attack. The church-party, therefore, prudently fell down with a ſtream which they could no longer oppoſe. The two houſes, in congratulating the Queen on the ſucceſſes of the war, neglected not the Duke of Marlborough. They thanked him for his important ſervices. As a more ſolid, and to the Duke, a no leſs grateful mark of their eſteem, they paſſed a bill to perpetuate his titles to his poſterity, in the female as well as in the male-line; and they continued to his family for ever, the five thouſand pounds a year, which the Queen had granted during her own life[n].

Dec. 3. Parliament meets.

[m] Hannover-papers, 1707.

[n] Journals of both houſes.

CHAP. VI.

1707. Union approved by both houſes.

WITH the ſame unanimity and zeal, the commons made proviſion for an extraordinary debt, to the amount of eight hundred thouſand pounds, contracted by the miniſtry, in fitting out an expedition, which, having failed, as to the deſign on the coaſt of France, was directed afterwards to Portugal. They provided, with the ſame alacrity, for the ſum of three hundred and ninety-eight thouſand pounds, as an equivalent to Scotland, for paying, henceforth, the cuſtoms and exciſes, in the ſame proportion with England [o]. This ſum, though perhaps ill applied, was intended for the recoinage of the money of Scotland, to diſcharge the public debt, and to repay to the African company, all their loſſes with intereſt. As the misfortunes of that wretched body of adventurers, were the ſource of the diſturbances which ſubſiſted among the Scots, for the laſt ten years, ſo the proſpect of repayment was a great inducement to their reconcilement to the meaſure which annihilated their government. When the act of the Scotiſh parliament, confirming the treaty of union, was laid before the Engliſh commons, they paſſed it without oppoſition. In the houſe of lords, it furniſhed a ſubject for debate. But the minority was ſo inſignificant, that the arguments againſt the treaty deſerve not to be recorded [p].

Parliament prorogued.

THE parliament having finiſhed, with great temper, the important buſineſs of the ſeſſion, were prorogued, on the twenty-fourth of April; and, five days after, the Queen ſignified by proclamation, that the firſt parliament of Great Britain ſhould meet on the twenty-third of the next October. The union of the kingdoms being to commence on the firſt of May, that day was appointed for a public thankſgiving; and the Queen went, in ſtate, to St. Paul's, a ceremony of which, to judge by its frequency, ſhe ſeemed to be extremely fond. But though the union of the kingdoms had now commenced in the eye of the law, it could

[o] March 13.

[p] Journals, paſſim.

CHAP. VI. 1707.

ſcarce be conſidered as an entire and incorporating union. The privy-council of the kingdom, the officers of ſtate, and the whole miniſtry were ſtill maintained in Scotland. The ſervants of the crown, to retain their own authority, as well as to preſerve their emoluments, perſuaded the Queen that there was a neceſſity to preſerve a ſhow of greatneſs and a form of government at Edinburgh, to gratify the vanity of the vulgar, and to awe the Jacobites [q]. This doctrine continued to be inculcated on the government of England; and the Scots, inſtead of enjoying the benefit of a general government, continued under the tyranny of a faction of their own countrymen.

Diſtreſs of France.

THE propoſals of peace offered by France, having been rejected, with marks of diſdain, by the allies, Lewis the Fourteenth found himſelf obliged to make all poſſible preparations for continuing, with ſome vigour, the war. The uncommon misfortunes of the laſt campaign, had embarraſſed his counſels, and thrown his kingdom into the utmoſt diſtreſs and conſternation. The only circumſtance in which he could not blame his fortune, was, that a very favourable ſeaſon had provided his people with plenty of grain [r]. But he was in great want of money to pay his troops, as well as to provide his armies, with thoſe implements of war, which he had loſt, on every ſide, to the enemy, in the preceding ſummer. To obtain a kind of remedy to this evil, he fell upon an expedient, which diſtreſſed the nation while it ruined the credit of government. In imitation of the exchequer-bills circulated by the government of England, he iſſued bills upon the mint, to the amount of ſeventy millions of livres [s]. But, in refuſing to take theſe bills in payment of the revenue, he threw them into ſuch diſcredit, that after all expedients to raiſe their value had been tried, they remained at the diſcount of near ſixty per cent.

[q] Burnet, vol. iv. [r] Political annals, 1707. [s] Ibid.

NOT-

CHAP. VI.

1707. Her preparations.

NOTWITHSTANDING this domeſtic diſtreſs, Lewis contrived to make conſiderable preparations againſt the efforts of the enemy. He extended a line of militia along the coaſt of the ocean, and the ſhore of the Mediterranean. He formed an army in Flanders, under the Duke de Vendôme. Another was aſſembled, by the Mareſchal de Villars, in the neighbourhood of Straſbourg. A body of men was ordered to rendezvous in Navarre, another in Rouſſillon; and reinforcements were ſent to the army commanded by the Duke of Berwick in Spain. The year began, with one inſtance of ſucceſs on the part of France. Majorca was retaken by the Count de Villars, on the fifth of January. But this tranſitory gleam of good fortune was ſoon obſcured, by freſh diſaſters in Italy. The French and Spaniſh troops were forced to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation ſigned on the thirteenth of March. Modena [t] and Milan ſurrendered themſelves ſucceſſively to the allies. The whole kingdom of Naples was reduced, either by the treachery of the inhabitants or the force of the enemy; and the few places in the dominions of Savoy and in the Milaneſe, that were ſtill held by garriſons of French or Spaniards, fell, one by one, before the end of the campaign [u].

Battle of Almanza.

THE victory obtained at Almanza by the Duke of Berwick, on the twenty-fifth of April, changed the whole face of affairs in Spain. The Engliſh and Portugueze being poſſeſſed, in the name of Charles the Third, of the kingdoms of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, reſolved under their generals, the Earl of Galway and the Marquis Las-Minas, to penetrate into New-Caſtile. Having, for that purpoſe, paſſed the river Xucar, they advanced to Almanza. The Duke of Berwick, who had juſt arrived at the place, heſitated not a moment to give them battle. The action extended from wing to wing. The Engliſh infantry penetrated the center of the enemy. But the Portugueze foot giving way, and

[t] Feb. 10.

[u] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

Berwick's

Berwick's cavalry having, at the ſame time, thrown the horſe of the allies in diſorder, the battle was ſoon decided in favour of the French. Never victory was more complete. Six thouſand of the allies either lay dead on the field of battle, or were ſlain in the purſuit. Five general officers, ſeven brigadiers, twenty-five colonels, above eight hundred other officers, and nine thouſand ſoldiers, were either taken priſoners, or, being ſurrounded in the mountains, were forced to ſurrender. All the cannon, ſtandards, colours, equipage, and baggage of the vanquiſhed fell into the hands of the enemy. Las-Minas made his eſcape, with ſome cavalry to Xativa. The Earl of Galway, with a party of horſe, taking the route towards Catalonia, ſtopt not his flight till he arrived at Tortoſa, near the mouth of the Ebro. The Duke of Orleans, taking the command of the French army, the day after the battle, purſued the victory with great vigour. He took the city of Valencia, on the eighth of May; and the whole kingdom followed the fate of the capital. The victors directed their march to Arragon. Sarragoſſa [w], and in general all Arragon, were again reduced under the dominion of Philip the Fifth; while his rival either loitered in Catalonia, or made an ineffectual progreſs toward the frontiers of Rouſſillon [x].

CHAP. VI. 1707.

Campaign in Germany.

On the ſide of Germany, the affairs of the confederates wore the ſame gloomy aſpect. The uſual ſluggiſhneſs and backwardneſs of the Princes, almoſt ſubjected the empire to the ſame miſfortunes from which it had been relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, had rendered the efforts of the houſe of Auſtria extremely languid, on the Upper Rhine. The Margrave of Bareith, who ſucceeded to the command of the Imperialiſts, upon the death of the Prince of Baden, led an army, inconſiderable in point of numbers, and ill-

[w] May 25.

[x] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne.

provided

CHAP. VI. 1707.

provided with neceſſaries for the field. The French army, under the Mareſchal de Villars, having paſſed the Rhine at Straſbourg, forced the lines at Stolhoffen, laid the dutchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, entered Swabia, and penetrated to the Danube. But when Villars was meditating meaſures which might change the whole face of the war, he was forced to weaken his army by great detachments into France itſelf, which was now attacked within its limits, by the allies. Towards the end of the campaign, the Elector of Hannover took the command of the army of the empire; and Count Mercy having ſurpriſed the Marquis de Vivant at Offembourg, the Mareſchal de Villars was forced to abandon all his great ſchemes and to repaſs the Rhine [r].

Dictatorial behaviour of the King of Sweden.

THE invaſion of the French was not the only evil which the Emperor and empire had now to fear. The King of Sweden, having remained, during the winter, in Saxony, found very plauſible pretences for a quarrel with the court of Vienna. He complained of an inſult committed by Count Zobor, chamberlain to his Imperial Majeſty, on the Baron Stralenheim, the Swediſh envoy. Though all reaſonable ſatisfaction was given by the Emperor, the King of Sweden, with an obſtinacy ſuitable to his character, increaſed his complaints and multiplied his demands. He peremptorily required, that five hundred Ruſſians, to whom the court of Vienna had given refuge in the Auſtrian dominions, ſhould be delivered into his hands. He inſiſted, that the Emperor ſhould immediately decide the affair of the election of Lubec, in favour of the Adminiſtrator of Holſtein. That the Proteſtants of Sileſia ſhould be indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia. That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſions to the quota, which the King of Sweden had neglected to furniſh, according to the tenure by which he held his dominions in Germany; and that the whole

[r] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii. Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

Swediſh

1707.

Swediſh army, in their return through Sileſia and Poland, ſhould be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna[z].

He throws wantonly the balance of Europe from his hands.

THE court of Vienna was, by no means, in a condition to refuſe theſe dictatorial terms. But the Queen of England and the States were alarmed, leſt the pride of the Emperor Joſeph ſhould overcome his attention to the intereſt of the allies. Queen Anne, therefore, had determined early in the ſeaſon, to order the Duke of Marlborough to repair to Saxony, to ſooth the King of Sweden, and to gain the miniſters of that Prince. The Duke, no ſtranger himſelf to the power of money over mankind, conſulted the Elector of Hannover[a], about the ſums to be given, as annual penſions, to the Counts Piper and Hermelin, who conducted the counſels of Charles the Twelfth. The Elector adviſed, that two thouſand pounds ſterling ſhould be ſecured for the firſt, and one thouſand for the latter; and that one year's penſion ſhould be paid in advance[b]. The Duke, arriving at Alt-Ranſtadt, where the King of Sweden held his head-quarters, was received with a degree of politeneſs, conſidering the harſh and uncomplying character of that Prince. Whether Marlborough gained Piper and Hermelin, through the channel of their venality, is uncertain, as well as unimportant. His negociations, by the event, ſeem to have been crowned with the deſired effect; though it is more likely, that the King of Sweden yielded more to his own reſentment againſt the Czar, than to the influence of corrupted miniſters. England and Holland having guaranteed the promiſes of the Emperor to the demands of Charles, that Prince, after having, for more than a year, kept the allies in ſuſpence, and actually held the balance of Europe, threw the whole, at once, from his hands, and, repaſſing the Oder, entered Poland, in purſuit of fruitleſs victories[c].

[z] Hiſt. de Suede, 1707. [a] Hannover-papers, 1707. [b] Ibid. [c] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

CHAP. VI.

1707. Siege of Toulon.

THE moſt memorable event of the year was the ſiege of Toulon, and the miſcarriage of the allies before that important place. The reduction of the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and the capitulation ſigned at Milan in March, by which the French army abandoned that country, left the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene at freedom, to carry the war into the enemy's country. In concert with England and Holland a project was formed, either to deſtroy or take Toulon and Marſeilles; an enterpriſe, if crowned with ſucceſs, which could not fail to be highly beneficial to the maritime powers, as well as of great importance to the confederates in general. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, having, for ſome time, amuſed the French with marches and countermarches, turned ſuddenly toward the ſhore of the Mediterranean, forced the paſſage of the river Var, advanced along the coaſt of Provence, and, after a long march, through a hot, rugged, and inhoſpitable country, arrived before Toulon, on the twenty-ſixth of July. Sir Cloudſley Shovel, with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, attended the motions of the allies, ſupplied the army with neceſſaries, and blocked up the town by ſea[d].

Deſerted by the allies.

THEIR want of intelligence, and the neceſſary delays in their march, diſappointed the views of the allies upon the town. Two hours before Prince Eugene arrived, with the van, the French found means to throw eight thouſand men into the place. The fortifications were repaired with incredible expedition. Troops were advantageouſly poſted, on the hills adjacent to the walls. The allies having taken the heights of St. Catherine, were driven from thence, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, with great ſlaughter. The number of troops in Toulon and its neighbourhood, the bad condition of the confederate army, and the intelligence received of the motions of the French, on every ſide, induced the generals to deſiſt from their attempt. The Duke of Burgundy, with a

[d] Naval Hiſt. MS. Anecdotes.

conſider-

CHAP. VI. 1707.

conſiderable force, was on his march to cut off their retreat from Nice. Of twelve thouſand horſe, ſcarce four thouſand were fit for ſervice, in that rocky country, the iron for ſhoes expected from Genoa, having been detained by contrary winds. Had the confederates, therefore, remained ten days longer before Toulon, they would, in all likelihood, have been obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, ſuch was their own weak condition and the activity uſed by the French to diſappoint the deſign [e]. Having bombarded the place, the fleet and army retired, in the night between the twenty-firſt and the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt.

Inactive campaign in Flanders. Loſſes at ſea.

In Flanders nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The French, under the Duke de Vendôme, prudently avoided an action; and they managed their motions ſo well, that they furniſhed the enemy with no opportunity of attacking them, with advantage. The principal operations at ſea, were confined to the fruitleſs ſiege of Toulon. The Chevalier de Forbin had the good fortune of taking two Engliſh men of war, with twenty merchantmen; and what was ſtill more fortunate for himſelf, to make his eſcape after an engagement with a ſuperior ſquadron. Some advantages were obtained by the Engliſh on the coaſt of North-America. But they ſuſtained a very great loſs in the ſhipwreck of Sir Cloudſley Shovel. That admiral, on the twenty-ninth of September, ſailed from Gibraltar, with a fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line and ſome frigates. Having arrived in the mouth of the channel, on the night of the twenty-ſecond of October, by a miſtake in his courſe, he ſteered directly on ſome dangerous rocks, to the weſtward of the iſlands of Scilly. The Aſſociation, the ſhip in which the admiral ſailed, ſtruck and foundered, at once, not one of the crew being ſaved. The ſame melancholy fate attended the Eagle and Romney; and of the ſailors on board the Firebrand, another ſhip driven on the rocks, only twenty-

[e] MS. Anecdotes.

CHAP. VI. 1707.

four and the captain were ſaved[f]. The fate of Shovel was lamented by all. He had raiſed himſelf, by his induſtry and merit, from a common ſailor, to the head of the fleet. In his public conduct he was deemed brave, vigilant, and circumſpect; and in his private capacity, he preſerved the character of a modeſt and honeſt man.

Reflections on the campaign.

THE campaign of the year 1707, though in ſome degree favourable to the houſe of Bourbon, ſcarce ſuſpended their misfortunes. The conqueſt of Naples balanced the benefits derived from the victory obtained at Almanza; and the ſiege of Toulon, though unſucceſsful on the part of the allies, was extremely detrimental to France. The enemy, in their march and retreat through Provence, ruined a great extent of country. The attempt defeated the projects of France on the ſide of Germany, by dividing her forces. Villars having penetrated to the Danube, was forced to repaſs the Rhine; and to relinquiſh to an enemy, who could not meet him before in the field, all the advantages of a campaign, that ſeemed to threaten to change the whole face of affairs. A degree of mortification was added to the misfortunes of the court of Verſailles. The Duke of Savoy, whoſe capital was beſieged by a French army, in the preceding campaign, was at the head of a powerful invaſion in the dominions of France in the preſent year. But the conduct of the court of France was now as feeble as her misfortunes were numerous. The Salique law ſeemed to have been made in vain, in a country deſtined to be governed and ruined by women. Madame de Maintenon, though advanced in years, maintained her influence over the ſuperannuated mind of the King. Flattery to an aged miſtreſs, became a better title than merit, to the command of armies; and thus, the folly of his own councils became as fatal to Lewis as the arms of the confederates.

[f] Naval Hiſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Diſcontents in Scotland.——Intrigues of France.——Hooke's negociations.——Secret views of Godolphin.——Marlborough's intrigues.——An oppoſition formed.——Firſt parliament of Great Britain.——Houſe of lords refractory.——Examination into public affairs.——Scotiſh affairs.——A zeal for war.——Harley's intrigues.——He is diſmiſſed from office.——An invaſion threatened.——Pretender ſails from Dunkirk;—but returns.——Obſervations on the invaſion.——Views of the Scotiſh Jacobites.——Parliament diſſolved.——Campaign of 1708.——Battle of Oudenarde.——Siege of Liſle.——Siege of Bruſſels raiſed.——Corrupt practices of Marlborough and Cadogan.——Operations on the Rhine—in Savoy—and in Spain.——Sardinia and Minorca reduced.——Affairs of Italy.——Death of the Prince of Denmark.——New Parliament.——Whigs promoted.——Laws of treaſon extended to Scotland.——An act of grace.——Parliament urges the Queen to marry.——Propoſals of peace.——Diſtreſs of France.——Extraordinary terms.——Preliminaries rejected by the allies.——Marlborough favours the Pretender.——Secret intrigues of Godolphin.——Pretender's views.——Campaign of 1709.——Battle of Malplaquet.——Retreat of the French.——Operations on the Rhine—in Dauphinè—and Spain.——Naval affairs.——Battle of Pultowa.——Overtures of peace.——Secret intrigues.——Affair of Doctor Sacheverell.——He is impeached.——A general ferment.——His trial.——Preliminaries offered by France.——Conferences at Gertruydenberg.——Campaign of 1710.——Operations in Flanders—Germany—and Savoy.——Battles of Almenara—Sarragoſſa—Villa-Vicioſa.——Naval affairs.——Affairs of the North.

CHAP. VII.

1707. Diſcontents in Scotland.

THOUGH the Union of the two Britiſh kingdoms had been carried in their reſpective parliaments by a great majority, that meaſure was far from receiving the general ſanction of

CHAP. VII. 1707.

of the people. Men who were apt to urge ſpeculative arguments againſt expediency, affirmed, with a degree of juſtice, that no repreſentative of a nation had a right to diſſolve the conſtitution from which they derived their own political exiſtence. The generality of the Scotiſh nation, either ſwayed by their pride or yielding to their prejudices, were loud in their complaints; and wanted nothing but leaders to appeal from their parliament to the deciſion of the ſword. The populace, in particular, were ſo eager to take up arms, that the nobility and chiefs were forced to avoid mixing with their vaſſals, for fear of being inſulted for not leading them directly to the field [a]. The miniſter of England, in the mean time, either from negligence or deſign [b], had made no preparations againſt the ſudden incurſion of a people whom he knew to be inflamed to a degree of madneſs.

Intrigues of France.

HAPPILY for England, and, perhaps, ultimately for the Scots themſelves, the court of France was ſtill more deſtitute of counſels than of power. Inſtead of liſtening to the earneſt ſolicitations of the malcontents, in ſending the Pretender, with a force ſufficient to protect his perſon, to Scotland, they diſpatched Colonel Hooke into that kingdom, with inſtructions more calculated to depreſs the ſpirits of the Jacobites, than to rouſe them to arms. Hooke arriving ſoon after the receſs of parliament, made a ſecret progreſs through the northern counties, and preſented to the leaders of the Jacobites, letters from the King of France, as well as from the Pretender. The Dukes of Gordon and Athol, the Earls of Errol, Mariſhal, Panmure, and Strathmore, the Viſcount Stormont, and, in general, all the nobility and gentry to the North of the Forth, and many whoſe eſtates lay to the South of that river, received him with gladneſs, and expreſſed their readineſs to take up arms for the exiled family. Their enthuſiaſm in favour of the Pretender and averſion to the Union were ſo great, that though it was apparent Hooke's object was to

[a] Hooke's Negociations.

[b] Stuart-papers, 1707.

engage

engage them in every thing and the French King in nothing, they ſigned a general memorial, referring implicitly the expected aid from France to the generoſity of Lewis the Fourteenth.

Hooke's negociations.

IN this memorial, after a complimentary preamble to the French King, they ſignified their earneſt deſire that the Pretender ſhould be immediately ſent to Scotland. They affirmed that, upon his arrival, he ſhould be received without oppoſition as king; and that the eſtabliſhed government would inſtantly vaniſh without making the leaſt effort for its own ſupport. Out of the great number of men that were to be led by his adherents to his ſtandard, they propoſed to ſelect twenty-five thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. Theſe they promiſed to clothe, to arm, and to provide with proviſions till they ſhould march into England. But, upon that event they inſinuated, that a monthly ſubſidy ought to be paid by France, ſhould the war be prolonged for any time, by the reſiſtance of the Engliſh nation to the perſon whom the memorialiſts called their lawful King. They ſolemnly aſſured the moſt Chriſtian King, that the whole kingdom, from an averſion to the Union, were unanimous in their wiſhes for the reſtoration of the exiled family; and that, as they threw themſelves under his Majeſty's protection, they were confident he would effectually ſupport their cauſe. They, however, left the time, the manner, and the ſtrength to be ſent, entirely to himſelf. The whole ſtrain of the memorial was ſpiritleſs though vehement. It expreſſed an enthuſiaſm for an immediate inſurrection, which Lewis, had he been more attentive to his own intereſt, might have greatly improved to his advantage [c].

Conduct of the court of St. Germains.

TOGETHER with this memorial, Hooke was charged with letters from the leaders of the malecontents to the Pretender and the French miniſtry. Having arrived in France, in the month of

[c] Hooke's Negociations.

July,

CHAP. VII. 1707.

July, he laid the ſubſtance of his negociations before the court of Verſailles. The Earl of Middleton, who managed the affairs of the Pretender, attempted to add the weight of argument to the offers and ſolicitations of the Scots. He endeavoured to eſtabliſh the probability of the ſucceſs of an inſurrection in Scotland, by the recent and ſtill-exiſting reſiſtance of the Hungarians againſt the forces and efforts of the court of Vienna. He mentioned, as an example of the ſame kind, the inſurrection in the Cevennes, where a few peaſants, without any ſuccours from abroad, maintained themſelves ſo long againſt regular troops, commanded by Mareſchals of France. He averred, that nothing was ſo well calculated to terminate a war, as to carry it into the enemy's country. The King of Sweden, he ſaid, after a ſeries of victories, for five years, in Poland, found new enemies riſing, as it were, from the blood of the ſlain, till, by making a ſudden irruption into Saxony, he put, at once, an end to the war and the reign of King Auguſtus. He affirmed, that the enemies of France were convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe maxims; as appeared from their efforts in Spain, their attempts upon the Moſelle, their project of a deſcent on the coaſt of the ocean, and the preſent invaſion of the Duke of Savoy along the ſhore of the Mediterranean [d].

Secret views of the Earl of Godolphin.

THE repreſentations of Hooke, the arguments of Middleton, and the repeated and vehement ſolicitations of the Scots themſelves, were loſt on the court of Verſailles. Happily for Great Britain, the meaſures of the French miniſtry were too much diſconcerted with an invaſion of their own country, to think of carrying the war into that of the enemy. The ſullen ſilence which aroſe in Scotland, from the anxious expectations of the diſcontented, was, in the mean time, miſtaken by the ſuperficial for an acquieſcence in the Union between the kingdoms. The

[d] Middleton to M. de Chamillart. MS.

affairs

affairs of England, in like manner, wore the face of tranquillity. The attention of the people being turned to the operations of the war, the bickerings between parties were either forgot or neglected. But to thoſe, who from judicious obſervations on the paſt, could penetrate into the future, a ſtorm ſeemed to be gathering behind the tranſient ſun-ſhine, which, to uſe a metaphor, enlightened at preſent the kingdom. The lord-treaſurer thinking, perhaps, that he had gone too far, in oppoſition to his principles, in accompliſhing the Union, ſeemed, from his conduct, little anxious about its continuance. Every meaſure calculated to exaſperate the Scots againſt that treaty was adopted. Though the revenue of Scotland had fallen under the management of the treaſury in England, on the firſt of May, no care had been taken to iſſue commiſſions for new officers.

CHAP. VII. 1707.

THE whole trade of the kingdom was ſuſpended for two months, through this negligence; while, in conſequence of an act lately paſſed, ſeizures were made of foreign goods imported from Scotland, under a pretence that they had been ſent to that country to avoid the payment of duties from which all imports from thence had been exempted by the treaty of Union [e]. Theſe meaſures, calculated to irritate the Scotiſh nation againſt the Engliſh, were accompanied with an internal relaxation of government, which raiſed a ſuſpicion, that the miniſter, if not the Court, was in the intereſt of the exiled family. The correſpondence maintained between France and Scotland was no ſecret. But it paſſed without animadverſion; and no notice was taken of public rejoicings celebrated at Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland on the birth-day of the Pretender. The Scots conſidering all government in a manner diſſolved, by what they called the illegality of the Union, were at no pains to conceal their ſentiments; yet ſuch

Suſpected of a deſign to break the Union.

[e] Burnet, vol. iv.

CHAP. VII. 1707.

was the ſupineneſs of the miniſter, that he ſeemed to court an inſurrection and even an invaſion[f].

Marlborough's ſecret intrigues.

DURING this ſuſpicious conduct of Godolphin, he and the Duke of Marlborough continued to make their uſual aſſurances of fidelity and attachment to the court of St. Germains[g]. The Duke, in particular, ſeemed to inſinuate to their agents, that one cauſe of rejecting the propoſals of peace offered by France, was their not comprehending any ſtipulations in favour of the exiled family[h]. The conduct of Marlborough with regard to that unfortunate race is unaccountable, except on the footing of principle. Neglected by the French and without reſources themſelves, they were ſcarce worthy of being deceived, ſhould they even have the weakneſs to place any confidence in promiſes ſo often and ſo ineffectually made. Had their conviction of Marlborough's ſincerity been equal to the opinion which the world had formed of his power, they might, at leaſt, ſuppoſe, that their own miſfortunes were drawing to an end. The Queen was in the poſſeſſion of his Dutcheſs. The affairs of the nation were either in the hands of his friends or in his own. The lord-treaſurer, who guided the whole line of internal buſineſs, was inſeparably connected with the fortune of his family. The Earl of Sunderland, his ſon-in-law, as ſecretary of ſtate, was poſſeſſed of the ſecrets of the kingdom; and either the ſplendour of his own actions, or the art of his conduct, had rendered parliament, in a manner, ſubſervient to his views.

Intrigues in the cabinet.

NOTWITHSTANDING this appearance of firmneſs in the fabric reared by Marlborough, it was ſecretly undermined in a manner that threatened its fall. The Whigs, either ſuſpecting the principles of Godolphin, or what is more probable, from views upon

[f] Stuart-papers.
[g] Stuart-papers, 1707.
[h] Stuart-papers, April 1707.

his

his office and influence, were preparing to attack his meaſures in parliament[i]. They were no ſtrangers to his political cowardice; and they were determined to derive ſome advantage to themſelves from his weakneſs. But when preparations were making againſt him without, he was privately attacked within the cabinet. A new female favourite had, in a great meaſure, ſupplanted the Dutcheſs of Marlborough in the affections of the Queen, or rather in the dominion which ſhe had eſtabliſhed over the mind of that timid and eaſy Princeſs. Mr. Harley, who had been ſecretary of ſtate for ſome years, had gained a conſiderable degree of credit with the Queen. To ſtrengthen his own intereſt he ſecured the confidence and aſſiſtance of the new favourite. The great weight, and the almoſt irreſiſtible power which Marlborough and the connexions of his family had eſtabliſhed, could not have failed to raiſe, in ſome degree, the jealouſy of the Queen, who was actually a mere cypher in their hands. She, therefore, liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of Harley; who, preſuming on the manifeſt change in the mind of the ſovereign, began to act no longer in dependence on the miniſter[k].

Oppoſition formed.

WHILE Harley employed his intrigues in the cloſet againſt Marlborough and Godolphin, a formidable oppoſition to their meaſures was preparing againſt the meeting of parliament. As long as the people were amuſed with ſplendid victories abroad, they complained not of the burden of the war at home. But when the progreſs of conqueſt was ſtopt, by the misfortune at Almanza and the raiſing of the ſiege of Toulon, a general inclination for peace appeared in the nation. The Whigs, offended in the perſon of one of their leaders, encouraged this pacific diſpoſition among the people. The Lord Wharton, forgetting the animoſity between the Whigs and the Tories in his own reſentment againſt the miniſtry, had paid a viſit to the Earl of Notting-

[i] Duke of Hamilton to the Pretender. May, 1707.

[k] Burnet, vol. iv.

CHAP. VII. 1707.

ham, with propoſitions to join the high-church party to humble Marlborough and Godolphin. The latter noblemen, from views of their own, were highly averſe to pacific meaſures. But the current ran violently againſt the war, till Marlborough returned to the kingdom. The chief reaſon oppoſed by the Duke to a peace, was that France, preſuming on her ſucceſs at Almanza, had receded from the terms which ſhe had offered the preceding year. He pretended, that Lewis the Fourteenth had then promiſed to reſtore Spain and the Indies. The recovery of the whole Spaniſh monarchy out of the hands of the houſe of Bourbon, he knew, had been the chief object of the Engliſh nation in their warm proſecution of the war, from the hopes that they had conceived of the great mercantile advantages reſulting from a treaty already concluded with the houſe of Auſtria. The Duke inſinuated, that to obtain that great object, there was a neceſſity for continuing the war; and this argument, though founded on a miſrepreſentation of the fact, had great weight with the trading part of the nation[1].

First parliament of Great Britain.

DURING theſe intrigues, on both ſides, the firſt parliament of Great Britain met at Weſtminſter. The Queen coming to the houſe of peers, on the twenty-third of October, directed the commons to chuſe a ſpeaker. Many conſidered this ceremony unneceſſary, as the parliament had not been diſſolved, but dropt and afterwards renewed by proclamation, in terms of an act for that purpoſe. All diſputes concerning the legality of the election of a ſpeaker were prevented by Smith's being again placed in the chair. On the ſixth of November, the Queen, as uſual, made a ſpeech from the throne. To a brief detail of the ſtate of affairs abroad, ſhe annexed the cuſtomary demand of ſupplies, and concluded with exhortations to affection toward her own perſon and government, and unanimity among themſelves. The commons having

[1] Stuart-papers. Hooke's Negociations, 1708.

approved

CHAP. VII. 1707.

approved of the Queen's ſpeech, voted an addreſs of thanks, on the tenth of November. The houſe of peers, however, were not equally complaiſant. The diſcontents of ſome diſappointed lords, joined ſeveral votes to the ſtanding party againſt Marlborough and Godolphin. When an addreſs to the throne was moved, a motion for conſidering firſt the ſtate of the nation was carried. A zeal for the redreſs of public evils aroſe, in proportion to the height of private reſentment. Whigs and Tories were promiſcuouſly in oppoſition. The leaders of the firſt had been too much neglected in the diſtribution of places. The latter had neither forgot nor forgiven the means that had been uſed to deprive them of power[m].

Great oppoſition in the houſe of lords.

THOUGH many followed the bent of their own paſſions in the oppoſition with which the ſeſſion was opened in the houſe of lords, it muſt be confeſſed that there was matter of juſt complaint. The Duke of Marlborough, with all his abilities and ſucceſs in the field, ſuffered acts of meanneſs, ſelfiſhneſs, and avarice to ſtain the fame, which he had acquired in the world. The Earl of Godolphin, though a man of abilities, carried the indolence, ill-temper, and peeviſhneſs of his private character into his public conduct. The reputation which both had acquired, with a degree of juſtice, in their reſpective departments, had a viſible effect on their own minds. The ſelf-ſufficiency which is ſeldom ſeparated from ſucceſs, had rendered them negligent of men who poſſeſſed abilities to ſupport their meaſures in parliament. Inſtead of permitting the places and emoluments of government to run in the channel of parliamentary intereſt, they gratified their own friends and dependents, and thus by excluding the ambitious from office, they furniſhed them with leiſure as well as with reſentment to oppoſe their own meaſures.

[m] MS. of the Times.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1707.

Inquiry into miſmanagements in the admiralty.

THE lords reſolving themſelves into a committee of their whole houſe, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, a petition was preſented, in the name of more than two hundred merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes at ſea, for want of cruizers and convoys. In the proſecution of the inquiry great abuſes were diſcovered in the department of the admiralty, which was managed by a council, in the name of the Prince of Denmark, who bore the name but not the power of lord admiral. The committee having made a very unfavourable report to the houſe, it was tranſmitted to the Prince of Denmark. An anſwer was returned in his name, which attempted to juſtify the ſeveral charges contained in the report. But the moſt remarkable part of the paper was its concluſion, which contained very ſevere ſtrictures on the management of ſea affairs in the late reign. In the war carried on by King William it appeared, that four thouſand merchant-men had been taken by the enemy; which at a medium fell little ſhort of five hundred ſhips every year. The truth is, that during the two reigns which immediately ſucceeded the Revolution, naval affairs were much neglected. Great fleets were equipped to ſecond the operations by land, while the trade of the nation was left a prey to flying ſquadrons and privateers [n].

Affairs in Spain examined.

THOUGH the Prince of Denmark was neither blamed in the debates nor mentioned in the report of the committee, the Queen was highly offended. She, however, made a general anſwer to the addreſs of the lords, and promiſed to protect the trade of her ſubjects. The inquiry into the ſtate of naval affairs, was ſucceeded by an examination into the military operations in Spain; where the firſt ſucceſs of the Engliſh nation had terminated in loſs and diſgrace. The Earl of Peterborough, who had performed ſignal ſervices in that kingdom, had been recalled in the preceding

[n] Journals of the lords.

CHAP. VII.

1707

Auguſt. The Tories, in oppoſition to the Earl of Galway, magnified the merit of Peterborough; while the Whigs made ſevere remarks on his conduct. A written complaint againſt Peterborough, had been tranſmitted by King Charles to England. The paper was laid before the two houſes. But Peterborough, in his own juſtification, produced ſuch a number of witneſſes and papers, that the parliament, after ſpending two weeks on the ſubject, were ſo much tired of Spaniſh affairs and the Earl, that they dropt both, without any animadverſion [n].

Proceedings on Scotiſh affairs.

THE commons, leſs cenſorious and refractory than the lords, granted, without heſitation, the demanded ſupplies [o]. They turned, at the ſame time, their attention to matters of more importance, than inquiries which were ſcarce intended, even by thoſe who promoted them, to procure redreſs. To abate the reſentment of the Scots againſt the Union, they addreſſed the Queen [p], to iſſue a *noli proſequi*, to diſcharge the ſeveral informations with regard to goods imported, cuſtom-free, into Scotland, before the firſt of May. They, however, introduced a bill for repealing the famous act of ſecurity, which had ſo much inflamed the Scots and alarmed the Engliſh nation. In conſidering that part of her Majeſty's ſpeech, which required the parliament to make the Union more complete, they came to ſeveral important reſolves. They voted, that there ſhould be but one privy-council in Great Britain. That the militia of Scotland ſhould be placed on the ſame footing with that of England. That the powers of juſtices of the peace ſhould be the ſame throughout the united kingdom. That, for the better and more expeditious adminiſtration of juſtice, the lords of juſticiary ſhould go circuits, twice a year; and that the writs for electing members to ſerve in parliament for Scotland, ſhould be returned in the ſame manner as in

[n] Journals of the lords. [o] 5,933,657 l. [p] Journals of the commons, Nov.

England.

CHAP. VII. 1707.

England [q]. A bill brought in upon theſe reſolutions, paſſed, with little difficulty, the two houſes.

An univerſal zeal for continuing the war.

DURING theſe proceedings, the warmeſt and moſt univerſal zeal for carrying on the war, with the utmoſt vigour, was exhibited by the two houſes. The lords reſolved that no peace could be ſafe or honourable, for her Majeſty or for the allies, ſhould Spain and the Weſt Indies remain in the power of the houſe of Bourbon. The commons, having concurred with the lords in an addreſs containing this reſolution, the two houſes preſented the ſame, in a body, on the twenty-third of December [r]. The Queen, in he anſwer, aſſured her parliament that ſhe was fully of opinion, that no peace could either be ſafe or honourable, till the entire monarchy of Spain ſhould be reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria. She, at the ſame time, promiſed, in compliance with the other articles of their addreſs, to continue her moſt preſſing inſtances to the Emperor, to haſten further ſuccours for Spain, under the command of the Prince of Savoy. The court of Vienna, however, were not equally ſanguine with their very generous allies, in their own cauſe. The inſtances, if made, were ineffectual. The languor and undeciſive meaſures of Germany continued. England, with the true ſpirit of knight-errantry, ſquandered her blood and exhauſted her treaſures, in proſecuting a war from which, it was not even pretended, ſhe was to derive either territory or power.

Intrigues of Harley.

THOUGH this vehemence for continuing the war with ſuch vigour, was highly ſuitable to the inclinations of the Duke of Marlborough, and conſequently to thoſe of the Earl of Godolphin, they ſtill found themſelves uneaſy in their departments. The intrigues of Harley, in conjunction with Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite, had already diſturbed their counſels in the cabinet. The effects of this ſecret influence had even extended themſelves to the

[q] Dec. 11.

[r] Dec. 23.

two

two houſes of parliament [s]. Harley, who, perhaps, was not entirely ignorant of the attachment of Marlborough and Godolphin to the exiled family, found means to raiſe the jealouſy of the Whigs, while, at the ſame time, he was ſaid to have contrived to foment the bad humour of the Tories againſt the management of public affairs. An accident, however, furniſhed the enemies of Harley with an opportunity of revenge. The Mareſchal de Tallard, ſtill a priſoner in England, wrote frequently to Chamillart, one of the miniſters of Lewis the Fourteenth. But he ſent his letters to the ſecretary's office, where they were peruſed and ſealed. Harley, ignorant himſelf of the French language [t], was obliged to truſt the peruſal of Tallard's letters to one Greg, a clerk in his office. Greg, being an abandoned and profligate fellow, hoped to derive advantage from this circumſtance. He encloſed, in a letter from the Mareſchal, one from himſelf, offering his own ſervices. He promiſed, for a valuable conſideration, to betray his country to the court of France; and, as a ſpecimen of his abilities to diſcharge his engagements, wrote an account of ſome important tranſactions. This letter was intercepted in Flanders, and ſent back to London. Greg was ſeized, tried, and condemned. Though Harley could not poſſibly be ſuppoſed to know any thing of the matter, his reputation, through the art of his opponents, ſuffered conſiderably, with the more credulous and ſuſpicious part of mankind [u].

CHAP. VII.

1707.

1708.

THIS circumſtance might have ſhaken the credit of Harley with the nation. He ſtill retained his influence with the Queen. The principles avowed publickly by the Tories, being moſt agreeable to all ſovereigns, Anne ſeems to have entertained an affection for that party, when even ſhe excluded them from office. Marlborough and Godolphin, as far as they

He is diſmiſſed from office.

[s] Burnet, vol. iv. Dutcheſs of Marlborough's conduct. [t] Stuart-papers, Hannover-papers, MSS. paſſim. [u] Publications of the times.

CHAP. VI. 1708.

were ſwayed by principle, were in the intereſt of the excluded family. But they had employed the Whigs as more active and better acquainted with buſineſs [w] than the Tories. They had always found the latter as unſteady in their conduct, as they were violent in their ſchemes. Harley, though bred a diſſenter, and having all along avowed whiggiſh principles, ſacrificed his opinions to his love of power; and, by flattering the prejudices of the Queen, in favour of the excluded party, hoped to govern the nation through their ſupport and aſſiſtance. But though he was poſſeſſed of courage to undertake the adminiſtration of affairs on theſe terms, the times were not yet ripe for ſo precipitate a change. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin complained of Harley's intrigues to the Queen. But that Princeſs heard them without being moved. They reſolved, therefore, to extort from her fears what they could not derive from her prudence. They threatened both to reſign their places; and the diſmiſſion of Harley from the office of ſecretary of ſtate [x], was preferred by the Queen, as the leaſt evil. Sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general, Henry St. John, ſecretary at war, and Manſel, comptroller of the houſehold, choſe to follow Harley's fortune, and reſigned, at the ſame time, their places [y].

Oppoſition in parliament.

NEITHER Harley nor the aſſociates of his fortune, were likely to ſit down quietly in their preſent ſtate of diſgrace. They had been from the beginning of the ſeſſion, at the bottom of the inquiries made in both houſes, into the conduct of the war; and now they had added reſentment to what formerly was only ambition. On the third of February, the commons had addreſſed the Queen, demanding to be informed, why a greater number of Engliſh forces had not been in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza? The anſwer of the Queen was delayed to the eighteenth; and when it was received, it was deemed un-

[w] MS. anecdotes. [x] Feb. 11, 1708. [y] Feb. 12, 1708.

ſatis-

CHAP. VII. 1708.

ſatisfactory. The lords continuing their inquiries into the ſtate of naval affairs, preſented a long addreſs againſt the miſmanagements in that department. Upon the whole, the complexion of both houſes ſeemed greatly altered with regard to the miniſtry. The weight of government had ſecured, hitherto, a majority, upon the moſt trying queſtions, in the houſe of commons. But the Tories, in conjunction with the diſappointed part of the Whigs, contrived to carry motions in the houſe of lords, highly diſagreeable to thoſe who had the chief management of public affairs [z].

An invaſion threatened from France.

A SUDDEN alarm from abroad, by terrifying at once the ſovereign and the people, ſtrengthened the hands of the miniſtry, and diſappointed the views of the diſcontented. The court of France had almoſt always been averſe to an invaſion of Great Britain, and particularly in the preceding ſummer. They, however, ſuffered themſelves, in appearance, to be reconciled, in the winter, to that meaſure, through the vehement ſolicitations of the Scots, and the preſſing inſtances of the excluded family. A ſquadron of ſmall men of war, conſiſting of five ſhips equipped for action and two fitted for tranſports, together with twenty-one frigates, were prepared at Dunkirk, while ſeveral battalions were ordered to march to that place, from the garriſons of Calais, St. Omers, Bergues, Aire, and Liſle [a]. The preparations were carried on with expedition and ſecreſy; and when they came firſt to be known, it was uncertain where the ſtorm was to fall. Men could ſcarce believe, that an invaſion of Great Britain was ſeriouſly meant by the enemy, without a fleet of capital ſhips; and, therefore, the States of the United Provinces began to be extremely apprehenſive of a deſcent on the coaſt of Zealand [b].

Preparations in Great Britain.

GENERAL Cadogan, who reſided at the Hague, in quality of ambaſſador from the court of Great Britain, obtained the firſt

[z] Journals. [a] Hooke's negociations. [b] Public intelligence.

CHAP. VII. 1708.

intelligence of the real deſtination of the armament preparing at Dunkirk. The information given by Cadogan, to the miniſtry, was confirmed by the news of the arrival of the pretended Prince of Wales at Dunkirk, in the end of the month of February. Boyle, who had ſucceeded Harley as ſecretary of ſtate, communicated his intelligence, by the command of the Queen, to the houſe of commons, on the fourth of March [c]. The two houſes, as upon all occaſions of danger, joined in the uſual addreſs of lives and fortunes; and the commons, to ſtrengthen the hands of government, introduced a bill for ſuſpending the act of *habeas corpus*. The preparations of the miniſtry kept pace with the zeal of parliament. Sir George Byng, with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips of war, had already ſtretched over to Dunkirk. Ten battalions of Engliſh troops were ordered from Flanders. The forces in England were every where in motion; and the regiments quartered in the ſouth of Ireland were ordered to march towards the north, for the convenience of a ſhort paſſage to Scotland, where the French had formed a deſign to land [d].

French fail from Dunkirk.

THE fleet, under Byng, having been driven back by ſtrong winds, to the Downs, the French ſquadron ſailed from Dunkirk, on the ſixth of March. To deceive the Britiſh admiral, ſhould he return to his ſtation, they had placed an equal number of veſſels in the road. The ſquadron was commanded by M. de Fourbin. The Pretender, under the name of Chevalier de St. George, was on board, with five thouſand one hundred ſoldiers, with ten thouſand muſkets, one thouſand piſtols, and as many carabines. The weather becoming calm, the ſquadron was forced to come to an anchor before Newport. During two days of bad weather, which detained them in that place, three frigates having made ſignals of diſtreſs bore away for Dunkirk, having eight hundred land forces on board. Weakened by this deſertion, the admiral called a

[c] Journals, March 4.

[d] Hiſt. of Europe, 1708.

council

council of war, to conſider whether they ſhould continue their voyage to Scotland. The Chevalier himſelf decided in the affirmative. They accordingly ſailed, in the night of the eighth of March, with a briſk and favourable gale. On the twelfth, they diſcovered the coaſt of Scotland. But either through the ignorance of their pilots, or the deſign of M. de Fourbin, who is ſaid to have had poſitive orders neither to land the troops, nor to hazard the loſs of the ſquadron[e], they found themſelves to the north of the firth of Edinburgh, where they had propoſed to land.

They return.

On the ſame day that the French fleet ſailed from Dunkirk, Sir George Byng, whoſe ſquadron, by the incredible diligence of the admiralty, had been now augmented to forty capital ſhips, beſides frigates, weighed anchor in the Downs, and ſtretched over towards Dunkirk. Being informed of the ſailing of the enemy, by a boat from Oſtend, he crowded after them with all his ſails, and came in ſight of the French with his van, on the morning of the thirteenth of March. M. de Fourbin took advantage of the wind and put to ſea. In the afternoon of the ſame day, ſome of the enemy's ſhips came up with the Auguſte, a French man of war, and a kind of running fight began. The Chevalier de St. George, during this action, entreated Fourbin, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to put him on ſhore; being reſolved, he ſaid, to remain in Scotland, ſhould none follow him but his own domeſtics[f]. Fourbin having long argued in vain againſt the propriety of that meaſure, poſitively refuſed, at laſt, to agree to his requeſt. The French, in the mean time, were diſperſed, in their confuſed flight. The Saliſbury, a veſſel ſome time before taken from the Engliſh, was the only ſhip that fell into the hands of Byng. The reſt having ſuffered much hardſhip at ſea, and loſt many of their men by ſickneſs, returned, ſhip by ſhip, to Dunkirk[g].

[e] Lockhart's Mem. N. S. 1708.

[f] M. d'Andrezel's account to the French miniſtry, April 7,

[g] Hooke's negociations.

THOUGH

CHAP. VII.

1708.

Obſervations

THOUGH the armament for the invaſion of Scotland ſeems rather to have been extorted from Lewis the Fourteenth, by the ſolicitations of the malecontents, than intended for a ſerious diverſion to the Britiſh arms, there is reaſon to believe, that the failure of the ſcheme, before any landing was made, proved of the utmoſt importance to the ſafety of government, as it then ſtood. The ſtate of Scotland was, in every reſpect, favourable to, at leaſt, the temporary ſucceſs of the deſign. The moſt of the nobles, four-fifths of the gentry, and, perhaps, a greater proportion of the common people, were inflamed into a degree of deſpair, at what they deemed the indignity of the terms of Union between the two kingdoms. The injudicious violence with which the new laws for collecting the revenue, were introduced into Scotland, bore the appearance of a deſign in the miniſter to rouſe the inhabitants to ſome deſperate attempt, to break a treaty, which he himſelf had accompliſhed with ſuch appearance of zeal. Swarms of ſurveyors, collectors, and other officers, were ſent from England. Theſe executed the new regulations, with a rigour more ſuitable to the indignities that accompany conqueſt, than to the rights of a free people. The friends of the excluded family fomented, with ſucceſs, the public reſentment againſt the Engliſh government. Many, formerly averſe to the reſtoration of the Stuarts, now deſired it with the utmoſt vehemence, as the only means to avoid a yoke, which they deemed the more grievous and inſupportable, that it was unexpected and new [h].

on the projected invaſion.

THE Engliſh miniſter, with unpardonable negligence, or, perhaps, with deſign [i], had, at the ſame time, left the kingdom in a defenceleſs condition. The caſtles and forts were in a ruinous ſituation, and deſtitute of military ſtores. There were only two thouſand five hundred regular troops in Scotland, and theſe were known to be diſaffected. The money for the equivalent was, at

[h] State of Scotland, MS. [i] Burnet, vol. iv. Stuart-papers.

the

CHAP. VII. 1708.

the ſame time in the caſtle of Edinburgh. That fortreſs was not in a ſtate to defeat the ſlighteſt effort of an enemy [k]. A Dutch fleet had juſt run a-ground, on the coaſt of the county of Angus, with ammunition, cannon, muſkets, and money. The act of ſecurity had placed arms in the hands of the lower ſort of people, of which they had not yet been deprived, by the repeal of that law. The Highlanders, though from the ſituation of their country, and the ſtate of ſociety eſtabliſhed among the clans, they felt not the ſuppoſed grievances of the Union, were, from a national pride, attached to a race of Princes, whom they deemed their countrymen. The officers of government in Scotland, were ſo ſenſible of the untenable condition of that country, that they had already made preparations for taking refuge in the town of Berwick. The immediate ſubmiſſion of the whole kingdom, and a general acknowledgment of his authority would, therefore, have been the infallible conſequence of the Pretender's landing with the appearance of a regular force [l].

Views of the Scotiſh Jacobites.

THE diſcontented Scots had formed a reſolution of invading England, as ſoon as their own country ſhould ſubmit itſelf to the authority of the perſon, whom they called their lawful King. They propoſed, with ſeventeen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe of their own nation, in conjunction with their French auxiliaries, to diſtreſs London, by the immediate ſeizure of Newcaſtle, and by ſtopping the coal-trade. The regular force to the ſouth of the Tweed was incapable of meeting the Scots in the field. In Flanders, there were only eighteen Britiſh regiments, and one third of theſe were their countrymen. The latter, inſtead of oppoſing their projects, would, they hoped, join and forward their views. They knew, that, without the conſent of parliament, the Queen could not call [m] any foreign troops to her aid. Beſides, they derived expectations from negociation as well as from force. The

[k] Hooke's Negociations. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. Stuart papers, paſſim.

diſſolution

CHAP. VII. 1708.

diſſolution of the Union, the repeal of the act of ſettlement, the preſent poſſeſſion of Scotland, the eventual ſucceſſion of England to her brother, they hoped to derive all from the fears, and, perhaps, from the affection of the Queen. Should matters come to extremity, they knew, that Marlborough would, in all likelihood, have the chief command. They hoped, that ſuch a favourable opportunity would induce that nobleman to perform his promiſes and oaths to the excluded family [n]. They built much on the attachment of the Tories, the confuſion of the Whigs, the total breach in public credit, the terrors of the affluent, the expectations of the needy, and the love of novelty in all.

Obſervations.

WILD as theſe expectations of the Scotiſh Jacobites may now appear, they were deemed by no means extravagant in the eyes of men acquainted with the ſtate of the kingdom and the diſpoſition of the times. The project ſeemed ſo practicable to the Duke of Marlborough, that he chided the court of St. Germains, for not having previouſly informed him of their deſign [o]. The Queen and her miniſter, the Earl of Godolphin, were guided by paſſions, that favoured the moſt ſanguine hopes of the adherents of the excluded line. They were both ſubject to political terror, both attached to the eventual ſucceſſion of the Pretender; and there is ſcarce any reaſon to doubt, but they would both agree, with great readineſs, to any propoſals to ſecure the reverſion of the crown of England to the ancient line [p]. Happily for the kingdom, the retreat of the French put an end to the fears of the people, and prevented, perhaps, the horrors of a civil war. Some miſchief, however, was effected in Britain, by this impotent attempt on the part of France. A violent run upon the bank, threatened the ruin of public credit; and though the treaſury and ſome noblemen of wealth tendered their aſſiſtance, the evil only ceaſed with the terrors of the nation.

[n] Stuart-papers, paſſim. [o] Ibid. May, 1708. [p] Reflections, Stuart-papers, MS.

THE

CHAP. VII.

THE two houſes continued ſitting, during the alarm of the invaſion. But nothing important was tranſacted after the money-bills had paſſed, for the ſervice of the approaching campaign. On the thirteenth of April, the parliament was prorogued, and, two days after, diſſolved by proclamation. The meſſengers of government were, in the mean time, employed in taking into cuſtody the lords and gentlemen, in Scotland, who were moſt ſuſpected of having invited the French to invade the kingdom. Though all who were ſeized, were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy againſt government, proofs could be carried home to none. The moſt of the priſoners were, therefore, diſmiſſed upon bail. A prudent lenity was even obſerved toward perſons already legally convicted of treaſon. In the Saliſbury, the only ſhip which had fallen into the hands of the Britiſh fleet, the Lord Griffin, who had followed the late King James to France, was taken, and received ſentence of death on a former outlawry. His great age induced the Queen to reprieve him, from time to time, till a natural death, by preventing the hand of public juſtice, put an end to his misfortunes and his fears.

1708. Parliament diſſolved.

DURING theſe tranſactions in England, preparations were made abroad, for opening, with vigour, the campaign. The Duke of Marlborough, having left London on the twenty-ninth of March, arrived the next evening at the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene of Savoy. Theſe two generals, having ſettled with the States the operations of the ſummer, repaired, by different roads, to Hannover, to reconcile the Elector to the regulations which they had ſettled, without his communication, with regard to the army which his Highneſs commanded, in the cloſe of the preceding year, on the Upper-Rhine. The Duke of Marlborough, having placed himſelf at the head of the confederates, in the neighbourhood of Ghent, in the end of May, the French took the field on that ſide, with an army ſuperior to the allies, in point

Campaign in Flanders.

CHAP. VII. 1708.

of number. They were commanded, in the name of the Duke of Burgundy, by the Duke de Vendôme. Though they were poſſeſſed of ſtrength ſufficient to cope with the enemy in the field, they choſe rather to rely on ſtratagem and ſurpriſe, than on the more uncertain ſucceſs of open force. The Elector of Bavaria, during his long government in Flanders, had gained an influence among the Flemings, which he retained, after the greateſt part of the country had been loſt to the allies, in the fatal battle of Ramillies. He either obtained, by his intrigues, or purchaſed with the money of France, an abſolute promiſe from the magiſtrates of the cities of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges, to open their gates to the troops of the houſe of Bourbon. The extortions of the allies, of which neither Marlborough nor his friend Cadogan had been unconcerned ſpectators [q], contributed to this projected revolt, as much as the intrigues of the Elector of Bavaria.

Battle of Oudenarde.

THE two armies having remained in their reſpective camps, the whole month of June, a body of French troops were received, into the city of Ghent, under the appearance of a ſurpriſe, on the fifth of July. Bruges ſurrendered itſelf, the next day, in like manner, to another detachment of the ſame army. The Duke of Marlborough, accuſed, perhaps very unjuſtly, of being privy to the treachery, from intereſted views, was incapable of preventing its effects. Though much inferior in force to the enemy, he offered them battle; which they avoided, by paſſing the Dender in the night [r]. The opportunity, which the French generals now denied to the enemy, was ſoon offered by their own diſputes. Returning from the Dender, they directed their march to the Scheld. But the Duke of Marlborough, who had been joined by Prince Eugene, had already paſſed that river, and lay between the French and their lines. The enemy could no longer

[q] Mem. of the Generality of Ghent, MS.

[r] July 6.

decline

decline a battle. The Scheld, with ſeveral incloſures, covered their left. A moraſs ran along their front; and, on a riſing ground on their right, they placed their cavalry, interlined with bodies of foot [r].

THE infantry of the allies advancing acroſs the moraſs, were received with great reſolution and ſpirit by the enemy. But the Britiſh cavalry broke thoſe of the French at the firſt ſhock; while the foot intermixed with the ſquadrons were cut to pieces on the plain. The infantry behind the moraſs ſtood their ground for ſome time, againſt all the efforts of the allies. To avoid, however, being flanked by the Britiſh horſe, who were now victorious, they ſheltered themſelves in the incloſures on the banks of the Scheld. The battle, however, was by no means deciſive. But the fears and bad conduct of the French, yielded to the allies all the conſequences of a complete victory. No baggage, no cannon were loſt. It was the repulſe of a party, rather than a general rout. The allies expected nothing but the renewal of battle upon better terms the next morning. But the French retreated through five different routes in the night. The general confuſion and panic which prevailed in this diſgraceful and diſorderly retreat, by breaking the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, diſconcerted all the meaſures of the French generals for the reſt of the campaign [s].

French partially defeated.

DISCOMFITED in their own minds, the French, inſtead of retrieving the honour which they had loſt, plunged themſelves deeper in diſgrace and misfortune. They retired from Ghent under Tournay and under Ypres. They permitted Prince Eugene, whoſe reinforcement of Germans from the Moſelle was now arrived, to form the ſiege of Liſle. That city, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was conſidered as the key to France itſelf, on that ſide. The Mareſchal de Boufflers defended in perſon,

Their retreat and the ſiege of Liſle.

[r] Mem. du Marq. de Feuquiere.

[s] French writers, paſſim.

CHAP. VII. 1708.

with a numerous garriſon, the capital of his own government. The particulars of ſieges are not intereſting at any conſiderable diſtance of time. The Duke of Vendôme attempted, in vain, to relieve the place, by endeavouring to cut off the convoys of the enemy from beyond the Scheld and from Oſtend. In attacking a party of Engliſh at Winnendal, a French detachment was defeated with the loſs of their cannon and all their implements of war. In attempting to attack the enemy before Liſle, though joined by the Duke of Berwick with a great reinforcement, Vendôme was twice diſappointed, after a fruitleſs cannonade. The city, in the mean time, was gallantly defended by the Mareſchal de Boufflers. After a ſiege of three months, it was, however, forced to ſurrender[t]. Boufflers retired, with the remains of the garriſon, into the citadel, which he held till the eighth of December.

Obſervations.

No fortified place was ever more vigorouſly attacked, none more gallantly defended than the important town of Liſle. The beſiegers carried no part of the works without a regular and obſtinate battle; and they were ſcarce maſters of one place, when they were driven from another, and put in danger of being forced to yield the advantages, which they had gained with ſo much valour and blood. But the difficulties of the allies were not ended with the conqueſt of Liſle. They had loſt between eighteen and twenty thouſand men before the place, which had rendered their army much inferior to the French. They were, at the ſame time, under the neceſſity of repaſſing the Scheld, or to diſtribute the troops in winter-quarters in the ſmall ſpace of country comprehended between Liſle, Menin, and Courtray. To paſs a river whoſe banks were occupied by an enemy ſuperior in number was dangerous as well as difficult. To remain in the neighbourhood of Liſle for the winter, would have been to abandon the reſt of

[t] Oct. 23.

Flanders,

Flanders, the province of Brabant, Guelderland, and a part of the territories of the States, to the mercy of the French. The Duke of Marlborough, who always treated fortune as if ſhe had made an agreement to favour all his deſigns, attempted, at once, the paſſage of the Scheld; and he ſucceeded without drawing a ſword [a].

Siege of Bruſſels raiſed. Ghent and Bruges recovered.

THE raiſing of the ſiege of Bruſſels was the firſt conſequence of Marlborough's paſſing the Scheld. The Elector of Bavaria had ſat down before that place the day before the allies had croſſed the river. Had his Highneſs inveſted Bruſſels when the enemy were fully employed at Liſle, the city muſt have fallen into his hands. But upon the approach of the allies he decamped with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him all his cannon, ammunition, and wounded. The cities which the French had recovered through the treachery of the magiſtrates, were again loſt to the enemy. The retaking of Bruges and Plaſſendal followed immediately the paſſage of the Scheld. Ghent ſurrendered after a feeble reſiſtance, about the middle of December. At the cloſe of a campaign, where every motion of the French was marked with ſome loſs or ſome error, the Duke of Vendôme went to Verſailles. He durſt not paſs through Paris, dreading the conſequences of the public hatred which his conduct had raiſed. Irritated by his cold reception at court, he retired to one of his eſtates; being the fifth Mareſchal of France whom Marlborough's ſucceſs had driven from the ſervice.

Corrupt practices of Marlborough

THE glory acquired by the Duke of Marlborough, in recovering the towns which their reſpective magiſtrates had betrayed to France, was much tarniſhed by his own avarice; a vice to which, of all others, he was moſt ſubject. When, in conſequence of the battle of Ramillies, the greateſt part of Flanders was reduced by

[a] Nov. 16.

the

CHAP. VII. 1708.

the allies, the chief management of the conquered country fell into the hands of general Cadogan, who ſucceeded Mr. Stepney as ambaſſador from England to the States of Holland [w]. Cadogan, a man of a profligate and avaricious character, had recommended himſelf to the protection and friendſhip of the Duke of Marlborough, by giving him the largeſt proportion of the contributions, which he had privately raiſed from the magiſtrates of Ghent, under the promiſe of his own and the Duke's protection. Marlborough, who had received, at that period, ſix thouſand piſtoles in ſpecie, was ſo well pleaſed with the magiſtracy, that, at their requeſt, he reverſed, by his own authority, the regulation for the government which had been ſigned by himſelf and the deputies of the States of Holland, on the ſixth of October, 1706. Theſe regulations, it ſeems, interfered with the perquiſites of thoſe who had been ſo liberal to himſelf. Their gratitude and his protection continued. The magiſtrates pillaged the people, and the Duke and Cadogan received their proportion of the ſpoil [x].

and general Cadogan.

THE people, thus oppreſſed by their magiſtrates, formed the worſt opinion of the patrons of perſons ſo unjuſt and profligate. They believed, though probably without foundation, that Marlborough and Cadogan were privy to the meaſure of betraying Ghent and Bruges to the French from intereſted views of their own [y]. The conduct of theſe generals, after retaking the two cities, was calculated to juſtify ſuſpicions of the worſt kind. Though they knew perfectly the treaſon, and were fully informed concerning the traitors; they not only procured for them a general pardon, but continued them, notwithſtanding the murmurs of an oppreſſed people, in their former offices and authority [z]. A favour ſo great was not without an immediate and ſuitable reward.

[w] MS. Memorial to Queen Anne. Original Papers.
[x] Ibid.
[y] Ibid.
[z] Ibid.

Two

CHAP. VII. 1708.

Two hundred thouſand guelders are ſaid to have fallen to the ſhare of Marlborough [a]. Cadogan, the intermediate agent in this lucrative tranſaction, received ten thouſand piſtoles. A magiſtracy ſo generous deſerved to be ſupported. They were, therefore, permitted to remain in their departments during the war, though they were known to be in correſpondence as well as friendſhip with France; and though, according to the cuſtoms and privileges of the country, they ought to have been changed every year [b].

Campaign on the Upper-Rhine, and in Savoy.

In Germany nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The Electors of Bavaria and Hannover, who were oppoſed to one another, on the Upper-Rhine, were rendered incapable of performing any thing, either worthy of themſelves, or of conſequence to their reſpective allies. The campaign was ſpent in fortifying their lines, as neither was in any condition to act with effect in the field. The French army was weakened by detachments ſent to Flanders. The troops of the empire were deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for war [c]. On the ſide of Italy, where much was expected, nothing deciſive was performed. The Duke of Savoy had made great preparations in the winter; but it was late in the ſummer before he took the field. Beſides his native troops, he had twenty-two thouſand men in his army, in the pay of Great Britain and the States. That Prince had formed great and extenſive projects. He deſigned to paſs through the territories of the Swiſs, to join the troops of the empire in Alſace, and to penetrate into France on that ſide. He was oppoſed by the Mareſchal de Villars. But, notwithſtanding the vigilance of that officer, the Duke found means, by making himſelf maſter of Exilles, La Perouſe, and Feneſtrelles, to open a paſſage into France, while he ſecured his own dominions againſt future invaſions from that kingdom [d].

[a] MS. Memorial to Queen Anne. Original Papers. [b] Ibid.
[c] Hannover-papers, 1709. [d] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

In

CHAP. VII.

1708. Affairs of Spain.

In Spain, which had been the principal object of the war, the confederates were leaſt ſucceſsful. The houſe of Bourbon had three armies in the field; two on the ſide of Catalonia, one under the Duke of Orleans, another led by the Duke de Noailles; and the third in Eſtramadura, commanded by the Marquis de Bay. Though Charles the Third had not a force ſufficient to face the Duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was prevented from making any deciſive progreſs by the unprovided condition of his army. He, however, took Tortoſa, on the eleventh of July. Denia and Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia, fell into the hands of the French before the end of the campaign. The Duke de Noailles, oppoſed by the Prince of Darmſtadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with proviſions during the campaign at the expence of the Catalonians. The ſummer paſſed in a ſtate of abſolute inactivity on the ſide of Portugal. The French, though ſuperior in numbers, attempted nothing. But though the generals on neither ſide gained any credit by their conduct in the field, they deſerved praiſe for their wiſdom and humanity. In imitation of the ancient Romans, they entered into a convention, that the labourers on their reſpective frontiers ſhould not be diſturbed, by either ſide, in cultivating the ſoil [e] or in feeding their cattle; and, that the war, for the future, ſhould be conſidered as ſubſiſting only between regular armies, and not between the peaſantry of the two kingdoms [f].

Sardinia and Minorca reduced.

The operations of the fleet were attended with conſiderable ſucceſs in the preſent year. Admiral Leake having carried to Barcelona the Princeſs of Wolfembuttle, whom Charles the Third had eſpouſed, directed his courſe from thence to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. The whole iſland fell into his hands without drawing a ſword. When the Engliſh fleet appeared, the monks, gained by the cardinal Grimani, ran in bodies to the

[e] Hiſt. de Portugal, 1708.

[f] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii.

ſtreets

CHAP. VII. 1708.

ſtreets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands. They aſſured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, that God had made uſe of Heretics to give them a better maſter. They made ſuch an impreſſion on the populace, that the Viceroy, the Marquis of Jamaica, was forced to accept ſuch terms as Leake condeſcended to grant. The fleet commanded by the ſame admiral added to this exploit the important conqueſt the reduction of Minorca. The iſland itſelf was leſs conſiderable in itſelf than Sardinia; but more valuable to the Britiſh nation, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon. The French and Spaniards loſt their courage with their good fortune. The forts which defended Port-Mahon, though provided with every neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, made ſcarce any ſhow of defence. After an irregular ſiege of a few days, ſome Britiſh ſoldiers, without any orders, marched into their lines, and the enemy, ſtruck with conſternation at their ſudden approach, ſurrendered the place upon terms [s].

Affairs of Italy.

WHILE the maritime powers were employed in the reduction of the Italian iſlands under the government of the houſe of Auſtria, the Emperor alarmed the princes and republics of Italy by the renewal of antiquated claims on their dominions. He publiſhed a manifeſto wherein he declared, that he was reſolved to purſue the rights of the Imperial crown, againſt ſuch States as could not exhibit authentic proofs, that their titles to their territories were derived from the unanimous conſent of the empire. In conſequence of his declaration, he ordered the Duke of Parma, to pay homage for his dominions within fifteen days, under the pain of confiſcation. Theſe obſolete and preſcribed claims ſpread a general conſternation. The Republics of Venice and Genoa, the Dukes of Modena, Savoy, and Tuſcany, were all intereſted in the Emperor's demands. The houſe of Bourbon entertained hopes of forming a confederacy in Italy againſt a prince

[s] Hiſt. of Europe, 1708.

CHAP. VII. 1708.

ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable. But their expectations were quaſhed by the reduction of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, a circumſtance that enabled the maritime powers to awe the Italian States with their fleets. But the animadverſion with which Joſeph threatened other powers, he actually put in execution againſt the Pope. That Pontiff, who had hitherto adhered to the intereſts of Philip the Fifth, was forced to promiſe to acknowledge Charles the Third as lawful King of Spain, to prevent Rome itſelf from being a ſecond time ſacked by the Imperialiſts [h].

Death of the Prince of Denmark.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, the nation, in their attention to the events of war, ſeemed to loſe their former animoſities and fears. A general tranquillity prevailed, except where it was diſturbed by conteſted elections for the new parliament. But the joy which the Queen derived from the great ſucceſs of her arms, was damped by the death of her huſband the Prince of Denmark. Having languiſhed for ſome months, he expired on the twenty-eighth of October. The very defects of his character had recommended this Prince to the affection of the people. He had ſcarcely any talent for buſineſs, and he was deſtitute of ambition. Having no paſſion for influence or power, he never entered into the intrigues of parties. The Whigs reſpected him, as he never interfered with their own views. He loved the Tories, as they had been the chief inſtruments in procuring for him an eventual penſion, in caſe he had ſurvived the Queen. Mild and humane in his diſpoſition, he poſſeſſed the moſt of thoſe virtues, which are as common as they are agreeable in private life. But he was ſo unfit for a public ſtation, that his elevation proved to him a misfortune, as it expoſed his weakneſs to the world. He was, upon the whole, what the conſort of a ſovereign of England ought to have been: poſſeſſed of too feeble parts to be troubleſome, and too indolent to interfere in meaſures which he

[h] Hiſt. of Europe, 1708. Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Burnet, vol. iv.

could

could not guide. The Queen, who had exhibited every mark of conjugal affection during his illneſs, ſeemed inconſolable at his death. She removed immediately from Kenſington where he expired, to the palace of St. James's, and ſhut herſelf up for ſeveral months, with all the ſymptoms of an unfeigned grief [i].

New parliament.

THE great ſucceſs of the campaign, confirmed the influence which Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, by the expulſion of Harley, from the cabinet. They found means, at the ſame time, to reconcile the Whigs to their meaſures, by dividing with their leaders the power and emoluments of government. The weight of the crown being thrown into the ſcale of that party, they carried moſt of the conteſted elections againſt the Tories. This ſecured a majority not to be controuled, in the houſe of commons. The new parliament having met on the ſixteenth of November, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion. The ſuperiority which the court, now conſiſting entirely of Whigs, had acquired, precluded oppoſition, as it could not be attended with any ſucceſs. Sir Richard Onſlow, recommended by the adherents of the crown, was unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker. As the prevailing party were bent on continuing the war, ſupplies were granted, not only with liberality, but even without reſerve. Seven millions were voted for the ſervice of the campaign. In concert with the States, who had agreed to an augmentation of their own troops, ten thouſand men were added to the eſtabliſhment of the preceding year [k]. All was harmony in the houſe of commons, if the ſullen ſilence, which frequently proceeds from the political deſpair of the diſcontented, can be conſtrued into unanimity.

[i] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Hiſt. of Europe, 1708. Burnet, vol. iv.

[k] Journals, paſſim.

CHAP. VII.

1708.

Whigs promoted.

ONE cauſe of the adherence of the Whigs to the meaſures of government, in every queſtion, became apparent, ſoon after the meeting of parliament. The Earl of Pembroke, who had ſufficiently concealed his attachment to the late King James [l], to be deemed a firm friend to the Revolution, was raiſed to the office of lord-admiral, now vacant, by the death of the Prince of Denmark. Though his lordſhip had executed the duties of that ſtation, with conſiderable applauſe, in the end of the laſt reign, he owed his elevation, at preſent, more to the places which he had to reſign, than to his own merit. Being, at once, lord-preſident of the council and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his reſignation furniſhed the miniſter with two places of importance to ſecure the Whigs, by gratifying their leaders. The Lord Somers, who had been out of employment ever ſince he had been deprived of the great-ſeal by King William, was raiſed to the head of the council. The Earl of Wharton, a man of profligate abilities, a Whig from faction more than from any principle, was declared in council lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and an addition was made to the liſt of privy-counſellors, to gratify others of the ſame party [m].

Debates on Scottiſh elections.

THESE judicious promotions contributed to continue that unanimity in parliament, which rendered the tranſactions of the ſeſſion, in a great meaſure, unimportant. Some debates, concerning Scotiſh elections, for both houſes, raiſed the attention of many, from the ſtillneſs which prevailed in public affairs. Two ſons of peers, the Lord Haddo and the Lord Johnſton, having been returned to ſerve for two counties in Scotland, a petition againſt their right of being elected, was preſented to the houſe of commons. Proofs were produced, that the eldeſt ſons of the nobility had been uniformly rejected by the Scotiſh parliament, and a vote was paſſed for vacating the ſeats of the two lords [n]. Great debates aroſe

[l] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

[m] Gazettes, Nov. and Dec. 1708.

[n] Dec. 6, 1708.

in

CHAP. VII.

1708.

in the houſe of peers, upon a petition againſt an undue return of the repreſentative of the Scotiſh peerage, in the Britiſh parliament. The Duke of Queenſberry, who, for his ſervices in accompliſhing the Union, had been created a peer of Great Britain, under the title of Duke of Dover, having given his voice in the election of Scotiſh peers, was accuſed of having aſſumed the right of two votes in his own perſon, a circumſtance inconſiſtent with the privilege of peers, who are all deemed equals. Upon a diviſion of the houſe, the matter was determined againſt the Duke of Queenſberry, though he was ſupported by the whole weight of government [o].

1709. Laws of treaſon extended to Scotland.

ANOTHER matter of importance with regard to Scotland, raiſed the attention and employed the debates of the two houſes of parliament. Upon the attempt of an invaſion from France, in the preceding year, ſeverel peers and gentlemen of rank were ſeized, by the procurement of the Scotiſh lords in the miniſtry, and were brought priſoners to London. Though all were ſuſpected of maintaining a correſpondence with the invaders, and many were actually guilty, proofs could be carried home to none. They were, therefore, diſmiſſed. But the diſgrace and expence which they incurred upon bare preſumptions, had induced mankind in general to conclude, that they had been treated with unjuſt ſeverity. This circumſtance, together with a diſpute between the court of juſticiary and the Queen's advocate in Scotland, concerning the trial of ſome Jacobites in that kingdom, induced the lords to introduce a bill for extending the laws of treaſon already eſtabliſhed in England, to the whole kingdom of Great Britain. The trials in matters of treaſon being leſs ſevere in Scotland than in England, the whole repreſentative of the former oppoſed the bill in both houſes. It was, however, paſſed into a law. The commons, to gratify the Scots, in ſome degree, made an amendment, which directed, that all perſons indicted

[o] Burnet, vol. iv.

for

CHAP. VII. 1709.

for high treaſon or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould have, not only a copy of their indictment, but a liſt of all the witneſſes to be produced, and of the jurors impanelled, with their profeſſions and places of abode, delivered to them ten days before the trial, and in the preſence of two witneſſes. This ſalutary clauſe was defeated, for the time, by a proviſo of the lords, that it ſhould not take place till the death of the Pretender [p].

An act of grace.

THE debates concerning the laws of treaſon, contributed to convince the Earl of Godolphin of the convenience of an ample act of grace. He knew that he himſelf, from his correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, was obnoxious, upon a diſcovery, to the law. He was not ignorant that he had many enemies who ſuſpected him of treaſonable practices, and ſome, who were actually poſſeſſed of proofs ſufficient to ruin his reputation, if not to endanger his head. The Marquis of Annandale, it is ſaid, either by accident or art, had poſſeſſed himſelf of an original letter of the lord-treaſurer to the court of St. Germains. In the beginning of the preſent ſeſſion, the Marquis had petitioned againſt the undue election of one of the peers for Scotland; and, by inſinuating that he was privy to Godolphin's ſecret attachment to the excluded family, he obtained the weight of government and gained a ſeat in the houſe of peers. The Earl of Wharton, perceiving the unexpected ſucceſs of Annandale, treated with that nobleman for the uſe of his valuable manuſcript. He obtained the letter and was inſtantly declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. The miſchievous Wharton was at no pains to keep the ſecret. The whole junto derived benefit from the diſcovery. Pembroke, Somers, Dorſet, and their retainers, demanded offices and were gratified. But ſtill Godolphin was in danger, till the act of grace paſſed, in the beginning of the preſent year. The bill ſeemed calculated chiefly for the lord-treaſurer himſelf. Few things were pardoned except

[p] Stat. 7 Ann. c. 21.

all

all correſpondence with the court of St. Germains[o]. Wharton, who hoped to derive ſtill greater advantages from the letter, which he is ſaid to have either purchaſed or obtained from the Marquis of Annandale, was completely outwitted by the Earl of Godolphin. The latter, by aſſuring him that the material buſineſs of the ſeſſion was over, had induced his lordſhip to repair to his government of Ireland. But the firſt intelligence he received at Dublin was, that the miniſter had eſcaped from his hands, under the ſanction of an act of grace[p].

Proceedings of parliament.

THE Duke of Marlborough, to whom the act of grace was as convenient as to the Earl of Godolphin, had arrived in London in the end of February[q]. That nobleman, notwithſtanding the addition made to his reputation by a very ſucceſsful campaign, had many enemies in parliament, who were ready to ſeize any opportunity, either preſented by fortune or offered by his own conduct, to attack his character and to ruin his power. The Tories, in particular, had joined a perſonal quarrel againſt Marlborough, to the uſual violence of men excluded from the poſſeſſion of influence and office. They were furniſhed by the Duke himſelf with a circumſtance ſuitable to their deſires. Cardonnel, Marlborough's ſecretary, in writing to the Queen a detail of the battle of Winnendal, attributed the whole honour of the affair to General Cadogan, the favourite of his maſter, who had not the leaſt ſhare in the action. General Webb, to whoſe activity and courage the victory was principally aſcribed, was not even mentioned in the letter. Cardonnel's account was made public. Webb was enraged. He quitted the army, and returned to London. His own account of the action was printed. The Tories abetted him in the houſe of commons; and a vote of thanks was paſſed, not without many ſevere and perſonal reflections on Marlborough, who was accuſed of uſing unjuſtifiable means to depreciate the merit of a

[o] MS. anecdotes. [p] Ibid. [q] Feb. 25. O. S.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

deſerving officer. Webb himſelf, it muſt be confeſſed, was a great enemy to his own reputation, by appearing too ſenſible of the importance of the ſervice [r].

The two houſes urge the Queen to a ſecond marriage.

THOUGH the conteſt between parties aſcended not to any degree of violence in the preſent ſeſſion, the flame of diſcord, which ſoon after aroſe to an extraordinary height, began already to appear in the debates of both the houſes. In one ſingular addreſs to the throne, an unuſual unanimity appeared. The Queen, as head of the church, had ordered, on the thirteenth of January, that the form of prayer, for iſſue of her body to ſucceed her in the throne, ſhould be diſcontinued after the eighth of the next March, the anniverſary of her acceſſion to the crown. Mr. Watſon, ſon to the Lord Rockingham, moved, in the houſe of commons, on the twenty-fifth of January, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to her Majeſty, to moderate her grief, and to entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage. Though the motion ſeemed to convey a degree of ridicule, it paſſed the commons, without oppoſition, and received the concurrence of the lords. The Queen herſelf, conſidering her conſtitution, and even her years, could ſcarce look upon the addreſs in any ſerious light. Her anſwer, however, was full of propriety. She ſaid, that the proviſion which ſhe had made for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, would always be a proof of her wiſhes for the happineſs of the kingdom. But that the ſubject of their addreſs was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer [s].

Capital of the bank doubled.

THE commons had, with great alacrity and unanimity, voted the ſupplies. But the funds, upon which they could be charged, were not ſo eaſily found. The miniſtry, at length, fell upon an expedient which anſwered their neceſſities. They propoſed to

[r] Kane's Memoirs. [s] Journals.

double

CHAP. VII. 1709.

double the capital of the bank, and to prolong to one and twenty years its time, which was otherwiſe to have expired on the firſt of Auguſt, 1711. The terms obtained by government for theſe advantages, were four hundred thouſand pounds, at ſix per cent. and the circulation of two millions four hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer-bills. Books were accordingly opened for ſubſcriptions. So eager were the people for employing their money on ſuch advantageous terms, that in leſs than four hours the whole ſum was ſubſcribed. Though the rapidity with which the ſubſcription was filled, was rather a proof of the neceſſities of government than of the wealth of the people, the facility with which ſuch a great ſum was raiſed, was calculated to give a high opinion of the flouriſhing ſtate of the kingdom to foreigners. They perceived, with a degree of aſtoniſhment, that after ſuch great exertions, in a war of many years, the nation ſeemed ſo far from being exhauſted, that more than the whole annual revenue of ſtates deemed powerful on the continent, was raiſed in a few hours in this iſland [t]. Theſe were the moſt material tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which was terminated by a prorogation, on the twenty-firſt of April [u].

Propoſals of peace made by France.

DURING meaſures, calculated for the vigorous proſecution of the war, ſerious propoſals for re-eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity were made by the French King. The rout at Oudenarde, the taking of Liſle, a famine in his kingdom, the conſequent deficiency in the revenue, the general diſcontents of the people, and the conteſts between his ſervants, forced Lewis the Fourteenth to offer terms of peace, at once ſuitable to the melancholy ſituation of his own affairs, and proportionable to the ſucceſs of his enemies. The envoy of Holſtein Gottorp, firſt ſounded the States-general on the ſubject. The preſident Rouillè was ſent in the beginning of the year to Antwerp, where

[t] Hiſt. of Europe, 1709. Burnet, vol. iv. [u] Journals.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

he had ſeveral conferences with the deputies Buys and Vander Duſſen. He proceeded ſoon after to the Hague. The States, cautious of making any advances in an affair of ſuch importance, without the participation of the allies, ſent expreſſes to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain. The Prince of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough, who had managed, with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, the war, were fully empowered by their reſpective ſovereigns, to treat with the miniſter of France, and to ſettle the conditions of peace, and they arrived, for that purpoſe, at the Hague, in the beginning of the month of April [w].

Marlborough, Heinſius, and Eugene the arbiters of Europe.

THE Duke of Marlborough and Heinſius, the penſionary of Holland, in the ſtricteſt intimacy with Prince Eugene, formed a kind of triumvirate, on whom the grand confederacy and conſequently the fate of Europe depended. The two generals having gained ſo many battles, and ſucceeded in all their arduous and important undertakings, had acquired as much influence with the allies, as they had excited of terror among their enemies. Heinſius had been the depoſitary of the ſecrets of King William. He had been raiſed by that Prince to the place of firſt miniſter, and had the good fortune to preſerve the authority which he had received, by being the chain which united the States with the grand confederacy formed by his late patron againſt the houſe of Bourbon. All the three ſeemed to have a perſonal intereſt in oppoſing the peace. The Duke of Marlborough, beſides the thirſt of glory, which was probably common to him with other men, had an opportunity, by a continuance of the war, to gratify a paſſion ſtill more predominant in his mind, the love of money. Prince Eugene, being a ſoldier of fortune, had no buſineſs with tranquillity, in which generals are commonly laid aſide to ruſt with their ſwords. Heinſius, beſides the dread of loſing his importance at home, by breaking the line which connected him with foreign

[w] M. de Torcy, tom. i.

powers,

powers, was abſolutely under the dominion of Marlborough, whoſe addreſs in the cabinet was ſtill more irreſiſtible, than his conduct in the field.

The French form hopes on the characters of Marlborough and Heinſius.

THE court of France, with their uſual refinement, hoped to derive advantage towards the neceſſary peace, from thoſe very paſſions and reaſons, which ſeemed to render Marlborough and Heinſius invariably attached to war. They were no ſtrangers to the true ſtate of the firſt. They built much upon the prudence of the latter, and the character of patriotiſm which he had already acquired. They knew that Marlborough, while he poſſeſſed ſuch credit and authority abroad, was ſecretly undermined by his enemies at home. They were told, that a great part of the Britiſh nation were offended at ſeeing the power, influence, and emoluments of government ſo long divided between the Duke, the earl of Godolphin, and their friends. That the mind of the Queen, by the ſecret artifices of a latent faction, was greatly alienated from the intereſt of her generals, and uneaſy at the uncontroled power of her treaſurer. They were aſſured, that the influence of the firſt was already in a tottering condition. They ſuppoſed that his prudence would ſuggeſt to him to provide for the worſt; and, therefore, they derived hopes, from his known love of money, that he would be glad to receive a reward from France, in proportion to his merit in delivering her from the calamities of a war, which threatened her with apparent ruin. The authority of Heinſius was by no means on the ſame precarious footing with that of Marlborough. But the French ſuppoſed that directing chiefly his attention to the intereſt of his country, he would ſeize with ardour the very advantageous conditions which were to be offered by Lewis the Fourteenth, for extinguiſhing a war, the burden of which lay ſo heavy on the republic [x].

[x] M. de Torcy, tom. i.

CHAP. VII.

1709.

But they are deceived.

THE French, however, found themſelves deceived in the hopes which they had formed upon the condition of Marlborough, and the character of Heinſius. Though neither of theſe two great men durſt avowedly ſhew their want of inclination for peace, they were provided with expedients, by breaking off the conferences, to continue the war. The whole buſineſs had been hitherto tranſacted between Buys and Vander Duſſen, the deputies of the States, on the part of the allies, and the preſident Rouillé in the name of the French King. The terms offered by France were to the laſt degree humiliating to that monarchy. But in proportion as the French miniſter augmented his conceſſions, theſe haughty republicans roſe in their demands, in the name of their allies. While affairs were in this unpromiſing condition, the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe opinion of his own ſituation at home, agreed not, perhaps, with the hopes the French had formed on that ſubject, put at once a ſtop to the conferences. He informed the States, that he had orders to prevent all further advances towards a treaty, ſhould France refuſe to extend her offers in favour of the Emperor and Great Britain [y]. Prince Eugene inſiſted, that the entire ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, together with the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of Munſter, ſhould be an indiſpenſable preliminary to the projected treaty [z]. Marlborough, at the ſame time, had the addreſs to render the ſincerity of France ſuſpected, by encouraging a belief, that the ſole buſineſs of Rouillé in Holland was to amuſe and deceive the confederates [a].

Diſtreſs of France.

THE ſtate of France, and the conſequent behaviour of her ſovereign, form together irreſiſtible proofs, that the continuation of hoſtilities proceeded more from the views of Marlborough, than from the inſincerity of Lewis the Fourteenth. The dominions of France were afflicted with various and dreadful calamities. A deſperate famine threatened to extend the waſte already made

[y] M. de Torcy, tom. i. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid.

among

CHAP. VII. 1709.

among the inhabitants by the ſword. An exceſſive hard froſt, that had been ſeverely felt throughout Europe, was ſucceeded in France by a ſudden thaw, that deſtroyed all the grain. The ſpring came on, but the weather continued ſevere. Not the leaſt promiſe of maturity was made by the fruits of the earth. Nothing was ſeen within but miſery, deſolation, and diſtreſs. A powerful enemy hovered on the frontiers, with victorious armies. The complaints of the nation were equal to their misfortunes. Intelligence of the wretched ſtate of the French was carried to their enemies, and the report augmented their confidence. The ways and means for raiſing new funds for proſecuting a diſaſtrous war, had not only declined, but had almoſt vaniſhed. The repeated misfortunes, in preceding campaigns, ſuggeſted nothing but deſpair concerning the future. Every quarter of Europe was filled with the diſgraces and misfortunes of France. The confederates, by making themſelves maſters of Liſle, threatened to penetrate into the heart of the French dominions. A Prince, who had carried his arms, a few years before, to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, was now forced to examine whether he could remain in ſafety at Verſailles. His people heard already, in their imaginations, the victors thundering at the gates of Paris. The troops without pay, without clothes, without proviſions, led by generals who had loſt all authority, by repeated errors, and conſequent misfortunes; and an enemy elated by conqueſt, firſt preſcribing terms, and then rejecting them, when adopted by the vanquiſhed.

Melancholy ſituation of the French court.

NEITHER Lewis nor his ſervants were poſſeſſed of thoſe daring abilities, which ſupply the abſence of force with an indignant pride. When the relation of the laſt conference between Rouillé and the deputies of the States was read in council at Verſailles, the French miniſtry reſigned themſelves to puſillanimity and fear. Inſtead of aſſuming courage from deſpair, they yielded to all the melancholy reflections, which misfortunes ſuggeſt to the timid and weak.

CHAP. VII.

1709.

weak. The campaign was upon the point of being opened on the ſide of Flanders. A diſpirited army, ſcarce provided with the neceſſaries of war, only lay between a powerful and well-conducted enemy and the capital. They broke up without coming to any reſolution [b]. The Marquis de Torcy, ſecretary for foreign affairs, offered to the King his ſervices, as the laſt reſort. Lewis, with an enthuſiaſm ſuitable to deſpair, inſtantly accepted his offer. He ſent him to Holland with powers to put an end, upon the moſt humiliating terms, to a war that even threatened the deſtruction of the French monarchy. That miniſter arriving at the Hague, on the ſixth of May [c], entered into various conferences with the penſionary and the deputies of the States.

Extraordinary terms

NOTHING, however, could be determined till the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough. That general had ſailed to England to fruſtrate ſome ſecret attacks made by his enemies againſt his power [d]. He returned to the Hague, on the ſeventh of May, accompanied by the Viſcount Townſhend, as ambaſſadour extraordinary to the States, and joint-plenipotentiary from Great Britain, for treating concerning the terms of peace. After many fruitleſs conferences, it appeared that the allies were not ſincere in their avowed declarations of wiſhing to put an end to the war. France agreed to yield the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria, without any equivalent. To cede her conqueſts on the empire, upon the Upper Rhine. To give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Liſle, Condè, and Mabeuge for a barrier to Holland. To acknowledge the Elector of Brandenburgh, as King of Pruſſia; the Duke of Hannover, as ninth elector of the empire. To own the title of Queen Anne to the Britiſh throne. To remove the Pretender from the dominions of France. To recogniſe the ſucceſſion of the throne of Great Britain in the Proteſtant line. To reſtore every thing to the Duke of Savoy;

[b] M. de Torcy, tom. i. [c] N. S. [d] M. de Torcy, tom. i.

and

and to agree to the ceſſions made to the King of Portugal, by his treaty with the confederates [e]. CHAP. VII. 1709.

THE obſtinacy of the two generals, and the haughtineſs of the Dutch, who were elevated beyond meaſure, at having the management of a treaty, which reduced the French nation ſo low, prevented the concluſion of a peace, as honourable to the allies, as it was humiliating to the houſe of Bourbon. Though the entire ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, or what was virtually the ſame, the withdrawing all the aid of France from Philip the Fifth, was the whole object of the war, they broke off the conferences, by demanding terms nugatory in themſelves, as they could not be executed by the French King. The utmoſt that he could promiſe, was to leave the King of Spain to the protection of ſuch as ſhould adhere to that prince of his own ſubjects. But he was not permitted to form the moſt diſtant hopes of peace, without ſurrendering the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spaniſh dominions by his grandſon. The Marquis de Torcy, who knew the deplorable ſtate of France, went beyond his powers, in hopes of procuring peace [f]. In proportion to his conceſſions, the confederates roſe in their demands. rejected by the allies.

CONFERENCE followed conference in vain. The penſionary Heinſius framed, at length, forty preliminary articles, as the ultimatum of the allies. Though every one of theſe articles contained the dictatorial language uſed by conquerors to the vanquiſhed, the plenipotentiaries of France yielded to thirty-five. The other five were referred to the deciſion of Lewis the Fourteenth. The Marquis de Torcy repaired for that purpoſe to Paris. But notwithſtanding the conſternation of the French King and his council, they had the ſpirit to reject terms of peace, ſcarce leſs ruinous Preliminaries of the allies rejected by France.

[e] Printed preliminaries.

[f] M. de Torcy, tom. i.

and

CHAP. VII. 1709.

and diſgraceful, than the evils apprehended from a continuance of hoſtilities [g]. The court of France, however, derived ſome advantage from the conferences at the Hague. They found means to remove the deſpair of the people, by raiſing their indignation. They made public the whole negociation. They explained their own enormous conceſſions, and the haughty terms preſcribed, rather than propoſed, by the confederates. The King himſelf wrote to all the governors of the provinces a moving relation of the tranſactions. The pride of the French being rouſed, by what they deemed an affront, they prepared themſelves for new efforts in the war [h].

Marlborough favours the Pretender.

IN the courſe of the negociations at the Hague, the Marquis de Torcy, inſtructed by the court of St. Germains, mentioned the concerns of the Pretender to the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke, with a want of caution, inconſiſtent with his uſual prudence, expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of ſerving effectually "the ſon of a King, for whom," he ſaid, "he would have ſpilt the laſt drop of his blood." He told M. de Torcy, at the ſame time, that he believed it was the intereſt of the Prince of Wales, for ſo he called the Pretender, to remove entirely from France. That he ought to fix his reſidence where he pleaſed, enjoy perfect ſecurity, and to be the maſter of his own motions and journies to whatever country he pleaſed. The article of ſubſiſtence was a matter of greater difficulty. The payment of her dowry to his mother was propoſed by the Marquis de Torcy, as the beſt expedient. Marlborough deſired him to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on that article, to the Viſcount Townſhend. "That lord," ſaid Marlborough, "is a kind of inſpector over my conduct. He is an honeſt man; but of the whig-party. I muſt ſpeak like an obſtinate Engliſhman, in his preſence. I wiſh, however, I could be of ſervice to the Prince of Wales. I hope your ſolicitations will furniſh me with the opportunity

[g] M. de Torcy, tom. i.

[h] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

which I ſo much deſire [i]." The reſult of the whole was, that Marlborough and Townſhend inſinuated, that if the Britiſh parliament and the nation ſhould inſiſt upon the removal of the Pretender from France, they ought to be at the expence of ſupporting him, with a degree of dignity and affluence [k].

Secret intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin.

THE intercourſe between Marlborough, Godolphin, and the court of St. Germains, continued, in ſome degree, to be carried on by the agents of the latter in England. The more important part of the correſpondence, however, lay between the Duke of Marlborough and his nephew the Duke of Berwick [l]. He made no ſecret to his nephew of his abſolute and fixed reſolution of reſtoring the excluded family to the Britiſh throne. His own victories having rendered France incapable, even had ſhe been willing, to aid the cauſe of the Pretender, he had long ſignified his deſire, that the unfortunate Prince ſhould remove from the French dominions. The Duke himſelf and the Earl of Godolphin, who was ſtill more ſincere in his attachment to the exiled branch of the Stuarts, perceived that the greateſt obſtacle to the accompliſhment of their views, proceeded from the unſurmountable averſion the people entertained againſt the having a King impoſed upon them by France. The lord-treaſurer, in particular, affirmed, that his own inexplicable conduct, in turning the Tories out of office, was to facilitate the aſſuring the ſucceſſion to the Pretender, whom he dignified with the name of King. He knew the Tories, he ſaid, to be paſſionate, unſteady, and unfit for buſineſs. He, therefore, reſolved to bend gradually the Whigs to his purpoſe, men who regarded leſs the perſon of the ſucceſſor, than the certainty of poſſeſſing, in his name, the power of the crown. He hoped, he ſaid, by management to extricate the Pretender from the hands of France; and,

[i] Ibid. [k] M. de Torcy. Stuart-papers. [l] M. de Torcy.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

by gradually reconciling the people to his character and perſon, to enſure his ſucceſſion to his ſiſter's throne [m].

Views of the Pretender.

THE Pretender himſelf ſeemed to have been ſenſible, that his remaining in France was, by no means, favourable to his expectations and deſigns. When he returned from his expedition to the coaſt of Scotland, he attended the Duke of Burgundy in Flanders, and ſerved under that Prince in the preceding campaign. During that period, he ſent repeatedly to Scotland, to announce his fixed reſolution of paſſing in a hired veſſel, into that kingdom, and to place himſelf in the hands of his friends. If he could not eſtabliſh himſelf in the ſouth, he intended to retire to the faſtneſſes and inacceſſible vallies of the north, under the protection of the Highland clans. The nobility in Scotland, who were in his intereſt, diſcouraged a project, which, they deemed, would inevitably throw himſelf into the hands of his enemies, and totally ruin his friends. Beſides, though France was in no condition to ſupport his pretenſions, ſhe would not probably diſmiſs his perſon. Should he retire clandeſtinely from that kingdom, Lewis the Fourteenth would moſt certainly ſtop the payment of the pittance, which was the ſole ſupport of his mother and himſelf. Though his enemies derived moſt advantage from the counſels of France, he was impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of gratitude, for the protection given to his family [n]. He would not, therefore, enter into any project without the conſent of that kingdom. Thoſe who promiſed to ſerve him in Britain, could not, they affirmed, effectually eſpouſe his intereſt, while he remained in the power of a court, abhorred by that nation over whom he wiſhed to reign [o].

the Pretender.

HAVING during the winter, preſſed the French King to undertake a ſecond expedition to Scotland, he received, in the month of March of the preſent year, an explicit, and, probably, a ſincere

[m] Stuart-papers, 1710. [n] Pretender's original letters, MS. [o] Stuart-papers, paſſim.

anſwer

CHAP. VII.

1709.

anſwer from that Prince. Lewis told him, that though he had all the inclination in the world to ſerve the excluded family, and ultimately his own intereſt, by forming a diverſion for the arms of the moſt powerful of his enemies, the thing was abſolutely impracticable in the preſent diſtreſſed condition of his affairs. The pretended Prince laid aſide, for the time, all hopes of tranſporting himſelf into Britain. He acquainted his adherents in Scotland, that they had nothing to expect from the court of Verſailles. His ſervants, in the mean time, endeavoured to comprehend ſome part of their own intereſt in the negociations then carried on at the Hague. They propoſed, that the Pretender, as a mark of his gratitude to the French King, ſhould retire to any country the confederates might chooſe, except the Pope's dominions or the Swiſs cantons. They earneſtly inſiſted upon a general indemnity to the adherents of the excluded family. They mentioned, on various foundations, the dowry ſtill owing to Queen Mary d'Eſtè, the Pretender's mother. To all theſe demands they received favourable anſwers, could the polite carriage and promiſes of Marlborough be deemed ſincere. But, though Marlborough ſeems to have adviſed the removal of the Pretender from the dominions of France, as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his hopes of the Britiſh throne, that Prince diſliked his propoſal, that Great Britain ſhould, in ſuch a caſe, charge herſelf with his maintenance. He deemed it, to uſe the words of his miniſter, the Earl of Middleton, a deſign to make the world believe, that he renounced his pretenſions for a penſion [p].

Campaign of 1709.

THE breaking up of the conferences for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, was immediately followed by vigorous preparations for carrying on the war. The Duke of Marlborough left the Hague, on the ninth of June, to place himſelf at the head of the confederate army in Flanders. The Prince of Savoy had abſolutely re-

[p] Stuart-papers, 1709.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

fuſed to go to Spain. Nothing to be done in Italy ſeemed worthy of his preſence. The army on the Rhine had been formed with difficulty, and its motions were ſlow. He, therefore, reſolved to remain in Flanders, and to ſecond the Duke of Marlborough, in thoſe great deſigns, which had probably fruſtrated the concluſion of an honourable and highly advantageous peace. The army was in a condition ſuitable to the magnitude of the concerted enterpriſes. The troops, that had gained ſo much glory and ſuffered ſo great loſſes, in the preceding campaign, had been early recruited. The freſh reinforcements, conſiſting of ſome Britiſh regiments, and eight thouſand Saxons, which the Duke of Marlborough had negociated with King Auguſtus, had augmented the army of the allies in Flanders, to one hundred and ten thouſand combatants [p]. The wretched ſtate, into which a ſevere winter had reduced France, had facilitated the recruiting of her forces. Thoſe who could procure no bread at home, were forced, for mere ſuſtenance, to inliſt themſelves as ſoldiers. The army oppoſed to the allies in Flanders, was commanded by the Mareſchal de Villars. Though inferior in number to the enemy, the troops derived a kind of ſpirit, from their very deſpair [q].

The allies unable to force the enemy to a battle,

In the end of June, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough formed their army, on the plains of Liſle. The number of their troops, their confidence in their own conduct, the conſternation of the French, and their promiſes to the allies to diſperſe the army of the enemy, and to penetrate into the heart of France, rendered thoſe able generals extremely anxious to bring matters, by a battle, to a deciſion. The Mareſchal de Villars had occupied a ſtrong poſt, between Couriere and the town of Bethune, theſe two places covering both his wings. He was defended in front, by the villages of la Baſſée and Pont-Avendin. He covered, by this poſition of his army, the cities of Doway and

[p] Life of Marlborough, vol. ii. Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. iii. [q] Hiſt. de France, tom. iii.

Arras,

CHAP. VII.

1709.

Arras, the taking of which would have opened a wide paſſage to the allies into the heart of France. The generals of the confederates having advanced within two leagues of the enemy, rode out on the twenty-fourth of June to view their ſituation. Finding it too ſtrong to venture a battle, they decamped in the night, and ſat ſuddenly down before Tournay[r]. Villars, afraid of being attacked in his camp, had injudiciouſly weakened the garriſon of Tournay to five thouſand men; and it was the intelligence received by the allies concerning this circumſtance, that induced their generals to form the ſiege of that important place[s].

take the town and citadel of Tournay.

TOURNAY was one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ancient cities of Flanders. It had been from time immemorial ſubject to France, till it fell into the hands of Henry the Eighth, King of England, in the year 1513. It was, however, ſoon after reſtored, through the intrigues and influence of Cardinal Wolſey. The Spaniards took Tournay in the year 1618. But, having been retaken by Lewis the Fourteenth, in the year 1667, it was rendered, by new fortifications, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Netherlands. The ſituation of the town is extremely advantageous for defence. No commanding heights are near; and it is ſo well defended by nature on every ſide, that an enemy muſt be in poſſeſſion of the covered way, to batter in breach. The Scheld, which divides the town, muſt divide the enemy; a circumſtance often inconvenient and always dangerous. The citadel, fortified with all the ſkill of Vauban, was ſtill more ſtrong than the town. The place, however, was ſo well attacked, or ſo ill defended, that it fell into the hands of the allies, after one and twenty days open trenches. The governor entered the citadel, with the remains of his garriſon, on the thirtieth of July. But, at the end of a month, he alſo ſurrendered that place[t].

[r] Kane's Memoirs. Life of Marlborough. [s] Ibid. [t] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1709. Mons beſieged.

THE important city of Tournay being taken, the allies formed the deſign of beſieging Mons. The Prince of Heſſe having been ordered, with a ſtrong detachment, to diſlodge a party of the enemy, poſted in the neighbourhood of that city, was ſoon after followed by the whole army. Villars, having formed the reſolution of preſerving or relieving the place, paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheld. Finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of arriving before the main army of the confederates, at Mons, he ſtopt ſhort at Malplaquet, a village ſcarce a league diſtant from that city. He entrenched himſelf in that ſtrong ſituation, and prepared to give all the diſturbance poſſible to the beſiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extenſive and impenetrable wood of Sart. His left was covered with another deep wood. Along a very narrow plain oppoſed to his center, he drew trenches behind trenches, and covered the whole with a row of trees, with all their branches, which he had cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods. The generals of the confederates, reſolving to diſlodge the French from their ſtrong poſt, viewed their ſituation, on the tenth of September, and fixed upon the next day for the execution of their plan [u].

Battle of Malplaquet,

SCARCE had day-light appeared, when the two armies, having prepared themſelves in the night for action, were ſeen ranged in complete order of battle. The allies had reſolved to attack, at once, the whole line of the enemy. The Britiſh troops were oppoſed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the center of the French. The Mareſchal de Villars placed himſelf at the head of his left wing. He committed the charge of the right to the Mareſchal de Boufflers, who, though his ſenior, conſented to act a ſecond part. After an awful ſuſpence and ſilence for near two hours, the battle began at eight of

[u] Mem. de Feuquiere. Kane's Memoirs.

the

CHAP. VII. 1709.

the clock. In a moment the firing extended from wing to wing. Few ages ever produced ſo long, ſo obſtinate, ſo bloody a battle. The allies were rouſed by their former victories. The French were become, in a manner, furious, through deſpair. The Duke of Argyle, with the left of the Britiſh troops, paſſing through a moraſs, deemed impracticable, charged, with fury, the enemy ſtationed in the wood, in his front, and drove them into the plain behind, where they inſtantly formed. This circumſtance contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of the allies. Villars, as had been foreſeen, weakened his center to ſupport his left wing againſt the fierce aſſault of the Britiſh infantry. The French ſuſtained, with uncommon firmneſs, all the efforts of their enemies, in the plain. They even drove them back into the wood from which they themſelves had been driven. The carnage was immenſe. But neither ſide ſhewed any inclination to put an end to ſlaughter by flight [w].

long, obſtinate, and bloody.

THE Dutch, under Count Tilly, were, in the mean time, engaged with the right of the French. Advancing, in three lines to the intrenchments, they made and ſuſtained a terrible fire, for the ſpace of an hour. Some battalions giving way before them, were brought back and confirmed in their ſtation, by the vigilance, courage, and activity of the Mareſchal de Boufflers. The Dutch, in their turn, gave ground a little way. Some French battalions, emboldened by their own reſiſtance, ruſhed from their intrenchments, puſhed the enemy from one of their batteries, ſeized their colours, and regaining their poſt, ſuſtained a ſecond charge. The unexpected obſtinacy of the French, in both wings, induced the generals of the confederates to entertain thoughts of deſiſting from the attack. General Cadogan, in that inſtant, perceived the void left in the center of the enemy, by the troops called by Villars to ſupport his left. Prince Eugene reſolved to attack, in

[w] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Kane's Memoirs.

perſon,

CHAP. VII. 1709.

perſon, the intrenchments in that place. He led ſome freſh battalions to the charge. He entered the line of the enemy. He flanked a regiment of French guards, and forced them to fly. Villars, haſtening to ſupport his center, was wounded and carried from the field. The Mareſchal de Boufflers, notwithſtanding, ſuſtained the fight with obſtinacy. The cavalry of the allies had already entered his lines. He ordered the Chevalier de St. George, who ſerved in this campaign, to advance at the head of twelve hundred of the horſe-guards. In one deſperate ſhock the German horſe were broken and diſſipated. But the two generals of the confederates, who, on that occaſion, joined the valour of ſoldiers to the conduct of great captains, rallied their cavalry, forced the enemy back on their lines, and advancing ſlowly, but firmly, under the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, ſhowed, by their ſteady motions, that they were reſolved to gain the field[x].

The French retreat. Mons taken.

BOUFFLERS, perceiving the firm countenance with which the enemy advanced, reſolved to prevent worſe conſequences, by withdrawing his army from the field. He carried off all his cannon, except fourteen pieces, diſmounted in the action. His retreat partook, in nothing, of flight. It was neither confuſed nor precipitate. The enemy were in no condition to preſs upon his rear. They contented themſelves with the field of battle, now covered with near forty thouſand men, comprehending the wounded and the ſlain. This battle was one of the moſt bloody, and, perhaps, the moſt ſingular, that had been fought for ſeveral ages. The trophies were few in number, and they were reciprocal. The generals and officers, on both ſides, acted their reſpective parts with diſtinguiſhed conduct; and all their efforts were ſupported by the troops with conſummate courage. Though the field of battle remained in the poſſeſſion of the allies, the French obtained an honour almoſt equal to that of victory, by a ſteady, regular, judicious,

[x] M. de Feuquiere. Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii.

and ſafe retreat. The loſs of the confederates, in this bloody action, amounted to twenty thouſand men. The French left more than eight thouſand dead on the field. Though the abilities of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough extricated them with honour from this hazardous attack, men could ſcarce forgive their raſhneſs in throwing away the lives of thouſands, without any neceſſity. Mons might have been taken without a battle. The confederates, at leaſt, might have had the choice of their own ground [y]. Mons was inveſted on the twenty-fifth of September. The ſurrender of that place, on the twentieth of October, put an end to the campaign on the ſide of Flanders.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

THE unprovided ſtate of the Imperialiſts ſcarce maintained the ſhow of war, on the Upper-Rhine. The Elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the army of the Empire, formed ſome important ſchemes. But he found the troops in no condition to ſecond his deſigns. He propoſed to paſs the Rhine, and to penetrate into the Upper Alſace, while the Duke of Savoy ſhould croſs the Rhone and enter Franche-comté, where the two armies were to join. The Elector executed his part of the plan, as far as he was permitted by the wretched ſtate of the forces under his command. The Duke of Savoy, diſpleaſed with the Emperor, became careleſs concerning the fate of the war. The Elector, in proſecution of his part of the ſcheme, detached Count Merci, with a ſtrong body of troops, into the Upper Alſace. But on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, that general was totally defeated by the Count de Bourg, and forced, with the ſhattered remains of his forces, to repaſs the Rhine. The defeat of Merci ended all military operations on that ſide. The Elector, during the remaining part of the campaign, kept himſelf within his lines; while the French, under

Operations on the Upper Rhine.

[y] Kane's Memoirs. M. de Feuquiere.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

the Mareſchal d'Harcourt, raiſed heavy contributions in the neighbourhood of Landau and in the Marquiſate of Baden [z].

Campaign in Dauphine and Spain.

THE diſputes between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, concerning ſome territories in the dutchy of Milan, rendered the campaign inactive on the ſide of Dauphiné. The Duke refuſed to take the field in perſon. His troops remained upon the defenſive; and the French were too feeble to make any attack of importance. In Spain, the principal and firſt object of conteſt, the war, as uſual, was neglected by the confederates. The French King, either with a view to peace, or on account of the exhauſted ſtate of his own kingdom, had withdrawn his troops from Spain; and devolved on his grandſon the defence of his own dominions. That Prince, thus left to his own reſources, obtained conſiderable advantages over Charles the Third, and the Portugueze. The Chevalier d'Asfeldt took the caſtle of Alicant, on the ſeventeenth of April. The Earl of Galway was totally defeated by the Marquis de Bay, on the ſeventh of May, in the province of Eſtramadura. The Duke de Noailles, who commanded in Catalonia, obtained ſome advantages over the allies. But the Count Staremberg, who led the forces of Charles the Third in that kingdom, having endeavoured, in vain, to force the Mareſchal de Bezons to a battle, took Balaguier, in his preſence, and, with that ſucceſs, put an end to the campaign [a].

Naval affairs.

NOTHING remarkable happened at ſea, in the courſe of the preſent year. The French, ſcarce able to ſupport their armies by land, were utterly incapable of fitting out any fleet. Britain was, for ſome time, amuſed with great preparations made in her own ports. But the armament which was deſtined, it was ſaid, for the coaſt of France, produced nothing but motions among the

[z] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. Hiſt d'Allemagne, tom. vii.

[a] Publications of the times.

militia

militia of that kingdom. Though the ſhips of the French King remained uſeleſs in his harbours, his ſubjects, notwithſtanding their diſtreſs at home, continued, with their uſual activity, their depredations at ſea. Their privateers infeſted the channel, and greatly interrupted the trade of the kingdom. Forming themſelves into ſmall ſquadrons, they carried their ravages and inſults into America. They took the iſland of St. Thomas from the Portugueze. They made themſelves maſters of Fort St. John on the eaſt coaſt of Newfoundland. Theſe diſadvantages, though trivial in themſelves, raiſed ſome murmurs among the people. They complained, with reaſon, that while a numerous fleet, ſupported at a vaſt expence, lay uſeleſs in their ports at home, or were employed, with an idle parade, in carrying ineffectual ſuccours to Spain, the trade of the kingdom was left to the mercy of a contemptible enemy [b]. CHAP. VII. 1709.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the weſt of Europe, a ſignal event in the eaſt contributed to render memorable the preſent year. The aſtoniſhing good fortune which had ſo long attended the King of Sweden, began to deſert his arms in the end of the preceding campaign. But his affairs were not completely ruined till the fatal battle of Pultowa, which was fought on the eleventh of July. Having reſolved to carry the war againſt the Czar into the heart of Ruſſia, and encouraged by the defection of the Coſſacks, he precipitately entered the Ukrain. His communication with Poland being cut off, he was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of military ſtores and proviſions. To ſupply himſelf at the expence of his enemies he ſat down before Pultowa, which was full of magazines of every kind. The Czar marched to the relief of the place. The King of Sweden abandoned at once his own fate to the deciſion of a battle. He himſelf had taught the Ruſſians to conquer. His whole army was either deſtroyed The battle of Pultowa.

[b] Naval Hiſtory.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

in the action, or forced, ſoon after, to ſurrender at diſcretion. He croſſed the Boriſthenes, with three hundred of his guards. He gained Oczakow. He retired to Bender. His whole party fell as his fortune changed. King Auguſtus re-entered Poland. He was followed by the Czar. The Swedes retired to their own country; and King Staniſlaus, deſerting a throne which he could no longer hold, joined his unfortunate patron at Bender [c].

France makes overtures of peace.

THOUGH the King of Sweden, during his proſperity, ſhewed no inclination to interfere in the war between the houſe of Bourbon and the confederates, the latter were relieved from a conſiderable degree of anxiety by the total ruin of that Prince's affairs. The French, though their intrigues had not hitherto prevailed upon Charles to eſpouſe their cauſe, derived ſome faint hopes from his indignation againſt the Emperor's open breach of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt, which the former had, in a manner, extorted from the court of Vienna, by the terror of his arms. They found that their ſafety depended wholly on themſelves; and, though the campaign had not proved ſo fatal to their affairs as they had reaſon to apprehend, their wretched ſtate could promiſe nothing from a continuance of the war, but a ſeries of misfortunes. The court of Verſailles reſolved, therefore, to renew their applications for a negociation of peace. This however could not be effected, either ſuddenly or with eaſe. Though the ſucceſs of the allies had not anſwered their own expectations, the ſame difficulties which had fruſtrated the deſign of the former conferences continued. The very preliminary articles which France had rejected before the opening of the campaign, had become a new bond of union between the confederates; and, in ſome meaſure, a new law from which they could not recede. When, therefore, Lewis the Fourteenth demanded paſſes for his

[c] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

commiſſioners

commiſſioners to go to the Hague, they were refuſed by the States-General. But they permitted Pettekum, the envoy of Holſtein, to make a journey to Paris, to know what further offers the court of France were ready to make to the confederates [d]. CHAP. VII. 1709.

BUT before any progreſs was made in the overtures offered by France, events happened in Britain, which proved ultimately favourable to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity. The attempts of Harley in the cabinet, againſt the power of Marlborough and Godolphin, were rather ſuſpended than defeated, by his removal from office. The violence of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, who ſeemed inclined to retrieve by force, the power ſhe had loſt with the Queen, contributed to confirm the influence of her rival with that Princeſs. Harley, through the means of the favourite, had frequent acceſs to the cloſet [e]. He owed no favour to the miniſtry; and he is ſaid to have embarraſſed their meaſures. But had they retained the confidence of the people, they might have been, in ſome degree, independent of the changed affections of the ſovereign. The nation felt the grievous burden of the war, and they began to wiſh ardently for peace. The terms propoſed to the French King, or rather impoſed upon that Prince, in the conferences of the preceding May, though humiliating to France, contained no ſatisfaction, no conceſſion of territory to Britain. The power that had moſt contributed, with troops, with valour, and with treaſure, to ſubdue the enemy, was admitted to no ſhare in his ſpoils. Cities, provinces, and monarchies, were transferred to the reſt of the confederates. Britain was forced to reſt ſatisfied, with the glory of giving kingdoms away [f]. Secret intrigues.

THESE general obſervations, made by the people, were inflamed into complaints, by men who had an intereſt in oppoſing and open complaints.

[d] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. [e] Dutcheſs of Marlborough. [f] Publications of the times.

the

CHAP. VII. 1709.

the miniſtry. The Tories, who had been long borne down by the ſplendid meaſures of Marlborough and Godolphin, began again to rear their heads and to rail at their conduct. Their retainers carried to the pulpit and preſs, ſuch accuſations of their opponents as ſuited their own views. Though many circumſtances were exaggerated, there was certainly much ground for complaint. A want of attention to the intereſts of the nation, in defeating its hopes of peace, upon terms honourable to Britain and profitable to the reſt of the allies, a neglect of the war in Spain, an excluſive attention to that in Flanders, the inactivity of the fleet, the decay of trade, for want of protection from the private armed veſſels of the enemy, were all brought to the great account, with which the miniſtry were charged, with ſome colour of juſtice. To theſe accuſations they added others, more to alarm the prejudices of the weak, than convince the ſenſible part of the nation. The cry, that the church was in danger, was renewed in all its force; and this circumſtance was advanced with a confidence, that induced many to believe the intelligence true[f].

Parliament meets, Nov. 15.

BUT though the current began to turn, its progreſs was, hitherto, ſlow. The ſucceſs of the campaign in Flanders, had flattered the people into a kind of forgetfulneſs of their own complaints. They were again reconciled to a war, from which the kingdom derived ſo much renown. On the fifteenth of November, the parliament met at Weſtminſter. The Queen, who, on account of the death of her huſband, had not made her appearance in the preceding ſeaſon, opened the preſent ſeſſion, in perſon. The ſpeeches of Princes are the echoes of the voice of their principal ſervants. The Queen expreſſed the uſual ſentiments concerning the war, and demanded the uſual ſupplies. She complained that France had made uſe of all her artifices to amuſe the allies, with falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations of her deſire of peace[g].

[f] Publications of the times. Burnet, vol. iv.

[g] Journals, Nov. 15.

CHAP. VII. 1709.

Though the contrary was certainly the fact, the aſſertion was neceſſary to juſtify the continuance of the war. The commons, with great unanimity and zeal, proceeded on the ſupplies. More than ſix millions were demanded and granted; and the whole placed on good and ſufficient funds [h].

Doctor Sacheverell

THE unanimity of the commons was ſuddenly deſtroyed by an affair, trivial in itſelf, but important in its conſequences. A brief detail of facts, will throw ſufficient light on a ſubject rendered tedious and perplexed, by the zeal of contending parties. Henry Sacheverell, who kindled this new flame between the Whigs and Tories, was a clergyman, neither eminent in his character, nor obſcure in his profeſſion. Vehement by nature, a warm zealot from principle, attached to the moſt extravagant doctrines of the high-church, a determined enemy to Diſſenters, to occaſional conformiſts, and their abettors the whole party of the Whigs. Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the country by his zeal and even by his violence, he was called, by a popular election, to a church in Southwark. Having a more extenſive field for propagating his doctrines, he became ſoon to be generally known and followed, by thoſe who favoured moſt the principles of the high-church. On the fifth of November of the preſent year, the anniverſary of the gun-powder-plot, having obtained the pulpit at St. Paul's, he delivered a ſermon, before the lord mayor and the court of aldermen, full of thoſe expreſſions of complaint and jealouſy, which were common to him with his whole party. In this diſcourſe, he inveighed with paſſion if not with indecency, againſt the Diſſenters, and the moderate part of the church of England; and, at the ſame time, conveyed ſevere ſtrictures upon thoſe in power. He inculcated alſo, in ſtrong and vehement terms, the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, which, in its greateſt latitude, was inconſiſtent with the late revolution [i].

[h] Journals, paſſim.

[i] Journals, Dec. 13.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1709. his extraordinary ſermon.

THE majority of the court of aldermen being attached to the principles of the low church, refuſed to thank Sacheverell, or to deſire him to print his ſermon, a compliment uſually paid to thoſe who preach before them on ſolemn days. The lord mayor was of the oppoſite party. He encouraged the Doctor, not only to publiſh the diſcourſe, but to preſent it to him, in a dedication conceived in the ſame vehement ſtrain with the ſermon. The nation was compoſed of ſuch combuſtible materials, that the leaſt ſpark was ſufficient to kindle the whole into a flame. The conteſts between leaders, for places of truſt, profit, and power, had been improved into a ſettled principle, among their reſpective adherents. The two parties had been long perſuaded, beyond the hopes of conviction, that their antagoniſts were determined to run into the moſt dreadful extremities, and to ruin the nation. The Tories believed, that the Whigs intended to eſtabliſh a republican ſyſtem of civil government, and to deſtroy the church. The Whigs were convinced, that the Tories were reſolved to perſecute the Diſſenters, and to place the Pretender on the throne. The reception given to the ſermon, and the opinions formed of the Doctor, were ſuitable to the extravagant paſſions of the two parties. The Tories extolled him as a perſon, who ſtood alone unſubdued in defence of the church, now on the brink of ruin. The Whigs gave him the name of a popiſh perſecutor, an enemy to the Revolution, a devoted friend to the Pretender. The vehemence of both excited to ſuch a pitch the curioſity of the whole people, that forty thouſand copies of the ſermon were circulated in the ſpace of a few weeks [k].

He is impeached.

THE miniſtry, in an evil hour for their own power, ſuffered their paſſions, on this occaſion, to overcome their prudence. The Earl of Godolphin, in particular, who was perſonally attacked in the ſermon, was extremely irritated againſt the preacher.

[k] Publications of the times.

The

CHAP. VII. 1709.

The leaders of the Whigs, in general, ſhewed great eagerneſs to puniſh ſeverely the man who attacked, with ſuch boldneſs, thoſe principles which they had held forth ſo long to the world. The crown lawyers were conſulted. They declared, that the offence was not puniſhable by common law. The more moderate part of the miniſtry propoſed, that the ſermon ſhould be only burnt, by the order of both houſes, and the author confined during the ſeſſion. The moſt violent declared, that a more ſolemn puniſhment was neceſſary, to ſtigmatize a crime of ſuch dangerous tendency. They propoſed, therefore, an impeachment, as the moſt dignified mode of proceeding againſt a man, in whoſe perſon they reſolved to puniſh his whole party. Complaint of the ſermon, was accordingly made in the houſe of commons [1]. Sacheverell was ordered to attend, on the fourteenth of December. He was taken into cuſtody, and inſtantly impeached. The high-church party flew into the moſt violent reſentment. The whole people were rouſed to attention. Many were alarmed. The emiſſaries of the two parties ſpread the flame with ſucceſsful zeal. They neglected their private concerns. The buſineſs of the public was neglected. All looked forward with eagerneſs, to this one point, as if the fate of the nation depended on the iſſue of Sacheverell's impeachment.

1710. Articles againſt him. A general ferment.

THE year ended in the midſt of the ferment, raiſed by this extraordinary affair. On the ninth of January 1710, the commons exhibited the articles, being four in number, againſt Dr. Sacheverell. They affirmed, that the Doctor ſuggeſted and maintained, that the neceſſary means for effectuating the late Revolution, were odious and unjuſtifiable. That the toleration to Diſſenters was both unreaſonable and unwarrantable. That the church of England was in danger, under the Queen's adminiſtration. That there were perſons in office, that endeavoured to

[1] Dec. 13, 1703.

CHAP. VII. 1710.

overturn the conſtitution, and that through the whole management of affairs, there was a general maladminiſtration and corruption. Sacheverell's anſwer was artful and judicious. He denied the charge in general, but evaded the particulars. The replication of the commons employed ſome time. The whole courſe of the proceedings was ſlow; and the high-church party were thus furniſhed with time to gain the people to their ſide. The clergy in general eſpouſed the cauſe of Sacheverell. The pulpits reſounded every where with his praiſe. He was called the champion of the eſtabliſhed religion, the only perſon who ſtood in the breach, againſt the deſigns formed by the Whigs againſt the very being of the church. The populace were inflamed into a degree of madneſs againſt the whole party; and the enthuſiaſm, which they had frequently converted to forward their own views, was now turned, with redoubled fury, on themſelves [m].

Feb. His trial.

To give the more ſolemnity to a matter on which, according to the opinions of a majority of the people, the fate of religion depended, the commons reſolved to aſſiſt, in a grand committee, at the trial. To accommodate this numerous body, Weſtminſter-hall was prepared, at a great expence of money and time. At length, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, the trial began. During three weeks, the time it continued, London was a ſcene of riot, anarchy, and confuſion. The populace daily attended Sacheverell, from his lodgings in the Temple to Weſtminſter-hall; and rent the air with acclamations of applauſe. They were even animated to ſuch a pitch of fury, that they pulled down ſeveral diſſenting meeting-houſes, threatened ſeveral peers of the oppoſite party with violence, and inſulted ſuch members of the houſe of commons, as were moſt eager againſt their favourite. The trial, in the mean time, proceeded. As

[m] Publications of the times.

the Doctor had acknowledged himſelf the author of the ſermon, no witneſſes were produced; and the whole time was ſpent in altercation and argument. The managers, appointed by the commons, conſiſted chiefly of men in office. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by defending the late revolution, with obvious, and, at any other time, popular arguments. Sacheverell was principally defended by his council, by ſhewing that his expreſſions, without being wreſted from their true meaning, could not be applied to the crimes of which he was accuſed. When the counſel had ended the defence, Sacheverell himſelf concluded, with reading a ſpeech, in which he juſtified his doctrines with ſome energy and a great deal of heat, expreſſing his approbation of the Revolution, and his reſpect for the reigning Queen and her government[n].

CHAP. VII. 1710.

When the accuſation and defence were ended, the lords entered into warm debates. The arguments, on both ſides, partook more of the nice diſtinctions of the ſchools, than of that manly and deciſive reaſoning, more to be wiſhed for than expected among great bodies of men. None defended abſolutely the doctrine of non-reſiſtance. But ſeveral, though they avowed their concern in the late Revolution, affirmed, that thoſe who examined it leaſt were its beſt friends. A biſhop ſaid, that a veil ought to be thrown over that tranſaction. That men ſhould rather call it a vacancy and an abdication, than receive its benefits, as the conſequence of reſiſtance. The Duke of Leeds improved on theſe puerile refinements, in a very long and laboured ſpeech. He owned, that he had a great ſhare in the Revolution. But he never thought, he ſaid, that things would have been driven ſo far, as to ſettle the crown on the Prince of Orange. He affirmed, that the Prince had often told him, that he himſelf had no ſuch thoughts. That a diſtinction ought to be made between reſiſtance and revo-

Debates of the lords.

[n] Printed ſpeech.

CHAP. VII. 1710.

lution. That vacancy or abdication was the ſubject of the debates of the convention; and that reſiſtance, a word both dangerous and odious, ought for ever to be forgot. He obſerved, with peculiar ſagacity, that had not the attempt ſucceeded, it would have certainly been rebellion; and that, for his part, he knew no other but hereditary right [o].

Sacheverell found guilty.

THOUGH the arguments, on the other ſide, were neither new nor, perhaps, concluſive, they were more intelligible and manly. The lords, as the reſult of the debate, declared, that the articles exhibited by the commons were proved. But they found it difficult to determine, what cenſure ſhould be paſſed on Sacheverell. Thoſe who argued moſt againſt his doctrines, ſeemed leaſt inclined to be ſevere. The populace were already inflamed to a degree of fury. Many dreaded perſonal inſults. Some were afraid of commotions, which the enemies of the kingdom might improve to their own advantage. A few, who thought they had gone too far, from a prudent regard to their own intereſt, began dexterouſly to fall down with the tide. The ſentence, therefore, which was paſſed, if not unequal to the guilt of Sacheverell, was certainly unſuitable to the dignity of his accuſers and the ſolemnity of his trial. He was ſuſpended, for three years, from preaching, and his ſermon was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford, paſſed upon occaſion of the Rye-houſe plot, in the year 1683, was alſo burnt, by a vote of the lords. This decree, in an uncommon ſtrain of ſervility, recogniſed the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance in the moſt unlimited ſenſe of the words, owned the abſolute and indefeaſible rights of Kings, and the unalterableneſs of the hereditary ſucceſſion to the crown [p].

Preliminaries of peace offered by France.

WHILE the whole attention of the Britiſh nation was engaged, by the proſecution of Dr. Sacheverell, the French continued to

[o] Parl. debates. Publications of the times.

[p] Printed Decree.

CHAP. VII. 1710.

make earneſt ſolicitations to the allies, for the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. The opening made by Pettekum, the envoy of Holſtein, in the end of the year, induced the court of Verſailles to offer the ſending plenipotentiaries, to any part in Holland or Flanders, the States General ſhould appoint, to enter into immediate negociations of peace. They propoſed, inſtead of the preliminaries ſigned by the allies, in the preceding year, to reduce their own conceſſions into a more comprehenſive, but an equally ample form. The French King engaged himſelf to acknowledge Charles the Third as King of Spain, to withdraw all ſuccours from his grandſon, to forbear ſending him any future aſſiſtance, to forbid his ſubjects to inliſt in his ſervice, to conſent that no part of the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould ever be united with France. To the Emperor and empire, he promiſed to reſtore the city of Straſbourg, the town of Briſac, to content himſelf with Alſace, in the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, to cede the town of Landau, to raſe all his fortifications on the Rhine, from Baſil to Philipſburg, to acknowledge the King of Pruſſia, and the Elector of Hannover. With regard to Great Britain, he engaged himſelf to acknowledge Queen Anne and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, to reſtore Newfoundland, and to demoliſh the fortifications and to ruin the harbour of Dunkirk, to conſent that the Pretender ſhould leave the dominions of France. To the States he promiſed to yield the barrier ſpecified, in their own preliminaries, to confirm his former offers, with regard to their trade. To the Duke of Savoy he granted all the demands of the allies. But, in return, he expected, that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, ſhould be reſtored to their territories and dignities [q].

Conferences at Gertruydenberg

THESE propoſals being rejected by the confederates, France made additions to her conceſſions. Having obtained paſſes from the States, the court of Verſailles diſpatched the Mareſchal d'Huxelles

[q] De Torcy, tom. ii.

and

CHAP. VII. 1710.

and the Abbé de Polignac, as her plenipotentiaries to conclude a peace. Theſe miniſters arrived at Moerdyke, on the ninth of March. After various conferences with Buys and Vander Duſſen, the deputies of the States, they opened, on the twentieth of the month, a ſerious negociation of peace at Gertruydenburg. During repeated conferences, with the intervention of ſeveral expreſſes, ſent by the plenipotentiaries to Verſailles for further powers, the French departed from almoſt all the reſervations they had made, in the preliminaries ſent in the beginning of the year to Holland. They agreed to relinquiſh every demand of an equivalent for the ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy. They offered even a ſubſidy of a million of livres, a month, to the allies, till King Philip ſhould be driven from Spain. They relinquiſhed even Alſace to the Emperor; and, as a ſecurity for the performance of the articles of the treaty, engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, into the hands of the allies. The haughtineſs of the States, who had the management of the negociation, induced their deputies to riſe in their demands, in proportion as France increaſed her conceſſions. They inſiſted that Lewis the Fourteenth, inſtead of paying a ſubſidy towards the war againſt his grandſon, ſhould aſſiſt the allies with all his forces, to expel him from the throne[r].

are fruitleſs.

In this untoward ſtate of the negociation, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, at the requeſt of the Dutch, came to give their advice concerning the object of the congreſs. Men who profited ſo much by the war, were not likely to haſten the concluſion of peace. Their influence with Heinſius, who had eſtabliſhed a kind of unlimited power over the councils of the States, facilitated the completion of their views. Safe in a perſon in whom they had reaſon to place an unbounded confidence, they contrived to induce the Emperor and the Queen

[r] De Torcy, tom. ii.

of

CHAP. VII. 1710.

of Great Britain to throw the whole negociation into the hands of the republic. The characters of the Dutch deputies, who managed the conferences at Gertruydenberg, were more calculated to embarraſs any negociation, than to bring it to a happy concluſion. Buys, was a vain, confident, and tedious man. He miſtook his own loquacity for eloquence; and being paſſionately fond of diſplaying this talent, involved his ſubject in figures and unmeaning declamation. Vander Duſſen was worſe than a mere cypher in the conference; as his ſilence, by being taken for aſſent, confirmed his colleague in his impertinences[s]. In the hands of ſuch men, it was not likely that any negociation, however favourable the terms might have been for the confederates, could be brought to any degree of forwardneſs, before the ſeaſon proper for commencing the operations of the campaign.

Campaign in Flanders.

WHILE ineffectual conferences for reſtoring peace continued at Gertruydenberg, the allies carried on the war in Flanders, with an appearance of vigour. The Duke of Marlborough and the Prince of Savoy, having aſſembled the army near Tournay, in the middle of April, entered the French lines, without reſiſtance, and ſat down before Douay, in the beginning of May. Arras would have been the ſhorteſt way to the heart of France, there being no place of ſtrength between that city and Amiens, the capital of Picardy. But the generals of the confederates determined on the ſiege of Douay, as that place covered Liſle and the reſt of their conqueſts in Flanders. This city, ſtrong in its ſituation, but ill fortified, was garriſoned with eight thouſand men. The trenches were opened in the firſt week in May, and the ſiege was not ended till the twenty-ninth of June. The enemy, having aſſembled near Péronne, advanced toward Cambray, with a force ſufficient to relieve Douay. But the defeat of one army might endanger the fall of the ſtate; and, therefore, the Mare-

[s] De Torcy, vol. i.

ſchal

CHAP. VII. 1710.

ſchal de Villars, who commanded the French, after having advanced to within cannon ſhot of the allies, thought proper to retire, leaving Douay to its fate.

Several places taken by the allies.

HE obſerved the ſame prudent conduct throughout the whole of the preſent campaign. The confederates took ſucceſſively Bethune[t], St. Venant[u], and Aire[w]. The long reſiſtance made by thoſe towns, comprehended all the operations of the war, on the ſide of Flanders. The allies gained three places of importance, and conquered twelve leagues of a fine country; but they loſt twenty-ſix thouſand men by the ſword, and half their infantry was ruined by wounds, diſeaſe, and fatigue[x]. The French experienced but one inſtance of good fortune in the preſent ſummer. The garriſon of Ypres cut off a convoy, with military ſtores, carried in boats along the Lys, under the command of the Earl of Athlone. That nobleman having gallantly defended himſelf for ſome time, his whole body of infantry, conſiſting of more than one thouſand men, were either ſlain or taken. The cavalry were broken and diſperſed, the boats and ſtores taken. The victors having carried away whatever was portable, ſet fire to the magazine of powder. The exploſion was ſo violent, that ſome neighbouring villages were overturned. The earth trembled all the way to Valenciennes, and even to St. Quintin, and the Lys was ſeparated into two channels, by the opening of the ground and its navigation interrupted.

Affairs of Germany and Savoy.

THE ſame inactivity which diſgraced former campaigns, continued throughout the ſummer, on the banks of the Rhine. The French were weakened, by detachments to their army in Flanders. The army of the empire, ſlow as uſual in its motions, and unprovided with the means of war, were either incapable or unwilling to convert to their own advantage, the opportunity offered by the

[t] Auguſt 29. [u] Sept. 19. [w] Nov. 9. [x] Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

feebleneſs

CHAP. VII. 1710.

neſs of the enemy. The Elector of Hannover, juſtly judging of the unprepared ſtate of the Imperialiſts, by their unpardonable negligence in former campaigns, declined a command, in which nothing could be expected but diſgrace. The war, on the ſide of Savoy, produced no action of any importance. The diſagreement between the Emperor and the Duke ſtill continuing, the latter refuſed to take the field in perſon. Count Thaun commanded the army. He was oppoſed, on the ſide of France, by the Duke of Berwick. The vigilance, activity, and conduct of the Duke, diſappointed all the advantages, which the allies might have reaſonably expected from their ſuperior force. But the diſcontent of the Duke of Savoy ſeemed to have extended themſelves to his army. They were cold and languid in all their motions, and hovered, throughout the ſummer, on the frontiers of Dauphiné, without making any effort that deſerved to be named.

Operations in Spain, battle of Almenara.

THE campaign in Spain was rendered memorable, by the alternate defeats of the two pretenders to the throne of that kingdom. Philip the Fifth, with an army conſiſting entirely of Spaniards, took the field in the beginning of May. Having paſſed the Segra, he ſat down, on the fifteenth of the month, before Balaguer, and raiſed batteries againſt the place. But upon the approach of Count Staremberg, he repaſſed the river, and retired to Lerida, where he waited for a reinforcement of troops, from every ſide. King Charles having, in the mean time, reſolved to meet his rival in the field, joined the army near Balaguer, in the beginning of June. Philip, willing to bring the conteſt to a deciſion, paſſed, a ſecond time, the Segra. The two armies directing their march to Almenara, came to a battle, in the neighbourhood of that place [y]. The charge was furious on both ſides. But the victory was ſoon decided. The cavalry of Philip were diſperſed in the firſt ſhock. His infantry were driven from the field. He retired with his

[y] July 27.

CHAP. VII. 1710.

broken army, leaving his artillery and greateſt part of his baggage to the enemy. His loſs in men was inconſiderable; and he found means to collect ſeventeen thouſand of the fugitives, under the cannon of Lerida [y].

Battle of Sarragoſſa.

THE rout at Almenara was but a prelude to a greater misfortune, which ſoon after fell on the arms of Philip the Fifth. That Prince, to cut off the communication between the enemy and Caſtile, paſſed the Cinca and marched toward Sarragoſſa. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, he fixed his camp within a league of that city. The count de Staremberg, one of the moſt able generals of the age, commanded the allies. The Marquis de Bay, being recalled by Philip from the province of Eſtramadura, was placed at the head of the Spaniards. The firſt fought earneſtly after an opportunity of giving battle. The latter avoided it in vain. The Spaniards were again routed, with the loſs of three thouſand men. They, however, found means to ſave their artillery and baggage, though they retired in great diſorder to Tudela. The Britiſh troops, under general Stanhope, bore the chief ſhare in a victory, which threatened to decide the fate of Spain. The victors marched ſtraight to Madrid. Philip quitted, a ſecond time, the capital to his rival, and retired to Val'adolid. The religious enthuſiaſm of the Caſtilians, together with a rooted averſion to the houſe of Auſtria, under whoſe feeble tyranny they had languiſhed for near two centuries, was of greater benefit to Philip than their arms. They conſidered Charles the Third as a King impoſed upon them by Heretics; and their attachment to his rival roſe in proportion to his misfortunes [z]. General Stanhope, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Madrid, was better calculated to defeat an enemy, than to gain the affections of the vanquiſhed. The army lived at large upon the people, without order, without

[y] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. iii. Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii.
[z] Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii. &c.

moderation,

moderation, and without diſcipline. They raiſed contributions on private perſons. They pillaged the churches, and ſold publickly the utenſils of the altar. The ravages of the confederates combining with the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, created ſuch a dearth of proviſions in Caſtile, that ſeventeen thouſand men, the number of which the victors conſiſted, found themſelves incapable of ſubſiſting in the kingdom [a].

Gen. Stanhope taken priſoner, with 5000 Britiſh troops.

THE inconſiderate ſeverity of the allies, contributed to increaſe greatly the affections of the Caſtilians for the houſe of Bourbon. On the other hand, the Duke de Vendôme, whom the caprice of the Duke of Burgundy had rendered uſeleſs to France, aſſumed, at the requeſt of Philip, the chief command in Spain. The nobility crowded from every ſide, with their followers, round the ſtandard of a general in whoſe conduct they could confide. To theſe were joined thirty-five battalions of French foot, with twenty-eight ſquadrons of horſe, detached from Dauphiné by the Duke of Berwick. The army under Vendôme, before the end of October, amounted to thirty thouſand men. Another army of French, under the Duke de Noailles, aſſembled in Rouſſillon, were preparing to enter Catalonia. Theſe efforts on the ſide of Philip, were ſeconded by diſſenſions among the allies. The latter retreated, in a kind of confuſion, toward Catalonia, whither Charles had already retired. They divided themſelves, for the benefit of ſubſiſtence, into two bodies. Staremberg commanded the moſt numerous, and marched in front. Stanhope, with five thouſand Britiſh troops, brought up the rear. The latter ſtopt, on the eighth of December, at a ſmall unfortified town called Briheuga. He was ignorant that hope gives wings to ſoldiers as well as fear. The Duke de Vendôme had ſwam acroſs the Tagus with all his cavalry. He was juſt at the heels of Stanhope, when that general had the imprudence to ſhut himſelf up in full ſecurity in the

[a] Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

CHAP. VII. 1710.

village of Briheuga. Stanhope was inveſted, without hopes of eſcape, before he perceived his danger. He defended himſelf with great ſpirit; but he was at length forced to ſurrender at diſcretion[b].

Battle of Villa-Vicioſa.

THE Count de Staremberg, apprized of the danger of general Stanhope, returned to his relief with his whole army. But this circumſtance, inſtead of ſerving the cauſe of the confederates, was productive of freſh misfortunes. He came too late to diſengage his friends, and he had advanced too far to retreat with ſafety from his enemies. The Duke de Vendôme met the allies at Villa-Vicioſa, about two leagues from the place of Stanhope's misfortune. He ſearched for an opportunity of engaging the enemy. Staremberg could not avoid an action. The battle was fierce, bloody, and obſtinate. The general of the confederates diſplayed all the courage of the ſoldier, with the talents of a conſummate commander. After his left was broken and routed, he maintained the fight with a ſingle battalion, in the midſt of which he had placed himſelf. Night, at length, more than the efforts of the enemy, forced him to make his retreat. The field of battle, with twenty pieces of cannon, two mortars, and ſome waggons of proviſions and ammunition, remained to Vendôme. Three thouſand of the confederates were ſlain in the action, and as many were taken in and near the field. But it was rather a retreat than a flight. Staremberg had his trophies as well as Vendôme. The honours of victory were even diſputed by the former. But the progreſs of the Spaniards, after the action, aſcertained that their claims were better founded. The Duke de Noailles made a conſiderable progreſs in Catalonia. The efforts of the Marquis de Bay were attended with ſome ſucceſs in Eſtramadura He prevented the junction of the Portugueze with the Count de Staremberg, and extended his ravages and contributions into the very heart of the kingdom of Portugal[c].

[b] Printed accounts. [c] Hiſt. de Portugal, d'Angleterre, et d'Eſpagne.

THE

CHAP. VII.

1710.

THE fleets of the maritime powers, according to cuſtom, in the preſent war, coſt a great deal and did little ſervice. Their chief employment during the ſummer, was the tranſporting of feeble ſuccours to Catalonia and Portugal. To weaken, by making a diverſion on the coaſt of France, the reinforcements deſtined to march from that kingdom to Spain, a deſcent was made upon the coaſt of Languedoc. On the twentieth of July, the confederate fleet, under Sir John Norris and the Dutch admiral Somelſdyke, ſailed from Barcelona. They arrived, on the twenty-fourth, before the town of Cette, which fell into their hands the next day. The Duke de Noailles, having, upon the alarm of the deſcent, marched haſtily from Rouſſillon, with two thouſand dragoons, having each a foot-ſoldier behind, the enemy thought proper to quit their conqueſts and to re-imbark their troops. The French court, in the mean time, incapable of fitting out a fleet, permitted almoſt all their great ſhips to lie idle, under the protection of the forts which defended their harbours. The armed veſſels of their ſubjects, and a few ſquadrons of royal frigates, interrupted the commerce of the maritime powers in a greater degree than in the preceding year. The merchants carried their complaints to the board of admiralty. But they excuſed themſelves by alleging, that the whole navy was employed in carrying ſuccours to Spain, and in keeping open an uninterrupted communication with the army in Flanders.

Naval affairs.

THE affairs of the North, which ſuffered ſo great a change by the defeat of the King of Sweden, at the battle of Pultowa, in the preceding year, continued to wear a face of importance. The Swedes, deſerted by their King, were ſurrounded with foes on every ſide. The Czar made an alarming progreſs in Livonia. He took Webourg in Finland, on the twenty-fifth of June. Riga ſurrendered on the eleventh of July, the fort of Dunemonde, on the twelfth of Auguſt, and Revel, on the firſt of November.

Affairs of the North.

The

CHAP. VII. 1710.

The King of Denmark profiting by the misfortunes of Sweden, had invaded that kingdom; and the calamity of a deſtructive peſtilence was added to the ravages of war. The Swedes, aſſuming courage from deſpair, oppoſed the Danes with a body of militia, their regular troops being employed againſt the Czar. The general Steenbock commanded the new levies of the Swedes, on the ſide of Denmark. He had the confidence to come to battle with the enemy [d]. The Danes were totally routed. They loſt eight thouſand men, beſides wounded, on the field of battle. Their baggage, their tents, their artillery, paſſed into the hands of the victors; and thus Sweden rendered herſelf again formidable to her enemies, after a long and unfortunate war, which had deprived her of her ſovereign. Charles the Twelfth continued, in the mean time, at Bender, making fruitleſs ſolicitations to the Porte for aid againſt the Czar his mortal enemy [e].

[d] March 10.

[e] Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

State of domeſtic affairs.——Steps towards a change.——Imprudence of Godolphin and obſtinacy of Marlborough.——Sunderland diſmiſſed.——The allies interpoſe.——Leaders of the Whigs diſgraced.——Character of the Earl of Wharton.——Marlborough offers his ſervice to the Pretender.——He receives a letter from the exiled Queen.——He applies to the houſe of Hannover.——He accuſes Harley of Jacobitiſm.——Uneaſineſs of the allies and hopes of France.——Secret views of the court of St. Germains.——Godolphin's project for the Pretender.——His character.——A total change in the miniſtry.——Intrigues of St. John and Harcourt.——Whigs and Tories apply to Hannover.——New parliament.——Inquiry into miſmanagements.——Coldneſs towards Marlborough.——Immenſe ſupplies.——Harley ſtabbed.——He is made Earl of Oxford and lord-treaſurer.——Parallel between him and the Earl of Rocheſter.——Schemes of the Pretender.——He writes to Queen Anne.——Endeavours to gain the miniſtry.——Their profeſſions to the family of Hannover.——Death of the Emperor.——Campaign of 1711.—In Flanders.—In Germany, Savoy, and Spain.——Naval affair.——State and views of the houſe of Bourbon.—And of the Britiſh miniſtry.——Advances towards a peace.——A memorial from France.——Preliminaries of Great Britain.——Mr. Prior ſent to France.——Menager ſent privately to London.——Prior diſcovered on his return.——The preliminaries become public.——Are defended by the miniſtry.——They reſolve upon a peace.——Intrigues of Buys, the Dutch ambaſſador.——Elector of Hannover oppoſes the peace.——Intrigues of Bothmar.——Dangerous ſchemes of the Whigs and confederates.——Marlborough's zeal for the Pretender.——Affair of the medal in Scotland.——A ſeſſion of

of parliament.——Intrigues of the allies and Whigs.——The lords declare againſt a peace.——Duke of Hamilton's patent rejected.——Proceedings of the commons.——Diſgrace of the Duke of Marlborough.——Cauſe of that meaſure.——Obſervations on his character and conduct.——Reflections.

CHAP. VIII.

1710. State of domeſtic affairs.

DURING the undeciſive operations of the campaign abroad, the ſtate of affairs at home, ſuffered a very important change. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, having defeated, ſome years before, the intrigues of Harley in the cabinet, had reſolved to hold, by the means of party, the power which they deſpaired to poſſeſs by the inclination of the ſovereign. As long as they retained the affections of the Queen, the confidence which their ſplendid meaſures had acquired from the people, was ſufficient to ſupport them againſt the irregular attacks of the two irreconcilable parties, that had haraſſed the nation for ſuch a number of years, with their conteſts and their noiſe. But when the violence of the Dutcheſs of Marlborough had deſtroyed that influence, which ſhe had extended into a kind of tyranny over the timid mind of her miſtreſs, they found it neceſſary to ſtrengthen themſelves, by forming a connexion with the Whigs. They gained, therefore, the leaders of that party, by admitting them into places of truſt and profit; and, fortified, by this political alliance, they held their ſovereign in chains. The Queen, unable to extricate herſelf from this ſpecies of captivity, affected to adopt meaſures which ſhe was not permitted to guide.

Steps toward a change in the miniſtry.

THOUGH Harley and the followers of his fortune were no ſtrangers to the ſtate of the Queen's mind, they could form no reaſonable expectations, on any exertion of that Princeſs for the recovery of her authority. They perceived, that a change in the ſentiments of the people, was neceſſary to render effectual the efforts of the ſovereign. The populace, for many years, had been

been uniformly gained to the views of party, by the conſtant alarms given, from time to time, to their zeal for the proteſtant religion. The Whigs, by harping judiciouſly on this ſtring, had frequently taken the cabinet by ſtorm. They had often triumphed over their political opponents, by the means of popular clamour, even when that party had formed a great majority in the houſes of parliament. The Tories made repeated efforts to take poſſeſſion of an engine, that had ſo much annoyed themſelves. The opinion, that the church of England was in danger, from the Diſſenters and men of levelling principles, had been propagated with great zeal, ever ſince the beginning of the preſent reign. The eloquence of the pulpit had been joined to the polemical arguments iſſued from the preſs. The eſtabliſhed clergy themſelves began, through uſe, to believe the doctrine which had been firſt propagated for the purpoſes of party. The vulgar gradually gave credit to what they heard ſo often and ſo vehemently urged. The Queen herſelf, with a credulity not unſuitable to her ſex, was alarmed at a tale, which, ſhe thought, was too often repeated not to have ſome foundation in fact.

The imprudence of Godolphin.

THE imprudence of the Earl of Godolphin was the means of ſetting fire to a train, that had been laid for ſeveral years. Perſecution is always more ſucceſsful than perſuaſion, in confirming ſpeculative tenets in weak minds. The attack upon Dr. Sacheverell, the ſolemnity and length of his trial, the vaſt inequality between the accuſers and the accuſed, the vehemence of the Whigs, in throwing the whole weight of government in the ſcale againſt a private perſon, raiſed the pity of the people; and that paſſion was improved into acts of violence, by the art, perſeverance, and clamours of zealots of the high-church party. The current, which had been long changing, ran down with a force, that levelled every thing in its courſe. Harley and his followers added their own weight to its violence. The Queen herſelf, encouraged

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

couraged by the noiſe of the populace, fell gradually down with the ſtream. She had been long diſguſted with the behaviour of Marlborough. She hated the tyranny and feared the violence of his wife. She conſidered herſelf as a kind of priſoner in the hands of a family, who had, in a manner clothed themſelves with the whole authority of the crown, and ſtruck the ſceptre from her hands. With a paſſion natural to all princes, ſhe was averſe to the levelling principles held forth by the Whigs; and, for the ſame reaſon, ſhe abetted thoſe of the Tories.

and obſtinacy of Marlborough.

THOUGH the nation was not inflamed againſt the Whigs, to a degree ſufficient to deprive them of power, till the ſolemn trial of Sacheverell, the Queen aſſumed ſome courage from the colour of the times, in the beginning of the preſent year. Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite, had a brother, Colonel Hill, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of Almanza. The influence of his ſiſter, more, perhaps, than his merit, had recommended Hill to the attention of the Queen; and ſhe ſhewed an inclination to raiſe him to the command of a regiment of dragoons, vacant by the death of the Earl of Eſſex. The Duke of Marlborough, who had uninterruptedly poſſeſſed the diſpoſal of all military promotions, oppoſed, with obſtinacy, the advancement of Hill, as the brother of a woman, who had rendered herſelf odious to himſelf and his family. He retired to the country. He threatened to reſign the command of the army. He employed his friends to terrify the Queen and her favourite, with addreſſes from the parliament. The Earl of Sunderland, the Duke's ſon-in-law, then ſecretary of ſtate, had formed a deſign to procure a vote of the commons, to remove Mrs. Maſham from the Queen's preſence and ſervice[a]. Apprized of this intended violence, Hill entreated the Queen to deſiſt from her purpoſe in his favour. She complied with his requeſt, for the time. But it became evident, that ſhe was re-

[a] Jan. 23, 1710.

ſolved to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of ridding herſelf of ſervants whom ſhe now conſidered as tyrants [b].

haſten the fall of the party.

THE flame which had ſeized the nation, upon the trial of Sacheverell, ſoon furniſhed the enemies of the family of Marlborough with the means of diveſting them of their power. Harley and his aſſociates having free acceſs to the Queen, through her favourite, turned events, as they gradually roſe, to their own advantage. The changes, which ſoon after became general, were begun in the middle of April. The Duke of Shrewſbury, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debates concerning Sacheverell, againſt the miniſtry, was made chamberlain [c], in the room of the Earl of Kent, who had reſigned that office upon his being raiſed to the dignity of a Duke. The promotion of Shrewſbury was conſidered as a prelude to the fall of the miniſtry. The people were induſtriouſly prepared for an important change. The principles of the Whigs were, every where, repreſented as dangerous to monarchy and deſtructive to the church. The Tories, by poſſeſſing by far the greateſt portion of the lands of the kingdom, were ſaid to poſſeſs the beſt title to power. Thoſe who formed the monied intereſt were called new men, that owed their very exiſtence to the misfortunes of the ſtate. They deſcended from general obſervations on parties, to accuſations of particular perſons. They affirmed, that the miniſtry, conſiſting chiefly of one family, had excluded all others from every influence and power in the ſtate; while they held the Sovereign herſelf in the moſt abject ſlavery. They ſhewed, that naval affairs were abſolutely neglected. That the war in Spain was ſacrificed to the glory of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders. That the conqueſts of that general produced no advantage to the nation. That his power was formidable, his wealth immenſe, his connexions extenſive; and

[b] Hiſt. d'Angleterre. MS. 1710. [c] April 14.

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

that his exceſſive attachment to the intereſts of the States of the United Provinces, founded, perhaps, on thoſe ſelfiſh paſſions to which he was ſubject, was ſufficient to render him ſuſpected of being capable of the worſt deſigns [d].

Sunderland diſmiſſed.

THOUGH neither the Duke of Marlborough nor the Earl of Godolphin were any longer ſtrangers to the bad terms on which they ſtood with the Queen, they derived ſome hopes of the continuance of their power from her fears. But when, on the fourteenth of June, the ſeals were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, neither they nor the nation could entertain any doubt, that a total change was near. The removal of the Earl from his office, elevated his enemies as much as it depreſſed his friends. The Tories crowded the preſence of the Queen with addreſſes and congratulations on her conduct. They extolled her Majeſty for aſſerting her juſt prerogative. They rejoiced, they ſaid, at her having emancipated herſelf from the caprice and tyranny of an inſolent junto, who had kept her in dependence and chains. The Whigs, on the other ſide, though at firſt they yielded to their deſpair, endeavoured to ſupport themſelves with the people, in oppoſition to the Queen. They ſuggeſted and propagated a notion, that the credit of the nation wholly depended on the lord-treaſurer. They affirmed, that the ſucceſs of the war had proceeded from the abilities and the aſtoniſhing good fortune of the Duke of Marlborough. To ſupport the firſt of thoſe maxims, they contrived to ſink the price of the national ſtocks, by withdrawing their own money from the funds, with every ſymptom of conſternation and panic. The directors of the bank of England were, at the ſame time, induced by the party to repreſent to the Queen, the danger likely to attend the changing of her principal ſervants.

[d] Publications of the times.

WHILE

CHAP. VIII.

1710.

WHILE the Whigs involved the monied intereſt at home, in their own cauſe, the Duke of Marlborough endeavoured to ſupport the tottering authority of the party, by the interpoſition of foreign powers. The Emperor and the States, attentive of themſelves to the domeſtic affairs of Great Britain, liſtened readily to the ſuggeſtions of the Duke, and employed their good offices with the Queen. The Count de Gallas, the imperial miniſter, and Vrybergen the Dutch envoy, repreſented to her Majeſty, the bad conſequences which might reſult to the affairs of the grand alliance from a change in her ſervants. They affirmed, that even rumours ſpread of her intentions of placing the management of her affairs in other hands, had already filled the confederates with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and raiſed the confidence and expectations of their enemies. Though the Queen aſcribed theſe unuſual interpoſitions of other States, more to the arts of the Duke of Marlborough than to their zeal for the common cauſe, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment. She made anſwer to the Count de Gallas, that whatever change ſhe might make at home, the Duke of Marlborough ſhould continue to manage the war abroad [a].

Foreign powers interpoſe for the miniſtry.

THIS unuſual effort, inſtead of ſerving the party, was turned againſt them, with ſucceſs, by their political enemies. Severe reflections were made upon the Emperor and the Dutch, for preſuming to interfere in the internal affairs of a great and independent kingdom. The Tories inveighed, with vehemence, againſt Marlborough, as the ſource from whom this freſh affront to the Queen had ſprung. The Duke, on his part, was equally enraged. His paſſion overcame that coolneſs of behaviour and deliberate addreſs, which ſupplied, in his character, the abſence of great parts. He ſeemed reſolved, by a ſudden and great effort, to triumph over his enemies, and to revenge himſelf upon

Marlborough offers his ſervices to the Pretender.

[a] Hiſt. of Queen Anne. Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

the

CHAP. VIII. 1709.

the Queen. When he received intelligence of the intended diſgrace of Sunderland, he wrote inſtantly to the Duke of Berwick[f], and offered his ſervices to the court of St. Germains. Though he had often diſappointed, before, the hopes of the excluded family, they reſolved to treat him with attention and an appearance of confidence. They thought they could truſt his preſent profeſſions, as he was obliged to form new engagements, for his own ſafety. Beſides, they were afraid, that ſhould they ſlight his advances, he would attach himſelf to the houſe of Hannover. The Pretender himſelf was, at the time, ſerving the campaign in Flanders, under the Mareſchal de Villars. The exiled Queen wrote, therefore, an anſwer to Marlborough; and Villars tranſmitted it to his adverſary by a trumpet[g].

Letter to him from the exiled Queen.

IN this letter, which was written with a degree of judgment and ſpirit, ſhe expreſſed her joy that Marlborough continued firm to the promiſes which he had ſo often made to her huſband and her ſon. She was, however, ſurpriſed to find that he entertained thoughts of quitting his high command. "Your retreat," ſhe ſaid, "will render you uſeleſs to your friends, and an eaſy prey to your enemies. You are too large a mark to be miſſed by the ſhafts of malice. The ſafety of your opponents conſiſts in your ruin. They will reduce the army, where you have ſuch great influence. They will fill all the branches of the revenue with their creatures. The credit of the new officers, the influence of their preachers, the weight of the treaſury, will not fail to return a new parliament very different from the preſent. Throw not, therefore, away the means of ſupporting yourſelf and of aſſiſting your friends. You are loſt if you quit your employments. But there is great difficulty in keeping them with dignity. Intereſt itſelf now declares for your honour. You cannot be in ſafety without doing juſtice, nor preſerve your greatneſs

[f] June 20. [g] Stuart-papers, 1710.

without

without diſcharging your duty. The time is precious to you, and important to my ſon. You deſire us to apply to Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite of the Princeſs Anne. How can we, my Lord, apply to a ſtranger? Mrs. Maſham owes us no obligations. She has neither pledged her faith, nor promiſed her aſſiſtance. You have repeatedly done both, my lord; and now it is in your power to place my ſon in a condition to protect yourſelf[h]."

A change in the miniſtry.

THOUGH this letter had no deciſive effect on Marlborough, he continued to hold a friendly communication with the Pretender. He wrote, repeatedly, concerning him, to Villars[i]. He expreſſed, on many occaſions, an anxious concern for his health and the proſperity of his affairs. His own ſituation became every day more critical and perplexed. Anne, ſupported by the vehemence of the Tories, and the counſels of Harley, no longer diſguiſed her deſign of ridding herſelf of the Whigs. On the eighth of Auguſt, the Earl of Godolphin received a meſſage from the Queen, to break his ſtaff as lord-treaſurer of Great Britain. The treaſury was immediately put in commiſſion. The Earl Powlet was conſtituted the chief at the board. But the ſecret of affairs was known to lie in the hands of Robert Harley, made chancellor of the Exchequer. This change in the treaſury was the forerunner of alterations in the other departments of the ſtate. The Lord Somers, the preſident of the council, being diſmiſſed, was ſucceeded, on the twenty-firſt of September, in that high office, by the Earl of Rocheſter, maternal uncle to the Queen. Boyle, ſecretary of ſtate, prevented his diſgrace, by a voluntary reſignation of the ſeals. Theſe were placed in the hands of St. John, formerly ſecretary at war. The Duke of Devonſhire left his place of lord-ſteward of the houſhold, to the Duke of Buckingham. The

[h] Stuart-papers, 1710. [i] Ibid.

Earl

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

Earl of Orford, better known under the name of Admiral Ruſſel, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, reſigned. The Duke of Marlborough would have been alſo diſmiſſed; but his reputation was too high with the nation to render ſafe his immediate diſgrace[k].

Character of the Earl of Wharton.

THE removal of the Earl of Wharton, from the government of Ireland, was a ſalutary piece of juſtice to that kingdom. This nobleman, though poſſeſſing diſtinguiſhed talents, had been uniformly obnoxious to the virtuous of both parties, on account of an abandoned profligacy of principle, which he was at no pains to conceal from the world. In a contempt of all religion, he made an idle parade of infidelity. Impatient of reſtraints of any kind, he avowed himſelf the enemy of all government. To be connected with a party was neceſſary, in a country where preferment was gained, like victories, by the force of numbers. He adhered, therefore, to the Whigs, as a line more ſuitable for the exertion of his talents. In the management of mobs, in the tumults of elections, in reconciling the inconſiderate and ſanguine to his views, by baits of profligate pleaſures, the Earl of Wharton had no equal. In his exhibitions in the houſe of lords, he poſſeſſed a ready, rather than a ſolid eloquence. His imagination was quick, his ſatire poignant, his wit fertile, but coarſe. He often ſpoke what are familiarly called GOOD THINGS, as he was afraid of ſaying nothing that was bad. Having acquired the reputation of a Wit, he endeavoured to ſupport it on every occaſion; and, with an incontinence ſuitable to thoſe who graſp at fame, in that way, frequently ſacrificed his beſt friends to a joke. He was, however, ſo uſeful to his party, that he was encouraged even by the graver heads of the Whigs; and thus, with talents which could ſcarce gain him bread in any other line, he became conſiderable in politics. To repair his fortune, which he had

[k] Hiſt. of Europe, 1710.

ſquandered,

ſquandered, he alleged, in the ſervice of the party, he was ſent to Ireland; and if his purpoſe was not anſwered, it was rather for want of time than aſſiduity.

Marlborough accuſes Harley of Jacobitiſm.

The Duke of Marlborough, of his whole party, remained alone in office. But notwithſtanding this complaiſance toward the perſon of Marlborough, he was not capable of ſuppreſſing his reſentment againſt Harley, his mortal enemy. Though he himſelf was in the moſt intimate correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, he accuſed the new miniſtry to the Elector of Hannover, as fully determined to reſtore the Pretender. In a letter to his Electoral Highneſs, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, he profeſſes his attachment to his family; "with which," he ſaid, "I conſider thoſe of my country and of all Europe inſeparably connected. I hope the Engliſh nation will not permit themſelves to be impoſed upon by the artifices of Harley and his aſſociates. Their conduct leaves no room to doubt of their deſign of placing the pretended Prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious deſigns. But I hope to be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, and all my friends, to advance the intereſt of the Electoral family, to prevent the deſtructive counſels of a race of men, who eſtabliſh principles and form cabals, which will infallibly overturn the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and with it the liberty of their country and the ſafety of Europe[l]." Theſe aſſurances derive their importance from the preſent circumſtances of the perſon by whom they were made. When Marlborough accuſed Harley of Jacobitiſm to the Elector, he himſelf was buſy in making profeſſions of attachment, through the Mareſchal de Villars, to that very pretended Prince, whoſe ſucceſſion to the throne was to have enſlaved Britain and ruined Europe[m].

[l] Original letter. Hannover-papers, 1710.

[m] Stuart-papers, 1710.

CHAP. VIII.

1710. Uneaſineſs of the allies, and hopes of the French.

THE total change of the Britiſh miniſtry alarmed the allies, and encouraged the houſe of Bourbon. The States, in particular, entertained no doubt but that the Queen, in changing her councils, would change alſo her meaſures. Her ambaſſador, the Viſcount Townſhend, aſſured them, in vain, that his miſtreſs repoſed the ſame confidence in the Duke of Marlborough, and continued the ſame firmneſs with regard to the common cauſe. The jealouſy and apprehenſions of the confederates were too ſtrong to be removed by aſſurances. The Dutch regretted ſincerely the opportunities they had loſt, by which they might have obtained great advantages to themſelves, and have the honour of reſtoring peace to Europe. The French were as little able to conceal their gladneſs, as the allies were to diſguiſe their uneaſineſs. They flattered themſelves with the proſpect of an immediate peace; as the Tories, who now ruled every thing, had long declared themſelves averſe from an unprofitable war. The court of St. Germains, and particularly the Earl of Middleton, repreſented to Lewis the Fourteenth, that he was miſtaken in his expectations from the Tories. He told him, that it was a matter of indifference to Lewis, whether high-church or low-church prevailed. Both, he ſaid, were equally the enemies of France; and he even affirmed, that the Jacobites themſelves were highly averſe from the intereſts of a court, who made no efforts in favour of the perſon whom they deemed their lawful ſovereign [n].

Views and ſecret propoſals

THESE diſcouraging inſinuations of the court of St. Germains, though juſt, proceeded from the ſanguine hopes which they themſelves had formed, on the ſtate of opinions in Great Britain. They affirmed, in their memorials, that the two parties concurred in principles ſuitable to the reſtoration of the excluded family. The church held forth, avowedly, that the crown was unalienable and hereditary. The Preſbyterians followed, they ſaid, the argu-

[n] Stuart-papers, 1710.

ments of their opponents, with a plain inference, that the Revolution itſelf was a rebellion. The two parties, they affirmed, ſeemed to agree, that the Princeſs Anne, for ſo they called the Queen of Great Britain, had no title to the throne. They urged, therefore, that this was the proper time for the King, for ſuch was the high title they beſtowed on the Chevalier de St. George, to make his appearance in Britain [o]. The Duke of Marlborough adviſed them, in vain, againſt any hoſtile attempt on Great Britain: a meaſure, he affirmed, which could not fail to unite the parties [p]. He averred, that the inveteracy exhibited by every parliament, and the union which appeared among the people upon the intelligence of any invaſion, proceeded from a rooted averſion to France, more than from want of affection to the excluded family. He conſidered the removal of the Chevalier de St. George from France, as a great ſtep toward his reſtoration; and that circumſtance, he ſaid, was one of the advantages which the pretended Prince would derive from a peace [q].

of the court of St. Germains.

THE Chevalier himſelf coincided in opinion with Marlborough. He perceived, that France had ſcarce ever any ſerious intention to reſtore his family. He knew, that at preſent, ſhe was incapable of ſerving him to effect, had ſhe even been willing. He, therefore, earneſtly wiſhed for peace; and no article, he ſaid, could pleaſe him more, than the requiſition of Great Britain, to remove him from the dominions of France [r]. His miniſter, the Earl of Middleton, was of a different opinion. He endeavoured to argue the court of Verſailles to undertake another attempt upon Scotland. "The Scots," he ſaid, "in general, favoured the hereditary line. None had deſerted the party, after the bad ſucceſs of the laſt enterpriſe. No ſecret had been ever better kept. No accuſers appeared, no witneſſes could be found to condemn."

[o] Stuart-papers, Aug. 2, 1710. [p] Ibid. 1710. [q] Stuart papers. De Torcy, tom. i. [r] Chev. de St. George to Middleton, July 25, 1710.

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

He obſerved, "that in England two parties were animated, to an extreme, againſt each other. That the high-church maintained non-reſiſtance, as a tenet of religion; and that the hereditary deſcent of the crown is a law ſo fundamental, that it cannot be changed by act of parliament. That the low-church, inſtead of arguing againſt theſe principles, affirmed, that the conſequence of the firſt is, that the government, ever ſince the Revolution, was an uſurpation; and that the Pretender muſt be acknowledged lawful King, is the inference to be drawn from the ſecond. The people," he continues, "are mere ſpectators of this polemical conteſt. They conclude, that both are in the right; and that the Queen herſelf, by favouring the high-church party, is manifeſtly in the intereſt of her brother."

Project of an invaſion.

ALL the friends of the excluded family, as well as the Duke of Marlborough, aſſured the court of St. Germains, that patience only was neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh them on the Britiſh throne. They wiſhed them to detach themſelves from France, as the only means to reconcile thoroughly the nation to their claims. Middleton, notwithſtanding, ſolicited a ſecond invaſion of Scotland. He demanded only three thouſand men from the court of Verſailles, and that conſiſting entirely of the Iriſh in the French ſervice. They were the beſt calculated for the enterpriſe, he ſaid, as they ſpoke the language of the Highlanders, and were accuſtomed to the hardy manner of living, peculiar to the inhabitants of mountainous countries. The number of troops demanded, could, he continued, create no jealouſy. They were only ſufficient to protect the perſon of the Pretender, till a treaty for his eventual ſucceſſion to the throne, after the death of his ſiſter, ſhould be eſtabliſhed with the Britiſh court. The court of France, either incapable of ſparing any force, or unwilling to riſk their troops and their ſhips in an enterpriſe which appeared uncertain in its conſequences, paid little attention to theſe ſuggeſtions. Middleton

ton was ſuffered to amuſe himſelf, in ſecret, with the viſions of future advantage to his maſter, which he formed on the ſpeculative arguments of the contending parties in Britain [s].

Attachment of Godolphin to the Stuarts.

THOUGH the court of St. Germains placed little faith in the profeſſions of the Earl of Godolphin, they loſt the chief ſupport of their cauſe, when that miniſter was forced to retire. His attachment to the family of Stuart, though cautiouſly and ſucceſsfully concealed from the world, was certainly, next to his inherent timidity, the ruling paſſion of his mind. He is ſaid to have only regretted his diſgrace, as it deprived him of the power of ſerving effectually the excluded line. He declared to his intimate friends, that he had been always in unhappy circumſtances. That, being firſt diſtreſſed by the Tories, he was forced to throw himſelf into the hands of the Whigs. That his whole miniſtry had been ſpent in a ſtruggle with the latter party; and when he ſaw himſelf entirely maſter of his meaſures, he was turned out of his office, by an event as trivial as it was unexpected. He hoped, however, he ſaid, that Harley would reſtore the King, for ſo he called the Pretender. "But HE will make France neceſſary to that meaſure. I deſigned to have done the buſineſs alone; and to ſhew the French how poorly they had treated that unfortunate Prince, and how little they deſerved at his hands [t]."

His ſuppoſed project in favour of the Pretender.

CONCERNING Godolphin's project for the reſtoration of the Stuarts, ſome judgment may be formed, from the papers and propoſals of that family. The Duke of Marlborough had ſignified to the Marquis de Torcy, in the negociations for peace in the year 1709, that it was for the intereſt of the Pretender to remove from France. He propoſed, at the ſame time, to procure for him, from the Britiſh nation, a ſum equal to that which he received, for his ſupport, from the court of Verſailles; and to make

[s] Stuart-papers, Aug. 29, 1710.

[t] Ibid. 1710.

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

ſtipulation with the allies, for his ſecure retreat, either in Holland or Flanders. Provided with a kind of revenue, ſeparated from the influence of a nation whom the ſubjects of his anceſtors abhorred, and divided only by a narrow channel from Britain, the Pretender would have found little difficulty in tranſporting himſelf into Scotland, and in appearing in that country at the head of a numerous body of his adherents. The reduction of the army to a ſmall number, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would have left the kingdom in a ſtate ſufficiently defenceleſs to juſtify the miniſter, in entering into a treaty with a perſon, whoſe claims were favoured by a very great party in the nation. The natural moderation of his own character, his want of ambition, his prior engagements with Marlborough and Godolphin [v], and even the improbability of his prevailing by force alone, would have induced the pretended Prince to accept ſuch terms, as the Queen and the nation might chooſe to impoſe. He was, by no means, ſo jealous as his father, with regard to the hereditary deſcent and indefeaſible rights of the crown. He would have been well pleaſed to have received it as the gift of the people. He would have been contented to accept of the throne of Scotland, or to have his name joined with that of Anne, in the royal title of Great Britain [w]; while the whole authority ſhould remain, during life, in her hands. He would, perhaps, have reſted ſatisfied with an acknowledgment of his title as Prince of Wales, and the eventual ſucceſſion of the crown upon his ſiſter's death [x].

His character.

HAD his ſecret deſigns and intrigues remained unknown to the world, the Earl of Godolphin might have been tranſmitted to poſterity with an unblemiſhed character. He was born with extenſive talents. A long experience had, in a particular manner, qualified him for the great line of buſineſs. He underſtood the intereſts of the kingdom, the genius of the people, the ſecret views

[v] Stuart-papers, 1702. [w] Ibid. [x] MSS.

of

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

of particular men, as well as the diſpoſition of parties. In his public capacity, he was frugal of the money of the nation, without cramping its exertions with penury. An œconomiſt of his private fortune, without the leaſt tincture of avarice. Though forbidding in his addreſs, through the ſtern gravity of an habitual ſilence and an ungraceful manner, he gained mankind by the apparent ſincerity of his character. He never kept ſuitors in an unprofitable ſuſpence. He promiſed nothing that he was not reſolved to perform. He conſidered diſſimulation as an unmanly breach on veracity. He refuſed, with frankneſs, where he could not ſerve with generoſity. In the common line of buſineſs, he ſhewed ſuch undeviating attention to juſtice, that thoſe who were diſappointed by his deciſions, could not with-hold their eſteem from his impartial conduct. Though he found it neceſſary to diſguiſe his own principles, he never affected to poſſeſs thoſe of others, to gain either their ſupport or their favour. Political timidity was the greateſt defect of his mind. That paſſion overcame frequently, in his public tranſactions, that ſincerity which he uniformly obſerved in his private conduct. The weakneſs which induced him to adhere, in his opinions, to the excluded branch of the houſe of Stuart, was a kind of virtue. He was firſt placed in the line of fortune and ambition by that family; and their confidence in his fidelity and attachment, contributed to continue that gratitude, which he owed for their many and great favours.

Obſervations.

THOUGH the timidity of Godolphin was highly unfavourable to the family of Stuart, it was alſo productive of bad conſequences to his country. That weakneſs being generally known to the leaders of the two parties, their clamour and preſumption roſe in proportion to their hopes from the miniſter's fears. The views of the Whigs and Tories being the ſame, though their profeſſions to the world were different, they had both recourſe to the ſame arts

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

arts to poſſeſs themſelves of emolument and power. The prejudices of the vulgar, that ready and obvious engine, for the hands of deſigning men, were turned, with peculiar ſucceſs, againſt a miniſter deſtitute of courage. Though government had acquired, from the very misfortunes of the people, the means of quieting their turbulence with eaſe, few men in office knew their own ſtrength, in a degree ſufficient to remain ſteady and unmoved, amidſt the noiſe of an offended populace. Godolphin, yielding to his fears, neglected to procure an honourable and advantageous peace for his country, already ſtaggering under the very weight of her victories. He knew, that a meaſure ſo important, would furniſh the diſcontented with the means of inflaming the nation; and this, together with his ſubſerviency to the views of the Duke of Marlborough, induced him to neglect an opportunity of cloſing, with ſplendour, a ſucceſsful war.

A total change.

THE diſgrace of the Earl of Godolphin was conſidered, by his party, as the certain prelude of their own total fall. Their ſpirit ſeemed to have vaniſhed with their good fortune. Few had the courage to continue in office. Fewer ſtill had the boldneſs to retire with dignity. They quitted, one by one, their places, without any concert of oppoſition, or even deſign of revenge. They carried their reſignations further than their enemies either expected or wiſhed. The Queen ſignified her inclination, that the Lord Cowper ſhould continue chancellor. He derived, perhaps, this favour from his inſignificance. But he alſo retired [y]. The Tories purſued their victory, through every branch and department of government. All the relations, creatures, and dependents, of the former miniſtry, were diſmiſſed every where. The Revolution itſelf, it was with juſtice obſerved, had not made ſuch a total change among the ſervants of the crown. The Duke of Marlborough remained alone of his whole party. But he owed this

[y] Sept. 23.

mark

mark of diſtinction to his own high reputation, more than to any forbearance of his enemies. They had already determined on his fall. Time was only wanting to reconcile the people to the diſmiſſion of ſo great a commander [z].

Intrigues of St. John and Harcourt.

THE total change in the ſervants of the crown, ought not, however, to be altogether aſcribed to Harley. His maxim of government was evidently to trim between the parties. To gain the Tories, but not to loſe entirely the Whigs. But ſuch was the inveteracy, which a long ſeries of animoſities had created on both ſides, that neither would be content with any thing leſs than the whole power and influence of the ſtate. His own friends were, upon the preſent occaſion, likely to become Harley's greateſt enemies. He had reſolved to place St. John and Harcourt, in the offices they had formerly loſt. To make the firſt ſecretary at war, and the laſt attorney-general. But St. John inſiſted upon being made ſecretary of ſtate, and Harcourt would be content with nothing leſs than the great ſeal. Harley, willing to retain the Whigs in theſe offices, refuſed to comply. They threatened to retire to the country, and to leave him to the mercy of his enemies. Some leaders of the Tories interfered. They repreſented to him, that his trimming conduct would deprive him of his beſt friends. He yielded, at length, to their deſire. But he was ſo much offended, eſpecially with Harcourt, that though he raiſed him to the place of chancellor, he never admitted him into the ſecret of affairs [a]. He would probably have done the ſame with St. John. But the latter underſtood the French language, and was neceſſary in the expected negociations of peace.

A general ferment.

BUT the people, now, were entirely on the other ſide. The flame, which Sacheverell's trial had raiſed, was kept up, with great addreſs. The clergy conſidering his cauſe their own, made the pulpits reſound with his praiſe, while they thundered ven-

[z] Publications of the times.

[a] Stuart-papers, 1714.

CHAP. VIII. 1710.

geance againſt his enemies. In a progreſs, which he made to Wales, perhaps with a deſign of continuing the ferment againſt the Whigs, he was followed, every where, by the whole country, on horſeback. Mayors, magiſtrates, whole corporations attended him, in their robes and formalities, in the towns through which he paſſed. The populace met him on every road, with white knots in their hats, with ſprigs of laurel gilt with gold, while the hedges, on either ſide, were dreſſed with flowers. Though no deſign of calling a new parliament was as yet made public, the reception given to Sacheverell was conſidered as a kind of preparation for that event. The people being, at length, prepared for the meaſure, the parliament was diſſolved, on the twenty-firſt of September. The elections were carried on every where with unuſual violence and noiſe. The mob, encouraged by the new miniſtry and the Tories, became outrageous in the cities and boroughs. The general cry was raiſed ſo effectually againſt the Whigs, that they were excluded, wherever the votes depended either on the inclinations or caprice of the populace.

Aſſurances of the new miniſtry,

THOUGH the new miniſtry derived their ſucceſs, in a great meaſure, from the principles of the high-church party, in favour of the hereditary deſcent of the crown, they reſolved to reconcile the houſe of Hannover to their own elevation. The letters of their leaders to the electoral family, form a curious inſtance of the inſincerity of the profeſſions of party-men. The Earl of Rocheſter, whoſe principles in favour of the Stuarts were known, avowed, with vehemence, an inviolable attachment to the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown. The Duke of Buckingham, who held an uninterrupted communication and correſpondence with the court of St. Germains and their agents, aſſumed, with peculiar modeſty, to the Elector, that he had been perſecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion[b]. The Duke of Leeds, who, in the debates concerning Sacheverell, had

[b] Buckingham to the Elector, Sept. 2, 1710. Hannover-paper.

almoſt

1710.

almoſt in expreſs terms, called the Revolution a rebellion, and declared that he knew no right but an hereditary right, made the warmeſt profeſſions of regard to the intereſts of the family of Brunſwick [c]. Harley himſelf conſidered as the head of the new miniſtry, in adhering to the principles of preſbytery, in which he was bred, was, perhaps, more ſincere, though not leſs ſervile, in the advances which he made to the preſumptive heirs of the crown. St. John, in a convenient abſence of attachment to both ſides, followed, to avoid ſingularity, the example of his aſſociates in office.

to the houſe of Hannover.

THE Duke of Shrewſbury, naturally timid and provident of the future, wrote [d] to the Elector, with warm profeſſions of zeal and attachment. He was at the time, through the means of his wife, in actual correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, and, from principle, a friend to the family of Stuart [e]. All aſſured his Electoral Highneſs, that the new miniſtry were zealous for ſupporting the grand alliance to its utmoſt extent; to proſecute the war, to obtain an honourable peace, and to ſecure effectually the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover [f]. They employed their creatures to confirm, to the Princeſs Sophia, the aſſurances which they made to her ſon. A Doctor Hutton contained their arguments, in a ſeries of tedious letters of his own [g]. The Queen herſelf, though her attachment to her brother was then ſuſpected, and now is known, joined her ſervants in aſſurances of zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. To prevent every inquietude in the electoral family, ſhe appointed the Earl of Rivers, her ambaſſador to the court of Hannover, to aſſure them, that the changes which ſhe had made, would prejudice, in nothing, the acts paſſed for ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line [h].

[c] Leeds to the Elector, Nov. 1, 1710. [d] Hannover-papers, 1710. [e] Stuart-papers, paſſim. [f] Hannover-papers, 1710. [g] Ibid. [h] Ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

1710.

The Whigs apply to that family.

THE agents of the new miniſtry had the addreſs, to render their predeceſſors ſuſpected, by the electoral family. The free principles of government, which they had advanced in the debates concerning Sacheverell, had been induſtriouſly repreſented to the court of Hannover, as irrefragable proofs of their averſion to monarchy. The Whigs were alarmed at the credit given to their adverſaries, in a matter which muſt hurt their own influence, with a family that was one day deſtined to wear the crown. The Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Halifax were employed, by the party, to undeceive the Elector of Hannover. The avenues to the court of that Prince were ſo beſet with the emiſſaries of the Tories, that the two lords were obliged to write their thoughts in cypher. They endeavoured to explain, that they had been always for a parliamentary right to the crown. They diſclaimed with a degree of ſcorn, all republican or antimonarchical principles. They affirmed, that the high maxims of the Tories, prepared the way for the Prince of Wales to mount the throne. That the Whigs oppoſed theſe maxims, with arguments ſuitable to republicaniſm, merely to ſerve the family of Hannover; whoſe rights could not be ſo well maintained, on any other ground[1].

Nov. 25. New parliament.

DURING theſe ſecret intrigues of the two parties, the new parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter. The Queen, coming to the houſe of peers, on the twenty-fifth of November, Sir Simon Harcourt, now lord-keeper of the great ſeal, ſignified to the commons her Majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould chooſe a ſpeaker. Their choice, as was expected from their principles, fell on William Bromley, a perſon remarkably attached to the high-church party. The Queen having ſignified, in her ſpeech, the reſolution ſhe had taken of proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour, eſpecially in Spain, demanded ſuitable ſupplies. To remove every jealouſy that might ariſe in the nation, ſhe reſolved, ſhe

[1] Hannover-papers, Nov. 14, 1710.

ſaid,

ſaid, to ſet forth plainly her intentions. She was determined, ſhe aſſured her parliament, to ſupport and encourage the church of England, to preſerve the conſtitution according to the Union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to ſcrupulous conſciences; and that to tranſmit effectually theſe benefits to poſterity, ſhe was reſolved to employ none but ſuch as were heartily for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover [k]. This popular ſpeech was echoed back, as uſual, in the addreſſes of the two houſes of parliament. Men who formed their opinions upon ſuch fallacious grounds, thought they perceived a degree of coldneſs in the addreſs of the lords. But that of the commons was warm, vehement, and ſuitable to their principles, in favour of monarchy.

Proceedings. Great ſupplies.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſpecies of madneſs that had ſeized the nation, and the utmoſt efforts made by the new miniſtry in favour of the Tories, more than one hundred reputed Whigs were returned to the houſe of commons. Few of theſe were permitted to take their ſeats in tranquillity. Petitions were offered againſt the moſt of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to favour the old miniſtry; and they complained, that their principles were more an object of examination, than the juſtice of their cauſe. In ſuch a ſtate of parties in the houſe, the deliberations of that aſſembly muſt have aſſumed the appearance of great unanimity. The Tories had ſo effectually taken the ground of the Whigs, in their public profeſſions, that the latter, had they even been more numerous, could not, with any decent conſiſtency, oppoſe the meaſures of the miniſtry. Though the Queen, in her ſpeech, had inſinuated, that ſhe was deſirous of peace, her ſervants ſhewed every attention to the vigorous proſecution of the war. The commons voted, without heſitation, the ſupplies. The debts provided for and the ſums raiſed in the courſe of this ſeſſion, amounted to more than fourteen millions [l]. But the navy and other offices had been

[k] Journals, Nov. 27, 1710.

[l] 14,573,319l. 19s. 8½d.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

left, by the former miniſtry, under a burden of debts, which greatly obſtructed the ſervice.

Inquiry into the management of the war in Spain.

THE new miniſtry ſhewed an inclination to cenſure their predeceſſors in office. They were ſoon furniſhed with an opportunity of purſuing their deſign, by receiving intelligence of the diſaſters, with which the campaign cloſed in Spain. The war, on the ſide of that kingdom, though the firſt object of conteſt, had been ſtrangely neglected. The conduct of the allies, when moſt ſucceſsful, contributed to ruin the cauſe which they endeavoured to ſupport with their arms. Licentiouſneſs and a want of regular diſcipline, never, perhaps, properly obſerved in the hurry of hoſtilities, had been carried, by the confederates, to a degree calculated to ruin the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, in the hearts of thoſe whom they wiſhed to reconcile to their government. The Earl of Galway, habituated to rapine in the Iriſh war, was at no pains to check the natural inclination of all ſoldiers, for plunder. General Stanhope himſelf, mixing a commendable averſion to popery with a decent affection for bullion, had permitted his troops to pillage the altars of their ſacred utenſils, in the city of Madrid and its neighbourhood. The part of the army which was in the pay of the Dutch republic, ſhewed, in the ſame manner, their zeal for proteſtantiſm [1].

Peterborough applauded, and Galway cenſured.

THE Spaniards, bigotted to enthuſiaſm in their own ſyſtem of faith, had ſome reaſon to abhor ſuch ravenous heretics. The unfortunate Charles the Third, was loaded with all the ſins of his army. The whole affection of the people was thrown into the ſcale of his rival; and that Prince found himſelf, after a war of nine years, capable to defend his crown againſt the united efforts of the allies. The victory at Sarragoſſa, being ill-purſued, opened a way for the defeat and great loſs at Briheuga. The Queen laid the diſaſterous intelligence, which ſhe had received

[1] Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

before

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

before the two houſes, who promiſed to ſupport her, with all their power, to retrieve the fortune of the Spaniſh war. They, at the ſame time, entered upon an inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry, and thoſe employed by them in Spain, in the command of the troops in that kingdom. In their approbation, as well as in their cenſures, on the ſubject, the parliament appear to have yielded, in ſome degree, to the ſpirit of party. They applauded, in a high ſtrain, the Earl of Peterborough. But on the faults and errors of the Earl of Galway, they were, perhaps, too ſevere. The lords carried their animadverſions from the general, to the conduct of thoſe by whom he was employed. They addreſſed the Queen, to free the cabinet-council from their oath of ſecrecy, that a full account of their conſultations might be laid before the houſe. The reſult of the whole might have been eaſily foreſeen. A vote paſſed, that the former miniſtry were highly to be blamed, in their neglecting the Spaniſh war. That by their adviſing an offenſive war, in the year 1707, they had been the cauſe of the loſs of the battle of Almanza, and, in conſequence, of the miſcarriage before Toulon [m].

Coldneſs toward the Duke of Marlborough.

DURING the courſe of debates, which ſeemed to reflect on the meaſures of his party, the Duke of Marlborough diſtinguiſhed himſelf in favour of the Earl of Galway. Though he himſelf had been well received by the Queen, upon his arrival from Holland, in the end of December, he found that his power had totally vaniſhed. He had aſſiſted at a committee of the council. But this was a matter of mere form. He was no favourite with the new miniſtry. He had no longer the command of the parliament. A motion of thanks having been made by his friends in the houſe of lords, it was oppoſed, with ſuch vehemence, by the Duke of Argyle, that a cenſure was more likely to paſs, than a vote of approbation. Notwithſtanding theſe mortifications, he

[m] Journals of the lords.

reſolved

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

reſolved to retain his command. In this he yielded to the requeſt of the allies; or, perhaps, to his love of money. Finding, however, that the averſion of the Queen to his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her places to the foot of the throne. On the anniverſary of the birth of the Queen, he did not, as uſual, appear at court. He had retired to the country; and, on the eighteenth of February, he embarked for Holland, to concert, with the States, the operations of a very early campaign [n].

Immenſe ſupplies.

THOUGH the inquiry of the miniſtry into the conduct of their predeceſſors, was attended with no dangerous conſequences to the latter, ſome facts were brought to light that argued an extreme negligence in the Earl of Godolphin. Upon an examination of the public accounts, and the ſtate of the public debts, it appeared, that vaſt ſums remained unprovided for in the different departments of the war. The moſt innocent motive to which the conduct of the late miniſter can be aſcribed on this head is, that he wiſhed to conceal from the nation the inſufficiency of the immenſe ſupplies that had been granted, to prevent a relaxation in the public ardour for the continuance of a war, which it was the chief object of the party to prolong. The enemies of the late treaſurer affirmed, that it was to prevent an inquiry in parliament, he had encouraged the ſolemn proſecution of Sacheverell, as the certain means of diverting the attention of the two houſes from his own conduct. The debts of the navy alone amounted to more than five millions; and near the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds was found neceſſary to diſcharge the incumbrances of the ordnance and army [o]. Over and above theſe prodigious ſums, the commons granted to the Queen an extraordinary ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds, for re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of Spain and Portugal; four hundred and fifty thouſand for

[n] Life of Marlborough, vol. ii.

[o] Journals of the Commons, March 10.

giving

giving currency to exchequer bills, near three hundred thouſand pounds for the extraordinary contingencies of the war, one hundred thouſand for indemnifying the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, for the damage done by a French invaſion of thoſe iſlands; three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for building new churches; and nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, being a ſubſidy due by the late King William to the Elector of Hannover [p].

Riſe of the South Sea company.

THE Whigs had endeavoured to raiſe an opinion among the people, that the credit of the nation was ruined by the removal of the Earl of Godolphin from the treaſury. The new chancellor of the exchequer ſoon convinced them, that theſe ſurmiſes were ill-founded. He provided for the debts left on the different departments by his predeceſſor, by funds ſettled on very judicious impoſts. On the ſecond of May, he propoſed a grand project to the commons, for ſatisfying all the public debts, and for making good all deficiencies of ſupplies. The whole debt unprovided for was thrown into one ſtock. To pay an intereſt of ſix per cent. funds were eſtabliſhed, which, however, were not to commence till the end of five years. The funds being ſo diſtant, the parliament engaged themſelves to make an annual proviſion for the intereſt in the intermediate time. Together with this intereſt, the monopoly of a ſuppoſed trade to the South-Sea or coaſt of Peru in America, was granted to the proprietors. The poſſeſſors of the navy-bills, and other public ſecurities, were incorporated for this purpoſe. This ſcheme, which was received with eagerneſs by the commons, flattered extremely the vanity of Harley himſelf. In his attention for the houſe of Hannover, he adviſed the Elector to take ſtock for the nine thouſand pounds, due to his family of King William's ſubſidy. His Electoral Highneſs excuſed him-

[p] Journals paſſim. Hannover-papers.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

ſelf from being concerned in a mercantile company, as inconſiſtent with his dignity. He, at the ſame time, inſinuated to Harley, that ready money would ſuit better with the ſtate of his affairs, than any concern in public ſtocks and commerce; ſubjects which he neither ſtudied nor underſtood [q]. The propoſal ſeems to have raiſed ſome doubts, in the mind of his Highneſs, whether Harley intended, ever to pay the money. He, therefore, ſent particular inſtructions to Kreyenberg, his reſident at London, how to proceed with the chancellor of the exchequer in that affair [r].

Affair of the Abbé de la Bourlie.

THOUGH Harley had rendered himſelf, in ſome degree, popular by his conduct in the treaſury, his ſeeming backwardneſs in turning all the Whigs out of office, had diſobliged the high-flying part of the Tories. A kind of oppoſition was ready to be formed againſt his meaſures, when an accident, which threatened to be fatal, raiſed him beyond the reach of the enemies of his power. The Abbé de la Bourlie, a Frenchman who had aſſumed the title of Marquis de Guiſcard, had made his eſcape from his own country, for ſome crime, which merited the ultimate animadverſion of the law. Having paſſed, ſome years before, into Britain, he had the addreſs to perſuade the ſervants of the Crown, that he could form an inſurrection in France, that might greatly favour the operations of the confederates againſt that kingdom. This profligate fellow, pretending a zeal for public freedom, was encouraged, either through the vanity or credulity of the Whig-miniſtry, and gratified with a regiment which ſerved in Spain. The profeſſed deſign of this needy adventurer was to reſtore his country to her ancient liberty. To contribute to the execution of his purpoſe, he was placed on board the Engliſh fleet, in the year 1706, when a deſcent, under the Earl of Rivers, was intended to be made on the coaſt of France. This aſſertor of the

[q] Hannover-papers, 1710.
[r] Elector to Kreyenberg. Hannover-papers, 1710.

cauſe

cauſe of freedom was, however, found to be ſuch a tyrant in command, that Sir Cloudſley Shovel thought it neceſſary to ſet him on ſhore before the expedition was laid aſide [s]. CHAP. VIII. 1711.

THE regiment aſſigned to the pretended Marquis having been cut off, in the battle of Almanza, his pay, as colonel, ſoon after ceaſed. He long ſolicited a ſettled penſion in vain. His profligacy having recommended him to Mr. Henry St. John, they lived together, for ſome time, in mutual confidence and a community of pleaſures. A diſpute about a miſtreſs, or rather concerning a child, which neither choſe to own, had interrupted their intimacy, before St. John had been advanced, through the fall of the Whig-miniſtry, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. The latter, therefore, was hardly prevailed upon, by his French friend, to recommend him as an object worthy of the generoſity of the crown. He, however, mentioned the caſe of Guiſcard; and five hundred pounds a year was ordered for him, by the Queen. Harley not only reduced the penſion to four hundred pounds, but even declined to place it on any fixed eſtabliſhment. The pretended Marquis endeavoured to obtain redreſs, from the Queen. But all acceſs to her perſon was denied. Reduced to diſtreſs, by his profligacy, and offended at men who had been once his friends, he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to his own country, by betraying to the court of France the counſels of the Britiſh miniſtry. He entered into correſpondence with one Morreau, a banker at Paris. To cover his deſign he ſent his letters to Portugal, incloſed to the Earl of Portmore, who commanded the Britiſh troops in that kingdom. The Earl ſuſpecting ſome treachery, opened the packet, and finding that it contained ſome dangerous intelligence, ſent it, through the hands of his lady, to Mr. Harley [t]. or Marquis de Guiſcard.

[s] Publications of the times. [t] Ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

1711.

He ſtabs Harley.

THE Marquis was apprehended in St. James's park, on the eighth of March, by virtue of a warrant from St. John, as ſecretary of ſtate. Ignorant of the laws of the country, and conſcious of his own crime, he thought he could not eſcape a death of ignominy. He fell into a fit of deſpair. In the midſt of his diſorder, he was carried to the cock-pit, before a committee of the council. Having poſſeſſed himſelf, unobſerved, of a pen-knife, he reſolved to be revenged on thoſe whom he deemed acceſſary to his ruin. When he found himſelf completely diſcovered, by his own letters, he requeſted to ſpeak aſide to St. John. But the ſecretary ſuſpecting his deſign, from the violence of his aſpect, refuſed to comply. The Marquis approaching furiouſly towards the table, ſtabbed Harley, right in the breaſt, with the pen-knife. The point meeting, by accident, the bone, the blade broke ſhort, near the handle. Guiſcard inſenſible of this circumſtance, redoubled his blows. St. John ſtarting, in the mean time, from his chair, drew his ſword and wounded him, in ſeveral places. The meſſengers, ruſhing in at the noiſe, threw the aſſaſſin on the ground; and having bound him, carried him to Newgate, where he ſoon after died of his wounds [a].

Harley made Earl of Oxford, and lord treaſurer.

THOUGH Harley's wound was but ſlight, the very attempt on his life raiſed a kind of pity that diſarmed his enemies. The commons addreſſed the Queen, upon the occaſion, in terms highly flattering to the miniſter. When, after his recovery, he came firſt to the houſe, he was congratulated, at their deſire, by the ſpeaker, in a ſpeech expreſſive of their high ſenſe of his power, if not of his merit. To theſe teſtimonies of affection from the commons, the Queen added favours of a more ſubſtantial kind. She raiſed Harley to the double title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, on the twenty-fourth of May; and on the twenty-ninth day of the ſame month, he received the white ſtaff, as

[a] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, 1710.

lord-high-treaſurer of Great Britain. Though his lordſhip was conſidered in the double capacity of favourite and miniſter, before this period, theſe new honours and promotions, rendered him ſtill more an object of the public attention. The adulation of men in office kept pace with his good fortune. When he took the oaths, in the court of chancery, on the firſt of June, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper, addreſſed him, in a ſet ſpeech, paying him great compliments on the antiquity of his family, his love and encouragement of letters, his great abilities in managing the finances of the kingdom, and in reſtoring and preſerving public credit [w].

Parallel between him and the Earl of Rocheſter.

THE death of Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter, which happened on the ſecond of May, was ſaid to have facilitated the ſudden riſe of Harley to the rank of a peer and the office of lord-treaſurer. Though Rocheſter, on account of his high principles in church and ſtate, was, by no means, agreeable to Harley; the latter found it neceſſary to fortify himſelf againſt the Whigs with his lordſhip's abilities and influence. Their characters, however, were ſo diſſimilar, that thoſe who knew beſt the ſecrets of the cabinet, thought they already perceived a mutual coldneſs. Rocheſter was an avowed enemy to all diſſimulation. Harley threw a veil of ſecrecy, importance, and reſerve, even upon trifles. The firſt avowed his attachment to the Tory principles. The latter ſuppreſſed his zeal for Whiggiſm, as it might defeat his ambitious views. Rocheſter loved monarchy, and the government of the few over the many, and avowed it to the world. Harley had a bias toward republicaniſm, but carefully concealed it, even from his friends. The one was haughty and overbearing, though a man of ſenſe, experience, and abilities. The other was ſenſible of his own talents; but he was rather conceited than proud. Though the firſt complied with the government, ever ſince the

[w] Printed ſpeech.

Revolution,

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

Revolution, he openly called that event ſuch a breach upon the conſtitution, as would juſtify, for ever, alterations of every kind. Though the laſt oppoſed King William, throughout his reign, he approved, in ſecret, of the means which placed that Prince upon the throne. Both were vain of their knowledge in finance. Both jealous of their favour with the Queen. No permanent cordiality was likely to ſubſiſt between ſuch men; and, had not death interfered, their conteſts would probably have given an advantage to their common enemies, which might prove fatal to their power [x].

Coldneſs between Harley and St. John.

But though the death of the Earl of Rocheſter delivered Harley from one dangerous friend, he was ſtill connected with another, who endeavoured to ſupplant him in his influence and power. This was Mr. Henry St. John, then ſecretary of ſtate. St. John was hated by Mrs. Maſham, and deteſted by the Queen, for the profligacy of his life. But he found means to render Harley uneaſy, even in the height and plenitude of his credit and power. The ſlenderneſs of the tenure upon which he held his office, had hurt his pride. The miniſter having reſolved upon the ſcheme of a peace, St. John became neceſſary to the accompliſhment of his views. He was the only perſon about the court that could ſpeak the French language [y]. There was, therefore, a neceſſity for retaining him in office, to ſerve in the capacity of interpreter. This ſlight advantage had created in his mind a contempt of Harley, ſuitable to his own vanity and pride. An incident had happened, in the month of April, which placed St. John in a kind of independence on the miniſter. An expedition being planned, in the cabinet, for the conqueſt of Quebec, and the reduction of Canada, Harley refuſed to gratify Mrs. Maſham, in ſome affair relating to the expedition, which ſhe meant to turn to her own advantage. She reſented Harley's refuſal. St.

[x] Menager's Negociations, paſſim.

[y] Stuart-papers, 1714.

John dexterouſly improved the moment. He gratified her in her views, without either the communication or aſſiſtance of the miniſter. Her objection to St. John's character was obliterated by his politeneſs; and ſhe, ever after, ſupported his ambition [z].

Views

WHILE Harley was riſing rapidly in influence and credit in Great Britain, the court of St. Germains, graſping, as uſual, at every ſhadow of hope, formed expectations upon the outward appearance of his conduct. The principles expreſſed by his party, were ſo favourable to their views, that they could ſcarce ſuppoſe he could be greatly averſe from their intereſt. Their friends in Great Britain being better acquainted with Harley, endeavoured to turn their thoughts to means more likely to ſerve their cauſe. They aſſured the ſervants of the Pretender, that they ought to expect more from the temper of the times, than the diſpoſition of the miniſter. They recommended a ſecond attempt on Scotland. They ſaid, that the inclinations of the Scots for the excluded family, was apparent from their ſending to parliament thoſe very perſons who had been carried priſoners to London, on account of the invaſion threatened two years before. They affirmed, that the kingdom was left naked of troops. That, upon the firſt news of an invaſion, the bank would ſtop and the funds fail. That no tax could be raiſed, no money obtained, on the ſecurities eſtabliſhed by parliament. That, ſhould the Pretender land, with any conſiderable force, the want of reſources in government, and the opinion of a great part of the nation in favour of his right to the throne, would crown his attempt with ſucceſs, without drawing a ſword [a]. They hoped that the Queen and miniſtry would, by theſe means, be induced to enter into a treaty, which might end in the repeal of the act of ſettlement, and the full aſſurance of the Pretender's mounting the throne upon the demiſe of his ſiſter.

[z] MS. Anecdotes.

[a] Stuart-papers, April, 1710.

SHOULD

CHAP. VIII.

1711.

and ideal ſchemes of the

SHOULD France, in her preſent diſtreſſed condition, decline, or appear incapable to execute any bold attempt, in favour of the Pretender, the Jacobites had provided themſelves, in their arguments, with another ſcheme. They wiſhed to accompliſh a double marriage, between the family of Sweden and the excluded branch of the houſe of Stuart. They propoſed, that Charles the Twelfth ſhould take to wife, the daughter born to James the Second, in his exile. That the Pretender ſhould eſpouſe Ulrica Eleonora, then Princeſs, and afterwards Queen of Sweden. Charles had continued in Turkey ever ſince the unfortunate battle of Pultowa. But he communicated his own fire to his ſubjects, at home. Though preſſed on every ſide with powerful enemies, the Swedes retained their martial ſpirit, and even obtained victories. The Jacobites propoſed to the court of France, to offer five thouſand men to the regency of Sweden, to replace an equal number, which they hoped the government of that kingdom might be induced to tranſport to Scotland. They argued, that a ſcheme, which might be executed with the greateſt facility, would inevitably be crowned with ſucceſs. The preparations of Sweden againſt Denmark, they affirmed, would cover their deſign. The Pretender, they ſaid, by placing himſelf at the head of Proteſtant invaders, would effectually prevent that religious jealouſy, which they deemed the only obſtacle to his mounting the Britiſh throne [a].

court of St. Germains, and their friends.

VIOLENT meaſures were deemed dangerous, by the Duke of Marlborough and others, who affected to be attached to the excluded family. They ſaid, that the very appearance of force might reconcile the two parties, and terrify the Queen. That Princeſs, they affirmed, was favourably inclined to her brother's intereſts. But ſhe was extremely timid by nature, and knew not in whom ſhe could place her confidence. The Duke of Leeds

[a] Stuart-papers, April, 1711.

undertook

undertook to ſound her upon the ſubject [b]. Though ſhe knew his principles, ſhe was afraid of explaining herſelf, upon a point ſo delicate. The more violent Jacobites, however, continued to urge, that it was the intereſt of Anne, and of her miniſters, to invite her brother to England. They propoſed that, during the receſs of parliament, ſhe ſhould write to the Pretender to convey himſelf privately to London. That, upon his arrival in that capital, ſhe ſhould preſent him to the privy council, and own, which was all he wanted, his title as Prince of Wales. They affirmed, that his preſence would intimidate his enemies, and greatly encourage his friends. That, amidſt the conſternation of the firſt, and the joy and elevation of the latter, the act of ſettlement, they ſaid, could be eaſily repealed. That every thing might be, at once, adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of the Queen, and the complete ſecurity of the people; and that, to accompliſh this important work, the Pretender declared that he was ready to throw himſelf into the hands of the Britiſh miniſtry, accompanied only by a ſingle page [c].

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

ENCOURAGED by the ſtate of opinions in Britain, or yielding to the advice of his friends, the Pretender himſelf wrote a letter to Queen Anne, in the month of May. He put her in mind of the natural affection, which ought to ſubſiſt between a brother and ſiſter. He recalled to her memory her repeated promiſes to their common parent. "To you," he ſaid, "and to you alone, I wiſh to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God and of nature are loud in your ear. The preſervation of our family, the preventing unnatural wars, the proſperity of our country, combine to require you to reſcue me from affliction and yourſelf from miſery. Though reſtrained by your difficult ſituation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the laſt male of an ancient line, to the remoteſt relation we have in the

Pretender writes to Q. Anne.

[b] Stuart-papers, April, 1711.

[c] Ibid.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

world. Neither you nor the nation have received any injury at my hands. Therefore, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happineſs, as you love your family, as you revere the memory of your father, as you regard the welfare and ſafety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me, in this friendly way of compoſing our difference. The happineſs of both depends upon your reſolution. You will deliver me from the reproach, which invariably follows unfortunate Princes, and render your own memory dear to poſterity [d].

Endeavours in vain to gain the miniſtry.

BUT whatever effect the warm repreſentations of her brother might have had on the mind of the Queen, the ſolicitations of his agents made no impreſſion on her ſervants. The Earl of Oxford ſeems to have been, hitherto, entirely ignorant of the ſentiments of his miſtreſs, on the ſubject of the ſucceſſion to the crown [e]. He knew, that with a natural attachment to the continuance of her own authority, ſhe was equally averſe from the appearance of either of the candidates, in the kingdom. But her very ſilence, with regard to her brother, induced him to conclude, that ſhe wiſhed to leave the ſceptre, at her own death, in his hands. This conſideration, together with the neceſſity of accommodating himſelf, in ſome degree, to the wild projects of the high-flying Tories, his only ſupport againſt the Whigs, forced this miniſter to oppoſe his own opinion, in the great line of his conduct. Bred up in the notions of the Preſbyterians, the principles of that ſect adhered throughout to his mind; though his own ambition, and, perhaps, the neceſſity of his ſituation, ſtamped his meaſures with a contrary character. He was reduced to the ſame difficulties with his predeceſſor in office. The Earl of Godolphin, a Tory and a Jacobite, appeared in the light of a Whig to the world. The Earl of Oxford, a Whig, and, perhaps, tinctured with re-

[d] Stuart-papers, May, 1711.

[e] MS. in his own hand, 1710.

publican

publican principles, was accuſed of abetting the hereditary deſcent of the crown, and all the maxims of arbitrary power.

Their profeſſions to the family of Hannover.

THE lord treaſurer and his aſſociates in office, ſenſible of their own difficult ſituation, endeavoured to remove the jealouſy of the Electoral family, with vehement and repeated profeſſions of zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. But the ſervile flattery of their letters contributed to render their ſincerity ſuſpected. St. John aſſured the Elector, that, in a life ſufficiently agitated, he had been uniformly devoted to his ſervice. That as he gloried in theſe ſentiments, he took every opportunity of diſcovering them to the world. That ſhould he be capable of changing his inherent principles for the houſe of Hannover, he would believe himſelf unworthy of the character of a good Proteſtant, a good Engliſhman, and a faithful ſubject to his ſovereign [f]. Harley, for he had not then been raiſed to the peerage, beſeeched his Electoral Highneſs to accept his moſt humble aſſurances of the utmoſt fidelity to his family, and the moſt inviolable attachment to their intereſt. "To this," to uſe his own words, "I am obliged to adhere, as well by my duty to the Queen, as by the common good of my country and of all Europe." St. John might have no difficulty to expreſs himſelf in ſuch terms, to any race of Princes. Harley, though not over ſcrupulous in his principles, might be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, ſincere. The Duke of Shrewſbury was more provident than either of his brethren in office. His profeſſions were equally warm to the two candidates for the ſucceſſion of the crown. While he aſſured the court of St. Germains of his zeal for their cauſe, he "flattered himſelf," he ſaid, "that the houſe of Hannover formed no doubt of his fidelity. He earneſtly wiſhed for an opportunity of giving proofs of the violence of his affection for the proteſtant line; and he aſſured the Elector, that his Highneſs had not in England, no

[f] St. John to Robethon, Jan. 9, 1711. Hannover-papers.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

not in the whole world, any perſon more devoted than himſelf to his ſervice [g].

Death of the Emperor,

DURING theſe ſecret tranſactions in Britain, the face of public affairs in Europe ſuffered a very important change. The Emperor Joſeph died at Vienna, of the ſmall-pox, on the ſixth of April, in the thirty-third year of his age [h]. Without regarding his two daughters, he left his brother Charles King of Spain, his univerſal heir in all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. Joſeph poſſeſſed more activity and fire, than the moſt of the Princes of his family. But that temper of mind ſubjected his counſels to all the inconveniencies reſulting from precipitation and violence. An obſtinacy, that bore the appearance of firmneſs, ran through his whole conduct. He was, however, a Prince poſſeſſed of virtue; and his reign was one continued ſeries of ſucceſs and good fortune. He ſaw all Lombardy conquered by his arms, Piedmont delivered, Hungary pacified, Naples and a great part of the Netherlands reduced to obedience. His death ſuddenly changed the whole ſtate of affairs. The war undertaken by the grand alliance, for preſerving the balance of Europe, was now likely to deſtroy it for ever; and men, who judged of the future by the paſt, began to dread the revival of the irreſiſtible power of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in the perſon of a Prince of his family [i].

creates a deſire of peace.

THOUGH the new miniſtry of Great Britain had, hitherto, carefully concealed their ſentiments, the reſtoration of the public tranquillity had been the principal object of their counſels, ever ſince they poſſeſſed themſelves of power. The nation, ceaſing to be amuſed with unprofitable victories, began to feel the weight of the war. The public debt had grown to a magnitude that terrified ſpeculative men with the approach of public ruin. The

[g] Hannover-papers, 1711.
[h] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.
[i] Hiſt. d'Angleterre, tom. iii.

appro-

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

appropriation of the produce of ſevere impoſts had deprived the people of every proſpect of relief from their preſent burdens. To prevent the increaſe of theſe burdens was all that could now be expected. Men, therefore, in general, began to wiſh ſincerely, that an honourable end might be put to the war. But though the miniſtry were ſufficiently apprized of this diſpoſition in the nation, they were afraid of the violence of their political opponents. They knew, that France, encouraged by the death of the Emperor, would recede from the terms offered to their predeceſſors; and they were no ſtrangers to the advantage which their enemies would derive from ſuch a circumſtance. They began, therefore, to feel the ground as they went, with great caution and addreſs. The Queen, in an extraordinary meſſage, informed her parliament of the death of the Emperor, and of her own reſolution to make the election fall upon his brother, the King of Spain. She told, at the ſame time, to the two houſes, that ſhe hoped to be ſoon in a condition to put a happy end to the war, by a laſting and honourable peace [k].

The allies bent on war.

THE intentions of the Queen were well underſtood by her parliament. They promiſed, therefore, to ſupport her in all her meaſures, for the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. The news of the Emperor's death had not raiſed the ſame pacific diſpoſition in Holland. A reſolution was formed, on the contrary, to proſecute the war, with ſtill greater vigour. The miniſter of the late Emperor, thoſe of Savoy, Portugal, and the German Princes, were all eager for a continuance of hoſtilities. The emoluments derived from the war, were greater than their expectations from peace. The generals and thoſe who furniſhed the troops, were equally intereſted, upon this ſubject. The firſt were ſwayed by glory, and, perhaps, the leſs dignified motive of advantage. The latter yielded to profit alone. The intereſt of both was another

[k] Journals, April 20.

name

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

name for the common cauſe. This was the great chain, which kept together the confederacy; and not the preſervation of the balance or the liberties of Europe. The money of the maritime powers, and chiefly of England, more than the territories of the houſe of Bourbon, was the grand object of thoſe pretty tyrants, who fed on the blood of ſubjects whom they let out for ſlaughter.

Campaign of 1711. Flanders.

BUT though Great Britain had diſcovered an inclination towards a peace, the war was carried on with a degree of vigour, on every ſide. The Duke of Marlborough, having left the Hague in the end of April, aſſembled his army near Douay, in the beginning of May. The project of the allies, on the ſide of Flanders, was to open the campaign with the ſiege of Arras and of Cambray. The taking of thoſe two important places would have laid open Picardy to the banks of the Somme. The army deſtined, at firſt, for the ſervice, might have been ſufficient to accompliſh that great deſign. But the death of the Emperor, while it haſtened the approach of peace, obſtructed the operations of war. A well-grounded fear, that the French and the partiſans of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, might endeavour to diſturb the election of a new Emperor, obliged the Prince of Savoy to march, with the greateſt part of the German troops, to the banks of the Rhine. The Mareſchal de Villars, ſtrongly poſted behind his lines at Arleux, diſappointed all the efforts of Marlborough, for bringing things to the deciſion of a battle. The Duke, on bad terms with the miniſtry, foreſaw that his own diſgrace was near. He, therefore, wiſhed earneſtly, either to overwhelm his political enemies with the ſplendour of a great victory, or at leaſt to retire, under the ſhelter of an action of renown. The ſtrong poſition of the French, the reſolution of their general, not to abandon the fate of the kingdom to the event of a battle, deprived the Duke of the opportunity which he ſo much

much desired. Having possessed himself of Arleux, a place considerable only from its commanding the Scarpe; he was driven from thence by the enemy. But he sat down before Bouchain, in sight of the enemy; and took that important place, on the thirteenth of September. The armies remained in the field, till the month of October; when the Duke closed, at once, his own military exploits and the campaign. CHAP. VIII. 1711.

In Germany, Savoy, and Spain.

NOTHING important happened on the side of Germany[l]. The Duke of Berwick, without any effort of consequence, defended Dauphiné and Provence against the allies, commanded by General Thaun[m]. In Spain, the taking of Gironne, by the Duke de Noailles, formed almost the whole operations of the present campaign. The Spaniards and Portuguese hovered, throughout the summer and autumn, without any action, on the frontiers of Estramadura[n]. A general languor prevailed, on every side of the war. Both parties, fatigued with fruitless hostilities, seemed willing to transfer their contests from the field to the cabinet. As the death of one Prince of the house of Austria had roused all Europe to arms, so the demise of another was destined to restore it to peace. On the first of October, Charles the Third, King of Spain, was chosen Emperor, by the unanimous consent of all the electors. The wretched situation of France prevented her from making the least effort against the elevation of her greatest enemy. But, had she even had the power, she ought not to have the inclination to frustrate the election. The Imperial crown seemed actually to exclude the new Emperor from that of Spain. The great motive of the war was removed, from all the confederates. It was not the interest of the German Princes to place in the hands of their master, the power of oppressing themselves. It was not to be supposed, that either Britain or the States, after

[l] Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. vii.
[m] Hist. de France, tom. iii.
[n] Hist. de Portugal, tom. ii.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

having expended their blood and treaſure, in breaking the power of one family, would raiſe that of another on its ruins.

Naval affairs.

THE operations by ſea were leſs important, if poſſible, than thoſe by land [o]. The combined fleet of the maritime powers was, as uſual, numerous, inactive, and expenſive. The extraordinary charge of the navy of Great Britain, during the war, had amounted to twenty millions ſterling. Little advantage was derived from this expence, except the reputation of commanding the ſeas. But the glory of a nation, it muſt be confeſſed, can never be purchaſed at too high a price. An expedition, intended againſt Quebec and Canada, failed, becauſe the navigation of the river St. Lawrence was then unknown. The ſquadron employed in that ſervice, was perſecuted throughout by misfortunes. They loſt ten tranſports on the coaſt of America; and the admiral's ſhip was blown up, by accident, at St. Helen's upon their return, with four hundred ſeamen on board [p]. The fleet in the Mediterranean was employed in the uſual ſervice of tranſporting ſuccours to Spain. They conveyed the German forces and ammunition from Vada to Barcelona, and enabled Charles the Third to retain a kind of footing in Catalonia.

Condition and views of the houſe of Bourbon.

THE languor with which the war was carried on by the confederates, ſeemed to indicate a diſpoſition towards peace. No open advances were, however, made by either ſide, for eſtabliſhing conferences to reſtore the public tranquillity. France had derived nothing but an increaſe of demands from all the propoſals ſhe had hitherto laid before the allies. The death of the Emperor Joſeph, an event of the utmoſt importance to the houſe of Bourbon, had induced the court of Verſailles to remain on the defenſive during the campaign, and to truſt their fate to the favourable circumſtances, which might ariſe in the courſe of time.

[o] Naval Hiſtory.

[p] Gazette.

Though

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

Though the barrier had been broken, in a great meaſure, in Flanders, they found that the progreſs of the enemy could be ſtill checked by a judicious poſition of their army, behind their lines. In Spain, the averſion of the people to the houſe of Auſtria, and their conſequent affection for Philip the Fifth, had raiſed a domeſtic force ſufficient to check, if not to diſappoint all the efforts of the allies. The nation, in an uninterrupted ſeries of hoſtilities for ten years, had caught a martial fire from their very misfortunes. The very poverty, to which they had been reduced by their own exertions and the depredations of the enemy, had rendered them more indifferent about terms of peace, as they had nothing to loſe by the war.

and of the Britiſh miniſtry.

THOUGH the miniſtry of Great Britain had provided ample ſupplies for continuing at preſent the war, they became anxious concerning the future means of reſtoring peace. The Earl of Oxford, in his late exertion in providing funds for the debts of the nation, had, by appropriating ſo much of the revenue, deprived himſelf of reſources. There was a neceſſity, therefore, to fall back, with loſs of reputation, into the ſtate in which he had found the nation, or to extricate himſelf and the kingdom from the war, by an immediate peace. A ſecret jealouſy of the power of the Duke of Marlborough, perhaps contributed more than the ſtate of public affairs, to forward the pacific meaſures of the Earl of Oxford. Though the miniſtry had determined to abridge a part of the Duke's power, as he was provoked beyond meaſure, he was an object of terror. To conclude a peace was the only means to reduce, to the rank of a private ſubject, a perſon who had gained ſuch credit, in the courſe of the war. He was himſelf no ſtranger to the delicate ſituation in which he ſtood. He knew that his whole conſequence to himſelf and his party would inſtantly vaniſh, when he ceaſed to command the army; and he reſolved to diſregard mortifications, and to retain in

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

his hands the only means that could render him formidable to his opponents.

Advances made by them

THE Britiſh miniſtry had very early become ſo eager for peace, that ſcarce any obſtacle remained to obſtruct their views, but a ſafe, ſecret, and ſufficient way to communicate their ſentiments to the French King. During the embaſſy of the Mareſchal de Tallard to King William, one Gaultier, a prieſt, attended him to England, and read maſs in the ambaſſador's chapel at London. This man, having inſinuated himſelf into the family of the Earl of Jerſey, whoſe lady was a Roman-catholic, remained in Britain after the departure of Tallard, with a profeſſed intention of becoming an uſeful ſpy for France, during the war which was then apprehended on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. Gaultier, regarding his own ſafety more than the intereſt of his country, gave no intelligence of conſequence. He continued, therefore, without being ſuſpected, in London, and divided his time between the duties of his function, in the Imperial ambaſſador's chapel, and his attention to the family of the Earl of Jerſey. That nobleman being connected with the new miniſtry, recommended Gaultier, as a man whoſe diſcretion they could truſt, and whoſe obſcurity was ſufficient to prevent all ſuſpicion of their deſign [9].

towards a peace.

THE miniſtry having agreed to the propoſal of Jerſey, employed that Earl to give verbal inſtructions to Gaultier, and to ſend him immediately to France. They ſignified their own inclinations towards a peace. They affirmed, that they thought the reſtoration of the public tranquillity highly neceſſary to the welfare of Great Britain. They, at the ſame time, explained the impoſſibility of their entering into private and ſeparate negociations with France. But they promiſed, that ſhould propoſals be made by the French King for renewing the conferences with the States-general,

[9] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

the

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

he Britiſh ambaſſadors ſhould receive ſuch orders, as ſhould deprive the Dutch of the power of hindering the concluſion of a general peace. The Abbé Gaultier having left London in the firſt week in January, arrived in a few days at Verſailles. His propoſals were received with an eagerneſs ſuitable to the diſtreſſes of France. But the ſervants of Lewis the Fourteenth, juſtly judging, that they had more to hope from the facility of the Britiſh miniſtry, than from the haughty obſtinacy of the States, returned a prudent anſwer. They charged the Abbé Gaultier to inform the Earl of Jerſey, that the King would hear no more of peace by the way of Holland. But that he ſhould be extremely glad to put an end to the war, by the interpoſition of Great Britain [r].

A memorial from France.

The Abbé having brought back to London this anſwer, the miniſtry agreed to grant the requeſt of the court of France. They, however, ſignified their hopes, that Lewis the Fourteenth would not offer conditions to Great Britain, leſs advantageous than thoſe he had propoſed to the States-General, at the late conferences of Gertruydenberg. A memorial was accordingly drawn up in form, by the court of Verſailles. The Britiſh miniſtry received it in the end of April, and tranſmitted it to the States, as a foundation for a general peace. The ceſſion of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria was neither promiſed by France nor inſiſted on by Great Britain. The death of the Emperor had given a new turn to the opinions of the ſpeculative, with regard to the balance of power. Beſides, the Spaniards found themſelves capable to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the allies, after the advantage at Baheuga and the battle of Villa-Vicioſa. The terms offered by Philip the Fifth were equally advantageous to Britain, with thoſe promiſed by Charles the Third; and the nation was in no condition to continue wantonly a war, that ceaſed to have an important object [s].

[r] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

[s] State of the times, MS.

CHAP. VIII.

1711. Preliminary demands

THOUGH the Britiſh miniſter was eager for peace, the negociations were, in ſome meaſure, ſuſpended, by the demands of his own ambition. When he obtained the title of Earl of Oxford, and the ſtaff of lord-treaſurer, his new dignities, while they added weight to his meaſures, became motives for his accelerating the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. The States having complained, that the memorial of the court of France was too general to be admitted as a proper foundation for the renewal of the conferences, Mr. Prior was ſent, in company with the Abbé Gaultier, to the court of Verſailles. He was directed only to communicate the demands of Great Britain, which, purſuant to the new method lately introduced by the allies, were called preliminary articles. The memorial, which he preſented, contained the pretenſions of the confederates in general, and the advantages expected in particular by the Britiſh nation. Sufficient barriers were demanded for the Empire and the States, on the ſide of the Rhine and in Flanders. The Dutch were to receive ſecurity for their commerce. The ſtrong places taken from the Duke of Savoy were to be reſtored; and that Prince was to be permitted to poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch towns and diſtricts in Italy, as were particularly mentioned in the treaties between him and the allies [t].

of Great Britain.

THE particular demands of Great Britain conſiſted in the acknowledgment of the title of Queen Anne, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line, the demolition of Dunkirk, a new treaty of commerce, the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Portmahon, the Negro-trade in America, ſome towns, as refreſhing places for the ſhips employed in the tranſportation of ſlaves to that part of the world. The Britiſh miniſtry alſo demanded, that the advantages in commerce already granted, or hereafter to be allowed by Spain to the moſt favoured nation, ſhould be extended to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

[t] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Hiſt. of Europe. Publications, MSS. paſſim.

That

That France ſhould either reſtore or cede the iſland of Newfoundland and Hudſon's Bay and Streights. Theſe articles were, by particular deſire, to remain a profound ſecret, not to be revealed but by the mutual conſent of the contracting parties. Three other conditions, of a more general nature, were prefixed, as abſolutely eſſential to the concluſion of peace. A ſecurity, that the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united on the ſame head. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to all the allies in their juſt demands. That commerce ſhould be thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed and permanently maintained [u].

Menager ſent privately to London.

THE powers granted to Prior were extremely confined. He was only to communicate theſe preliminary demands to the French miniſtry, and to bring back their anſwer. He inſiſted, therefore, on a poſitive anſwer, in writing, containing an abſolute conſent or a downright refuſal. To grant either, was deemed equally dangerous, by France. A conſent would ruin the trade of that kingdom. A refuſal might break off the negociation, and involve the houſe of Bourbon in all the miſeries of a war which had already been unfortunate, beyond the example of former times. To avoid thoſe inconveniences, the French King propoſed to tranſfer the negociations to London. He informed Prior, that ſince he was not ſufficiently authorized to treat in France, he intended, on his own part, to ſend a perſon, thoroughly inſtructed, to Great Britain, to treat directly with the miniſtry, under the immediate inſpection of the Sovereign. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen, was the perſon to whoſe prudence and knowledge the court of France reſolved to truſt this important buſineſs. The terms which Menager was inſtructed to grant, were to be confined, with regard to the Empire, to a bare renewal of the treaty of Riſwick. But the French King demanded, as an eſſential condition, the reſtoration of the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria.

[u] Report of the ſecret committee.

to

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

to their dominions, honours, and dignities. He pretended, for himſelf, to the reſtitution of Liſle, Tournay, Aire, Bethune, and Douay [w].

The negociation becomes public,

THE journey of Prior, as well as its object, remained a ſecret from the public till he returned to England, accompanied by Menager, in the firſt week of Auguſt. Having landed, from a ſmall veſſel at Deal, he was detained by the cuſtom-houſe officers, till he was releaſed by orders from London. One Mackay was the perſon, whoſe intemperate vigilance made this unſeaſonable diſcovery. This buſy man, having impoſed himſelf upon King William, as a ſpy upon the court of St. Germains, had been gratified with a commiſſion to direct the packet-boats at Dover. In gratitude for what he had received, and, perhaps, in expectation of more, he held a conſtant correſpondence with the ſecretary of ſtate's office, mixing a great deal of conjecture with a ſmall portion of intelligence. When Prior paſſed clandeſtinely from Dover to Calais, Mackay wrote to Mr. Secretary St. John, that an Engliſh gentleman had taken his paſſage to France. St. John, to conceal the affair from the public, deſired Mackay to keep the thing a ſecret, and to watch the man's return.

by accident.

THESE inſtructions were better followed by Mackay than St. John intended. That officious ſervant employed all his people, between the Forelands, to watch the return of Prior. He at length had advice that a veſſel had landed at Deal, three perſons with Secretary St. John's paſs. He made haſte to Canterbury, and met there his old acquaintance, Matthew Prior, under a feigned name. Mackay diſpatched immediately an expreſs to the Duke of Marlborough, then beſieging Bouchain, with this important intelligence. He informed alſo the Earl of Sunderland of what he had heard and ſeen; and that nobleman communicated to the Impe-

[w] De Torcy, tom. ii.

rial and Dutch ambaſſadors, his fixed opinion, that negociations of peace were begun. Marlborough ſent a copy of Mackay's letter to Secretary St. John. The informer was diſmiſſed from office. But the miſchief was already done. The Imperial miniſter expoſtulated with the miniſtry, concerning the ſecret negociations which were ſuſpected to ſubſiſt between Great Britain and France. He was told, by way of anſwer, that he had no reaſon to be alarmed. That the Queen was reſolved never to hearken to any terms of peace that might derogate from her engagements with her allies. The intercourſe between the two courts being no longer a ſecret, the ſubſtance of the projected treaty of peace was carried to the preſs by the oppoſing party, and eagerly defended by the friends of the miniſtry. The famous Dr. Jonathan Swift employed his abilities in favour of the meaſures of the crown. Prior was not an indifferent ſpectator of a conteſt, in which he himſelf was perſonally concerned [x].

It is defended by the miniſtry.

OBVIOUS arguments were introduced, with a vehemence and rhetoric that made a great impreſſion on the minds of a people already labouring under the heavy burdens of an unprofitable war. They affirmed, that the death of the Emperor had changed the whole face of affairs. That the dangers which the war was intended to prevent, were now likely to ariſe from its ſucceſs. That a Prince of the houſe of Auſtria ſucceeding to the Empire and the hereditary dominions of his family, and poſſeſſing already the Spaniſh territories in Italy, would be a more formidable King of Spain, than any Prince of the houſe of Bourbon, when excluded from the ſucceſſion of France. That the balance of power in Europe would be effectually deſtroyed by ſuch a meaſure. That the only thing to be expected, from a peace that ſhould place Charles the Third on the Spaniſh throne, would be a renewal of hoſtilities. That to reſtore the balance which ſuch a meaſure

[x] Publications of the times.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

muſt inevitably deſtroy, the whole fabric, built at the expence of ſo much treaſure and blood, muſt be deſtroyed by the ſame hands by which it was raiſed. To reconcile the nation to the ceſſion of Spain to the houſe of Bourbon, they affirmed, that the dependence of Philip the Fifth on French counſels, would certainly ceaſe at the death of his grandfather, an event not far diſtant, conſidering the great age of that Prince; and they cloſed their arguments with obſerving, that the total ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, was now a thing impracticable, as that monarchy was actually diſmembered, by the ceſſions made to the Duke of Savoy, and the conqueſts of the Britiſh and Dutch nations [y].

[y] Their caution.

THOUGH political timidity formed none of the faults of the Earl of Oxford, he obſerved a degree of caution in treating with Menager. He entered, with great freedom and an apparent zeal, into conferences with the French miniſter. But he, as well as other plenipotentiaries named by the Queen, declined to become an oſtenſible party in the treaty. The ſpecial preliminaries in ſubſtance the ſame that had been offered through Mr. Prior, by the court of Great Britain, were ſigned by Menager, on the twenty-ſeventh of September. They were, however, accepted and ſigned only by the Earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John, by virtue of a warrant granted for that purpoſe by the Queen. It was alſo obſervable, that neither the warrant nor any one paper in the whole tranſaction, was counterſigned by any of the Queen's ſervants. The miniſtry knew that they were watched by their enemies on an occaſion ſo critical; and they reſolved to prevent the very fear of danger, ſhould the negociation prove abortive, and they themſelves loſe their power. But though the ſervants of the crown obſerved ſuch caution in the negociation, they ſeemed determined to ſupport the preliminary articles. On the ninth of

[y] Political Pamphlets, 1711.

October,

October, a copy was delivered to the Imperial ambaſſador, Count Galas. That miniſter, with a precipitation more ſuitable to his zeal for his maſter than to common prudence, publiſhed the articles in a news-paper, with a view of appealing from the government to the people [z].

They reſolve to proceed.

THE publication of the preliminary articles changed, in ſome meaſure, the current of public opinion, which had hitherto run favourably for the miniſter. Though the people in general wiſhed for peace, they expected very ſplendid conditions, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſſes in the war. The uſual jealouſy of the populace was inflamed, by the arts of the excluded party. The preliminaries were called captious, inſidious, and inſufficient, the peace to be expected from them unſafe and diſhonourable. But neither Oxford nor his aſſociates were now to be intimidated, from the proſecution of their pacific deſigns. To teſtify at once to the world their reſolution to adhere to the preliminaries offered by France, they ordered the Imperial miniſter to come no more to court, and to make preparations for quitting the kingdom. The precipitate vehemence of that miniſter rendered, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary a proceeding which was as unuſual as it was ſevere. He ſpoke in open and high terms againſt the meaſures of the miniſtry. He held clandeſtine and nightly meetings with their political enemies; and thus, by joining intrigues to inſolence, rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious to the Queen as well as to her ſervants [a].

The Earl of Strafford ſent to the Hague.

THE preparations which the miniſtry had made to extricate themſelves from the war upon any decent terms, were neither lately begun nor purſued without prudence. They had ſent the Abbé Gaultier to France in the beginning of the year; they removed

[z] Publications of the times, paſſim. Burnet, vol. iv. [a] Ibid. Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

the Viſcount Townſhend, on whoſe attachment to themſelves they could not much depend, from the office of ambaſſador to the States-general. The Lord Raby, who had for ſeveral years ſerved in the like capacity, at the court of Pruſſia, ſucceeded Townſhend, in the month of March. This nobleman's chief recommendation to ſuch a diſtinguiſhed office, was his high Tory principles, and his known averſion to the intereſts of the Duke of Marlborough. His parts were feeble and uncomprehenſive. No knowledge of books, no juſt obſervations on mankind, enlightened a mind which nature had left confuſed and obſcure[b]. His moſt ſplendid virtue was perſonal courage, which he diſplayed upon various occaſions, before he quitted the field for the buſineſs of the cabinet. But his attachment to his party was more to be conſidered, than his abilities in diſcharging the duties of the office to which he was raiſed. Having been created Earl of Strafford, in the beginning of September, he was ordered by the Queen to repair to Holland, to lay before the States, the preliminaries which ſhe had accepted from the court of France. Strafford having arrived at the Hague, communicated to the penſionary Heinſius, the preliminary articles ſettled between Great Britain and France. The States having had ſeveral ſecret conferences, declared to the Britiſh ambaſſador, that they found the articles ſo general and obſcure, that they were afraid they were ill-calculated for ſerving as a foundation to a formal treaty. That, for this reaſon, their High Mightineſſes had appointed M. Buys their envoy extraordinary, to explain to the Queen of Great Britain their ſentiments and their fears upon that ſubject. Buys accordingly arrived in London, on the eighteenth of October. But neither the repreſentation of the States, nor the vehemence and intrigues of their envoy, were capable to change, or even to ſhake the reſolution formed by the Queen. She ordered her ambaſſador

[b] Hannover-papers. Swift's Notes on Mackay, MS.

to

to preſs the States to determine on a proper place for holding the congreſs. She required, at the ſame time, that paſſports ſhould be ſent immediately to the plenipotentiaries of France; and ſhe referred Buys, upon the whole, to the orders already tranſmitted to the Earl of Strafford, at the Hague [c].

Intrigues of Buys, the Dutch envoy.

THIS firmneſs of the Queen and her ſervants may, in ſome meaſure, be aſcribed to the inſolence and imprudence of the Dutch miniſter himſelf. He hoped to kindle ſuch a flame againſt the pacific intentions of the court, as might terrify them into a continuance of the war. He ſcarce obſerved common decency in his declamations againſt the Queen and her miniſters. He repreſented them as traitors to their country, as enemies to the confederates, and penſioners of France. He invited all malecontents, whether Britiſh or foreigners, to his table. He uſed all the means which either paſſion or malevolence could ſuggeſt, to ruin the ſervants of the crown in the opinions of the nation. His chief and moſt intimate connexion was with the Baron de Bothmar, the envoy of the Elector of Hannover. That miniſter having paſſed from Holland to London in company with the Duke of Marlborough, entered into all the ſchemes of Buys. To increaſe the riſing clamour of the people, he preſented a ſtrong memorial againſt the preliminaries in the name of his maſter [d]. This paper, probably penned, or at leaſt ſuggeſted by the Whigs themſelves, gave great ſatisfaction to that party. But it was extremely impolitic; as it might contribute to throw the miniſtry in the ſcale of the Pretender.

The Elector of Hannover oppoſes the peace.

THE Elector himſelf, in a letter to the Earl of Oxford, expreſſed his higheſt diſapprobation of the projected peace. He affirmed, that the fruits of a glorious war would be loſt, ſhould Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the Duke of Anjou. That

[c] Hiſt. d'Angleterre. M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

[d] Printed Memorial.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

France would ſoon give laws to Europe, and fruſtrate all the wiſe meaſures taken by the Queen, to ſecure a permanent and ſolid proſperity for her people [e]. He, therefore, conjured his lordſhip to uſe all his credit to prevent ſuch a misfortune. The Emperor, who hoped to gain moſt by the war, ſhewed the greateſt vehemence againſt the peace. He ſent letters to all the circles of Germany, requeſting and requiring all the Princes to adhere to his cauſe. He wrote in ſtrong terms to Queen Anne herſelf. The ſolicitations of foreign powers were aided, with all their addreſs, by the Whigs at home. In imitation of the famous Earl of Shafteſbury, they prepared to inflame the people, with an expenſive pope-burning, on the ſeventeenth of November. But the miniſtry were neither to be intimidated nor ſwayed from their purpoſe. The States, perceiving their obſtinacy, yielded to a current which they could no longer oppoſe. Buys produced at length paſſports, in their name, to the plenipotentiaries of France. Utrecht was appointed for holding the congreſs, which was to be opened on the twelfth of January [f].

Secret and dangerous deſigns

But though the States, in their public conduct, affected to yield to the inclinations of the Britiſh court, they were forming ſecret meaſures, that ſeemed to threaten a ſecond revolution in the government of the kingdom. Under the ſuppoſition, that the Queen was reſolved not to furniſh her uſual proportion of the force employed in Flanders, the Dutch, in concert with the Emperor, intended to ſeize the Britiſh troops in the Netherlands. France, informed of this deſign, communicated the intelligence to Queen Anne. But her ſervants were already apprized of all the clandeſtine machinations of their enemies. They knew that the whole behaviour of the Count de Galas, and his ſtay in Britain, after he had been excluded from the privilege of appearing at court, were founded on a conſpiracy formed at London.

[e] Elector to Oxford, Nov. 7, 1711. Hannover-papers. [f] Publications of the times.

The

The real motive of his delay was to ſee the reſult of the mobiſh proceſſion, for burning the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender, which the Whigs intended to render ſubſervient to the exciting an inſurrection. The ſucceſs of the project being uncertain, Galas, by the advice of the Earl of Sunderland, wrote for Prince Eugene, as the laſt reſort. Under pretence of paying their reſpects to that diſtinguiſhed general, the party were to conduct him to London, with two thouſand horſe. His public entry was to have been on the day of the burning of the Pope and his aſſociates. It was from their being apprized of this circumſtance, that the miniſtry ſeized the figures, deſtined to be carried by the populace in the intended proceſſion[g].

of the Whigs and the confederates.

DURING thoſe ſecret machinations, the Earl of Sunderland and the lord Halifax, the moſt active of the leaders of the malecontents, endeavoured to engage the people, in their own cauſe. They boldly affirmed, that the chief view of the preſent adminiſtration, was to reſtore the Pretender. The Queen, they ſaid, was already betrayed. The nation were ready to be alſo deceived. There was a neceſſity, they averred, for ſending for the Elector or his ſon. Otherwiſe, the proteſtant ſucceſſion, they ſaid, was in imminent danger. The Queen was in a declining ſtate of health. She was kept alive, they affirmed, by art, by cordials and ſtrong medicines, preſcribed by her phyſicians. Anne herſelf was no ſtranger to theſe conſpiracies formed by her ſubjects. She knew the countenance given by the allies, to the deſigns of the malecontents in her kingdom. Her eagerneſs for peace increaſed in proportion to her fears. The French king was not inſenſible of the difficulty of her ſituation. But, as the re-eſtabliſhment of peace had long employed all his wiſhes and thoughts, he complied with all her demands. Her ſervants were equally eager with herſelf, for an immediate reſtoration of the public

[g] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers.

tranquillity.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

tranquillity. A time of ſuſpenſe was to them a period of danger. Their domeſtic enemies were on the watch for their errors; and the confederates were prepared to ſupport the Whigs with vigour [h].

Marlborough communicates

WHEN his party were forming ſchemes to ſupport his power, the Duke of Marlborough yielded to that political deſpondence to which he was frequently ſubject. Diſappointed in his views at home, he began, according to cuſtom, to turn his eyes toward the court of St. Germains. He admitted their agents to his privacy and converſation. He ſignified his unalterable attachment to the Pretender, and his zeal to obtain her dowry for the exiled Queen. He regretted that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might have done, in that caſe, eſſential ſervice to the OLD cauſe. He aſſured them, that he conſidered the payment of the dowry, as a great point toward the re-eſtabliſhment of the excluded line. "The eyes of the people," he ſaid, "will be gradually opened. They will ſee their intereſt in reſtoring their King," for ſo he called the pretended Prince of Wales. His cauſe, he affirmed, had gained ſo much ground of late years, that he ſolemnly ſwore, it could not but come to a happy iſſue. Both ſides, he averred, would find themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the excluded Prince, for ſolid peace and internal happineſs: "Not from any true principles of conſcience or honeſty," the Duke was pleaſed to ſay; "for I do not believe that either party is ſwayed by any of theſe [i]."

his vehement zeal, and offers

THE Duke deſcended from theſe obſervations to articles of information and advice. "The French King and his miniſters," he ſaid, "will ſacrifice every thing to their own views of peace. The Earl of Oxford and his aſſociates in office to take, as uſual, the ground of their adverſaries, will probably inſiſt upon THE

[h] De Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712. [i] Stuart-paper, Nov. 3, 1711.

KING'S

KING's retiring to Italy. But he muſt never conſent. He muſt yield neither to the French King, nor to the fallacious inſinuations of the Britiſh miniſtry, in a point which muſt inevitably ruin his cauſe. To retire to Italy," the Duke ſwore, " by the living God, is the ſame thing as to ſtab him to the heart. Let him take refuge in Germany, in ſome country on this ſide of the Alps. He wants no ſecurity for his perſon. None will touch a hair of his head. I perceive ſuch a change in his favour, that I think it impoſſible but he muſt ſucceed. But when he ſhall ſucceed, let there be no retroſpect toward the paſt. All that has been done ſince the Revolution muſt be confirmed. His buſineſs is to gain all by offending none. As for myſelf, I take God to witneſs, that what I have done, for many years, was neither from ſpleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, nor ill-will to their cauſe; but to humble the power of France; a ſervice as uſeful to the KING, as it is beneficial to his kingdom."

his advice to the Pretender.

" PEACE," he ſaid, " muſt certainly happen: The people ſtand in need of tranquillity on both ſides. The current of the nation now ſeconds the views of the miniſter. But peace and all that has been done, favours the cauſe of THE KING. God, who rules above, ſeems viſibly to diſpoſe all for the beſt. But neither Whigs nor Tories can ever be depended upon, as parties. Their profeſſions are always different. Their views preciſely the ſame. They both graſp at the poſſeſſion of power. The Prince who gives them the moſt is their greateſt favourite. As for me, I have been treated unworthily. But God has bleſſed me with a great deal of temper and forbearance of mind. I have taken my reſolution to be quiet. I have determined to wait my time. But if Harley will puſh me further, he ſhall know of what metal I am made. As for the King's affairs, occaſion is only wanting to my zeal. God Almighty has placed matters in ſuch a train, that he muſt at any rate ſucceed. I know perfectly his ſiſter's diſpoſition of

CHAP. VI.I. 1711.

mind. She is a very HONEST PERSON, eaſily won, and without difficulty ſwayed. She is extremely cautious, as ſhe is to the laſt degree ſubject to fear. At bottom ſhe has no averſion to her brother's intereſt. But ſhe is one that muſt not be frightened. An external force would terrify her, and alienate the minds of the nation. Leave us, therefore, to ourſelves, and all your hopes will be crowned with ſucceſs[i].

He arrives in England. Affair of the Scotiſh medal.

A FEW days after the Duke of Marlborough had made theſe vehement aſſurances to the Pretender, he embarked for England, accompanied by the Baron de Bothmar, the miniſter of the Elector of Hannover. He had undertaken, in the ſame warm manner, to ſupport the intereſt of his Highneſs; and ſcarce any doubt can be formed of his being inſtrumental in perſuading Bothmar to preſent the memorial which made ſo much noiſe in the kingdom. The inſinuations of the Whigs had made an impreſſion on the minds of the electoral family, which all the aſſeverations and ſervile profeſſions of the Tories were not capable to remove[k]. The compliments of the Earl of Oxford and his aſſociates, were loſt on a court, who formed their opinions of the principles of the ſervants of the crown, upon thoſe of the party to whoſe influence they owed their power. An incident, which happened in the courſe of the ſummer, in Scotland, contributed to increaſe the jealouſy of the preſumptive heirs of the crown. The majority of the Scots being perſuaded, that the union of the kingdoms had been accompliſhed by bribery and corruption, had retained their averſion to that treaty in all its original force. The change of the miniſtry, the admiſſion of ſeveral known Jacobites into office, and into both houſes of parliament, had added the hopes of more important alterations, to the ill humours of the diſcontented. The adherents of the excluded family fondly imagined, that the time was now arrived for avowing their own principles, and for

[i] Stuart-papers, 1711.

[k] Hannover-papers, 1711.

founding

founding the inclinations of government, with regard to their cauſe.

Seditious conduct of the advocates.

In this diſpoſition of the minds of the Jacobites, even a trivial incident was likely to be ſeized with eagerneſs. The Dutcheſs of Gordon, a Roman-catholic, ſent a medal to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the faculty of advocates, in Edinburgh. This piece of ſilver, which had been diſtributed in Flanders, in the preceding year, among the officers of the Britiſh army, by one Booth, a page of the Pretender, had, on the one ſide, the profile of a head, crowned with laurel; and, on the reverſe, a kind of map of the Britiſh iſles. A legend ſurrounded the whole inſinuating, that the kingdom ſhould be reſtored to the owner. The Dean having preſented the medal at a meeting of the members, on the thirtieth of June, they voted, ſixty-three againſt twelve, that their hearty thanks ſhould be returned to the Dutcheſs, for her very valuable preſent. Dundas of Arniſton, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debate upon that ſubject, was appointed, together with Horn of Weſthall, to preſent the thanks of the faculty. The words uſed by Dundas upon the occaſion, were to the laſt degree ſeditious and bold. "We thank your Grace," he ſaid, "for a medal of our ſovereign lord the King. We flatter ourſelves, that your Grace will ſoon have an opportunity of preſenting to the faculty of advocates, a ſecond medal, ſtruck upon the reſtoration of our lawful King and the royal family, and for the finiſhing of rebellion, the uſurpation of the crown, and the tyranny of whiggery [1].

Suſpicious lenity of government.

Dundas, whoſe principles of Jacobitiſm overcame his prudence, carried to the preſs a vindication of himſelf, more violent and ſeditious, if poſſible, than the expreſſions uſed in the ſpeech, which he made to the Dutcheſs of Gordon. The copy, however, having been carried to the provoſt of Edinburgh, was ſuppreſſed,

[1] Publications of the Times.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

before it was printed. The faculty of advocates, perceiving that their zeal had carried them too far, made a public recantation of the error, as they called it, committed by ſome of their members. The affair of the medal, however, made a great noiſe. The Whigs complained vehemently of the Tories. The alarm ſpread to the court of Hannover. The Baron de Kreyenberg, the Elector's reſident in London, laid, by the expreſs orders of his maſter, a memorial before the Queen, containing preſſing inſtances for the proſecution of the offenders. The miniſtry granted his requeſt, in a manner that rendered them more ſuſpected. They removed from the office of Queen's advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, whoſe principles, when they oppoſed not his own intereſt, were inclined to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, under a pretence of his being remiſs in the proſecution of the medaliſts. But notwithſtanding this appearance of ſeverity againſt the negligence of Dalrymple, his ſucceſſor in office was ſcarce leſs remiſs. The whole affair was gradually dropt by the government of Britain. But the jealouſy of the court of Hannover continued [m].

Parliament meets.

THE parliament, which had been from time to time prorogued, was ſuffered by the Queen to meet, on the ſeventh of December. The miniſtry having reſolved to carry their great object the peace, were willing to have ſome account of the progreſs of that important meaſure to lay before the two houſes, when they ſhould firſt aſſemble. The ſpeech with which the Queen opened the ſeſſion, was more ſuitable to the known deſign of her ſervants, than in itſelf ſincere. She told her parliament that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe that delight in war, both place and time were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. That her allies, eſpecially the States, had expreſſed their intire confidence in her conduct. That her own chief concern was to perpetuate the Proteſtant religion and the laws and liber-

[m] Publications of the Times, paſſim. Hannover papers.

ties of the nation, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hannover. That ſhe was reſolved to improve and enlarge their intereſt in trade and commerce, by the advantages to be obtained by the peace. That ſhe would not only endeavour to procure all reaſonable ſatisfaction to her allies, but unite them in the ſtricteſt engagements to render permanent the public tranquillity. That the beſt way to treat, with effect, about a peace, was to make an early proviſion for carrying on the war. She, therefore, demanded the uſual ſupplies; and concluded with earneſtly recommending that unanimity which was neceſſary to the diſcuſſion of a buſineſs of the laſt importance to all Europe, as well as to themſelves [n].

Intrigues of the allies, and Whigs.

THE foreign and domeſtic enemies of the miniſtry, deſpairing to gain a majority of the commons, had applied themſelves to the lords. Buys, the Dutch ambaſſador, had extended his intrigues, with ſucceſs, to ſeveral members [o]. The Duke of Marlborough ſuffered his love of money to yield to his hatred to Oxford, and his apprehenſions from his meaſures. He was ſaid to have bribed eight of the Queen's ſervants, in the upper houſe [p]. The miniſtry were no ſtrangers to theſe ſecret intrigues, and their threats increaſed in proportion to their anxiety and fear. They talked of nothing but the beheading of the corruptor, ſhould the corruption itſelf be ſufficiently proved. France became afraid of the eagerneſs of the court of Great Britain, leſt her own hopes of peace ſhould be baffled in the concuſſion of the two parties. The court of Verſailles were, at the ſame time, no ſtrangers to the ſecret views of the allies, with regard to the meaſures of the Britiſh miniſtry. They knew that the States, notwithſtanding their late acquieſcence in the propoſal of appointing a time and place for a congreſs for a treaty of peace, were willing to come to extremi-

[n] Journals, Dec. 7, 1711. [o] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. [p] Ibid.

CHAP. VII. 1712.

ties, with a view to continue the war. They were ready to uſe more effectual means than repreſentations with the Queen of Great Britain. They were at no pains to conceal, that they intended to fit out a fleet to aſſiſt the Elector of Hannover to ſtrike the ſcepter from her hand. The common converſation in Holland turned upon the deſign of the States, to treat Queen Anne as they had treated her father; and to exhibit another ſcene, as that in the year 1688; but probably more bloody, and perhaps more deciſive [q].

The lords againſt the peace.

THE diſpoſition of a majority of the peers was well known, before the ſeſſion was opened. The Queen, either to awe or to gain ſome members of the oppoſition, with her preſence, diſrobing herſelf, in an adjacent room, returned to hear the debates in the houſe of lords. The Whigs had uſed every meaſure that prudence could ſuggeſt, to ſtrengthen themſelves, by weakening their enemies. They had the addreſs to gain the Earl of Nottingham, and ſome other lords, equally attached to the principles of the high church, to aid their party in oppoſing the projected peace. When a motion was made, and ſeconded, for an addreſs of thanks to the Queen, Nottingham endeavoured, in a long and laboured ſpeech, to ſhew the inſufficiency of the terms of the late preliminaries. He concluded with offering a clauſe, to be inſerted in the addreſs, that no peace could be ſafe or honourable, ſhould Spain and the Indies be continued to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon. The miniſtry oppoſed, with the whole weight of government, a motion calculated to break all their meaſures. But neither their arguments nor their influence could prevail. Several lords in office, as had been apprehended, joined the oppoſing party. The previous queſtion, on Nottingham's clauſe, was carried by his own caſting vote. The adherents of the Earl of Oxford oppoſed the main queſtion with ſtill worſe ſucceſs. The

[q] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712.

addreſs,

addreſs, with the addition, was carried, by a majority of ſix voices[r]; and, on the eleventh of December, it was preſented to the Queen. Her anſwer was ambiguous, and more ſuitable to the character of the miniſter than to her own. She ſhould be ſorry, ſhe ſaid, that any one could ſuſpect that ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover Spain and the Indies from the houſe of Bourbon[s].

Bill of occaſional conformity paſſed.

To obtain this victory over the miniſtry, the Whigs ſacrificed, in one inſtance, their own principles. The diſguſt of Nottingham, for not having been comprehended in the changes made in the preceding year, together with a late diſappointment in his views on the privy-ſeal, had thrown him into oppoſition againſt the court. He, however, made his terms with the Whigs, before he conſented to eſpouſe their cauſe. The bill of occaſional conformity had been always the darling object of this Earl. Having thrice miſcarried, it had lain dormant for ſeven years. The leaders of the Whig-party had agreed to concur with Nottingham in his favourite bill, ſhould it be brought in by another title, to ſave appearances with the world. The bill was accordingly paſſed, without difficulty, by the lords. The known principles of the commons prevented all oppoſition, in the lower houſe, to a law ſo favourable to the church. The Diſſenters, throughout the kingdom, were alarmed. They applied in vain to parliament. They preſented a petition, to no purpoſe, to the Earl of Oxford. Though his lordſhip and his family had joined almoſt uniformly in communion with the Preſbyterians, he ſacrificed, upon the preſent occaſion, his religious profeſſions to his political views. The inconſiſtency of the Whigs was highly blamed by the moſt ſincere of their own party. They affirmed, that to ſerve their own views upon power, they made no ſcruple of deſerting their principles. To recommend themſelves to the preſumptive heirs,

[r] 61 againſt 55.

[s] Journals of the lords.

of

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

of the crown, they had repealed all the limitations laid upon the royal prerogative, by the act of ſettlement. To carry a queſtion, in the houſe of lords, they made a ſacrifice of the Diſſenters, whoſe religious and political opinions had been their own chief ſupport with the nation [u].

The Duke of Hamilton's patent.

WHILE the Whigs departed from their principles, to render themſelves more capable of haraſſing the miniſtry, they found a freſh opportunity of triumphing over the court-party. The Duke of Hamilton, one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland, having been created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Duke of Brandon, claimed his place in that quality in the houſe of lords. His former attachment to the excluded family had rendered Hamilton obnoxious to the Whigs. His deſertion of the Jacobites, at the Union of the two kingdoms, was not calculated to recommend him to the Tories. The court, however, were obliged to ſupport a queſtion, which ſeemed to ſtrike at the prerogative of the crown. Lawyers were heard upon the patent [w]. The right of the Queen to grant honours was admitted by all. None doubted that all the ſubjects of the united kingdoms were capable of being created peers. It ſeemed, therefore, extremely hard, that the nobility of Scotland ſhould be debarred from a privilege, to which the reſt of the natives of that part of the kingdom had an undoubted title. But it was urged, on the other ſide, that the prerogative of the Crown could not operate againſt an act of parliament. That the treaty of Union had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great Britain, in every reſpect, except in voting in the houſe of lords, or ſitting in judgment on a peer. That having transferred their right of voting to ſixteen of their own number, they had all the portion of the legiſlature they had a right to poſſeſs; and that their being received into the houſe in any other way than by election, was to give them the

[u] Publications of the Times. [w] Journals of the lords, Dec. 20, 1711.

double

double privilege of being preſent, at once, in their own perſons, and in thoſe of their repreſentatives [x].

rejected by the lords.

THE Scotiſh peers had ſurrendered their own privileges in a manner that ſeemed to entitle them to no indulgence. But theſe concluſions were neither convincing nor deciſive. The apprehenſions expreſſed by ſome lords, in the courſe of the debate, were better founded than their arguments. They ſaid, that conſidering the dignity and antiquity of the peers of Scotland, together with the known poverty of many of that order, the miniſter would have no difficulty of ſecuring a majority in the houſe of lords, by calling them to that aſſembly by the means of new patents. Anne herſelf was preſent at a debate which ſeemed to abridge her prerogative. Though the whole influence of the court was exerted, when the matter came to a final vote, the oppoſition carried the queſtion [y]. The Queen and the miniſtry were much diſappointed. The Scotiſh peers were enraged. They met together and framed an addreſs to the throne. They complained of a breach of the Union, and of the mark of diſgrace put upon their whole order. They promiſed to ſupport the prerogative of the crown, whether they ſhould continue united to England, or revert to their original ſtate. The Queen anſwered them in a ſtrain that ſhewed her diſpleaſure at the deciſion of the lords. She ſent a meſſage to the houſe, complaining of the diſtinction made with regard to the peers of Scotland. She demanded their advice, in vain, concerning an affair, which, at once, touched the prerogative of the crown and the privilege of a part of her ſubjects [z].

Proceedings of the commons.

DURING theſe refractory proceedings of the lords, the commons ſupported, with great unanimity, the meaſures of the crown. They echoed back the Queen's ſpeech, with a very

[x] Burnet, vol. iv. [y] 57 againſt 52. [z] Journals.

favourable

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

favourable addreſs. They granted, without either difficulty or reſerve, the demanded ſupplies. To ſupport the miniſtry, they extended their animadverſions to their enemies. Having ordered the commiſſioners for the public accounts to lay before them their proceedings; their report was made, on the twenty-firſt of December [a]. In this report was contained the depoſition of Sir Solomon Medina, charging the Duke of Marlborough, and one Cardonnel, his ſecretary, of various peculations, with regard to the contracts for bread and bread-waggons for the army in Flanders. Marlborough endeavoured to defend himſelf, in vain. His paſſion for money was known; and his pretenſions to diſintereſtedneſs produced no effect on the minds of the commons. The report of the commiſſioners was publiſhed. It was followed by accuſations of various kinds. The preſs teemed with publications and pamphlets, as the Duke's friends, as well as his enemies, made their appeal to the world. The cauſe of the latter prevailed. On the thirtieth of December, the Queen declared, in council, her reſolution to diſmiſs Marlborough from all his employments. An information, ſhe ſaid, having been laid before the commons, againſt the Duke, ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs him from her ſervice, that the charge might be more impartially examined [b].

Diſgrace of the Duke of Marlborough.

NOTWITHSTANDING this oſtenſible pretence, the Duke owed his diſgrace to a more ſecret cauſe. His own conduct, ſince his arrival from Holland, was full of offence and liable to ſuſpicion. Though extremely ſubject, like his friend Godolphin, to political timidity, he had lately abandoned his uſual caution. His party having calculated their numbers in the houſe of lords, had filled him with a confidence of ſucceſs, before the parliament met. The addreſs of the peers, againſt the peace, increaſed his courage and inflamed his hopes. He thought he acted with ſecurity to himſelf, as well

[a] Journals, Dec. 21.

[b] Minutes of council, Dec. 30, 1711.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

as with advantage to his party. He threw his whole weight into the ſcale againſt the miniſtry. He caballed with Buys. He courted Bothmar. He herded with the diſcontented of all nations. Neglecting that government of his paſſions, for which he had been admired by the world, he fell into all the impotencies of rage and reſentment, upon every party-debate[c]. He left to the Queen her choice of two alternatives. To ſtop the progreſs of the peace, to diſmiſs the miniſtry, and to diſſolve the parliament, or to rid herſelf of a perſon, who, from a ſervant, was likely to become a tyrant. She determined to adopt the latter meaſure, and ſhe wrote to the Duke, that ſhe had no farther occaſion for his ſervice.

Cauſe of that meaſure.

THE fears of the miniſtry, or the deſigns of the Duke of Marlborough, juſtified the diſmiſſion of the latter on other grounds. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the refractory ſpirit of the houſe of lords, framed ſuddenly an expedient for gaining a majority in that aſſembly. On the laſt day of December, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers. The leaders of the Whigs finding that the treaſurer was reſolved to carry his meaſures in parliament, are ſaid to have reſolved to appeal to the ſword. The Duke of Marlborough having his commiſſion under the great ſeal, the order of the Queen was not ſufficient to diſſolve his power. His friends adviſed him to aſſemble, by his authority as general, all the troops in London, in the different ſquares, and to take poſſeſſion of St. James's and the perſon of the Queen. Oxford, apprized of this deſign, ſuddenly called together the cabinet-council. Though he probably concealed his intelligence, to prevent their fears, he told them of the neceſſity of ſuperſeding Marlborough, under the great ſeal. This buſineſs was ſoon diſpatched. His diſmiſſion, in form, was

[c] Swift's four laſt years.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

ſent to the Duke. The Earl of Oxford, no ſtranger to the character of Marlborough, knew that he would not act againſt law, by aſſembling the troops [d]. The natural diffidence of his diſpoſition, had made him unfit for enterpriſes of danger in a degree that furniſhed his enemies with inſinuations againſt his perſonal courage [e].

Obſervations

THUS fell the Duke of Marlborough, a man as ſingular in the diſpoſition of his mind, as he was in the extraordinary fortune of his life. The high ſphere in which he moved, rendering him the object of envy, as well as of applauſe; he has been cenſured with virulence, by ſome writers, and by others extravagantly praiſed. The ſecret intrigues, and the hiſtory of his public tranſactions, have furniſhed both ſides with an ample field for declamation; and there is even a peculiarity in his character, that ſcarce admits of that happy medium which lies between the oppoſite limits of detraction and admiration. Though he was born with very conſiderable talents, he was far from poſſeſſing thoſe extenſive abilities, which are deemed, perhaps very erroneouſly, eſſential to men who acquire the firſt fame in war. Neglected in his education, when young, his mind was not imbued with the leaſt tincture of letters. He could not even ſpell his native language [f]. He neither ſpoke with eaſe, nor attempted, at all, to write, in any foreign tongue [g]. This unhappy defect may, in a certain degree, form an excuſe for ſome parts of his conduct, which might otherwiſe appear profligate. Excluded from every knowledge of the virtues of former times, he fell in with the vices of his own. He judged, perhaps, of human nature, from the unprincipled manners of the court in which he was bred; and the ſelfiſhneſs that has contributed to ſtain his name, found an excuſe in the profligacy of other men.

[d] MS. Anecdote, 1712.
[e] Swift's four laſt years, p. 15.
[f] His original letters. Stuart and Hannover-papers, paſſim.
[g] Original letters to Robethon. Hannover-papers.

CHAP. VIII.

1711. on the character,

THERE is, however, great reaſon to believe, that Marlborough improved conſiderably on the vicious example of ſeveral of his cotemporaries. His defection from King James might, in ſome meaſure, be excuſed by its utility. But his deſign of placing that unfortunate Prince a captive in the hands of his rival, is utterly inconſiſtent with the common feelings of mankind [h]. With regard to HIM, he was a benefactor, a friend, and even a father. He raiſed HIM from obſcurity, to independence, to fortune, and to honour. He placed HIM in that only ſtate, that could render his deſertion deſtructive to his own affairs. If his miſconduct had rendered James unworthy of the returns of gratitude due to other men, why was King William alſo deceived [i]? If no meaſures were to be kept with either of thoſe Monarchs, why was England betrayed to her mortal enemy [k]? Though theſe queſtions can ſcarce be anſwered to ſatisfaction, they admit of alleviation. In the characters of mankind ſome allowances muſt be made for their paſſions and frailties. The attention to intereſt, which paſſed through the whole conduct of Marlborough, might ſuggeſt to his prudence, to quit the fortunes of a man apparently deſtined for ruin. His ſpirit might induce him to oppoſe King William, as the cold reſerve, neglect, and averſion of that Prince, might offend his pride. In this ſtate of mind, his Lordſhip could hardly ſeparate the intereſt of the kingdom from that of the King; and he informed the French court of the expedition againſt Breſt, more with a deſign of being revenged on William, than with a view to ſerve France at the expence of England.

and conduct

BUT if the virtues of the Duke of Marlborough were neither many nor ſtriking, he ſupplied the defects of his mind with the decency of his outward carriage and the dexterity of his conduct. He poſſeſſed a ſolid underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution,

[h] Original papers, 1688. [i] Stuart-papers, paſſim. [k] Stuart-papers, 1694.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

an irreſiſtible manner, an addreſs which rendered mankind pleaſed with themſelves. If not modeſt by nature, he aſſumed its appearance, with eaſe and dignity. He reconciled mankind to his fame, by affecting to be indifferent about applauſe; and, by coming upon men in general, through their vanity, they were willing to give back the praiſe which he ſo liberally beſtowed. Though he was perfectly maſter of his temper, and able to govern, or effectually to diſguiſe his paſſions, he threw a kind of pleaſing vehemence into his converſation, that gave it the appearance of ſincerity. The great vice of his mind, and, perhaps, the root of all the manifeſt defects of his character, was an ungovernable love of wealth. This paſſion, deemed inconſiſtent with any greatneſs of ſoul, betrayed him into meanneſſes, that raiſed a contempt, which could ſcarcely be obliterated from the minds of men, by the uncommon ſplendour of his actions in the field. Though, perhaps, never man was more hated, he owed more to favouritiſm than to fortune. The affection of King James had firſt made him an object of attention to his country. The ſuppoſed attachment of Queen Anne to himſelf and his family, procured for him that influence in Europe, which was the great foundation of his ſucceſs [k].

of the Duke of Marlborough.

THE malevolence that perſecuted Marlborough through his actions in civil life, purſued the moſt ſplendid of his operations in the field. No modern general obtained greater victories, yet his conduct has been much leſs praiſed than his good fortune. Some affirmed, that he was not fond of expoſing his own perſon, in action [l]. Others ſaid, that his apparent perturbation of ſpirits, in the hour of battle, was as little conſiſtent with his uſual carriage, as it was with true courage. But neither of theſe charges ſeem to be well founded. An uninterrupted chain of ſucceſs, through a courſe of many years, cannot juſtly be aſcribed to

[k] MSS. paſſim.

[l] Swift's four years.

chance

chance alone; and perſonal courage can never be denied, with juſtice, to a man who has been accuſed by his enemies to have delighted in war [m]. In his political capacity the Duke was certainly timid. His misfortunes proceeded from that very defect of his character. In his principles, for notwithſtanding what his enemies affirm, he had ſome, he was certainly a high Tory. He poſſeſſed a ſubſerviency of manner, a habit inſeparable from men bred in courts, that ſuited the moſt extravagant pretenſions of royalty. To this circumſtance, more, perhaps, than to gratitude, ought to be aſcribed his manifeſt attachment to the excluded branch of the family of Stuart. To a ſincerity, in this reſpect, was owing, in fact, his continual profeſſions to the court of St. Germains. They were, in themſelves, neither an object of hope nor of fear; and, therefore, they were little calculated to gratify either ambition or avarice. He was diſtruſted by them, perhaps, more than he deſerved. Had he been poſſeſſed of a daring boldneſs, ſuitable to his great influence, fame, and power, he might, probably, have placed the Pretender on the throne. All his paſſions, at length, were either ſubdued or extinguiſhed by the love of money; and to that unhappy circumſtance muſt be aſcribed the ruin of his reputation. Upon the whole, if Marlborough is leſs to be admired than ſome other diſtinguiſhed ſtateſmen and generals, it is, perhaps, becauſe his ſecret intrigues and actions are better known.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

THE fate of his reputation, after his fall, may be conſidered as a kind of proof, that too much was known, even THEN, of his private conduct. The news of his diſmiſſion was received like a common occurrence. No tumults, no clamours, excepting the complaints of the writers of ſome pamphlets, ſucceeded that event. The greateſt ſubject in Europe ſunk into a private ſtation, without the ſound of his fall being heard. His conſequence with his own party

Reflections.

[m] Publications of the times. Queen's ſpeech, Dec. 7, 1711.

CHAP. VIII. 1711.

party vaniſhed with his commiſſion. His own uſual good temper forſook him with his good fortune. He became querulous, wrathful, violent, revengeful. From directing the affairs of Europe, he ſunk into an inferior tool of a faction. The pre-eminence which he poſſeſſed, when in office, ceaſed when he became a private man. His wealth, his former reputation, his ſplendid actions, only contributed, by their contraſt, to render his preſent condition more abject. The vulgar, tho' ſometimes more generous than their ſuperiors, inſtead of applauding his conduct, perſecuted him with inſults [z]; and he had the mortification to ſee the Prince of Savoy, the only rival of his military fame, received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the arts of his enemies fomented the prejudices of the vulgar. The beſt writers had been gained to the ſide of the miniſtry. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, and eſſay was ſucceeded by eſſay. When the ſhafts of poignant ſatire fly, without intermiſſion, even the moſt invulnerable fame muſt give way. Beſides, the Duke himſelf was conquered in his own mind. Inſtead of that dignified coolneſs, that was deemed a part of his character, he was found unable to bear a reverſe of fortune. He diſcovered, upon every occaſion, an impatience and a reſentment, more apt to amuſe than to terrify his political enemies [a].

He is unjuſtly cenſured for proſecuting

THOUGH Marlborough ſhewed leſs apathy than was expected from his former character, his enemies furniſhed him with ſufficient reaſons for his reſentment. The accuſation which chiefly ruined his credit with the nation, now appears to have been malicious and unjuſt. He was ſaid to have ſacrificed the war in Spain, to his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice. His enemies in parliament, alluding to the ſtrength of the French barrier, made uſe of a vulgar phraſe, which made a great impreſſion on a people who were heartily

[z] Stuart-papers, 1712. [a] Swift's four years, p. 67. Stuart-papers. Hannover-papers.

tired

tired of the war. They ſaid, that to endeavour to ſubdue France, by attacking her ſtrong towns on the ſide of Flanders, was taking the bull by the horns. That, inſtead of expelling Philip the Fifth from Spain, the troops and treaſure of the confederates were thrown away on unimportant ſieges, and attacks upon almoſt impregnable lines. That the Prince of Savoy, himſelf, as he profited, like Marlborough, by hoſtilities in Flanders, had contrived to unite with him in influencing, through the penſionary Heinſius, the councils of the States; and that all the three meant nothing by the undeciſive campaigns in Flanders, but to protract their own power, which was likely to terminate with the war.

the war in Flanders.

THERE is nothing, however, more certain, than that to puſh France, on the ſide of Flanders, was the infallible way of depriving the houſe of Bourbon of the crown of Spain. The war, in the latter kingdom, had been carried on, always, with a degree of ſpirit, and often with great ſucceſs. But, at the end of ten years, Philip the Fifth was more firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, than at the beginning of the conteſt. The diſtance of the confederates from the place of action, the neceſſity of conveying every thing by ſea, the ſterility of the country itſelf, the indolence of the inhabitants, which deprived their enemies, as well as themſelves, of the neceſſaries of war, the religious prejudices of the native Spaniards, againſt a Prince, ſupported by troops whom they called Heretics, had all combined to confirm the knowing and judicious in the opinion, that Spain was not to be conquered within its own limits. On the other hand, though the ſtrong barrier of France in Flanders, muſt neceſſarily have coſt, to the confederates, much time, a great deal of treaſure, and a multitude of lives, the work was at length almoſt finiſhed. Another campaign would probably have enabled the Allies, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to advance to Paris. The fate of the French monarchy itſelf muſt have depended

CHAP. VIII. 1712.

pended, perhaps, on the iſſue of a ſingle battle. Lewis the Fourteenth, to ſave his crown, would have been obliged to pull his grandſon, in a manner with his own hands, from the throne of Spain. The French King was no ſtranger to this circumſtance, no more than the Duke of Marlborough [p]. If, therefore, the object of the allies was to recover Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, the Duke was certainly right in making the principal effort in Flanders.

[p] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX.

Views of the lord treaſurer.——Dangerous ſchemes of the Confederates and Whigs.——Twelve new peers created.——Arrival and character of Prince Eugene.——His ſchemes.——Projects of Marlborough and Bothmar.——Prince Eugene's violent propoſal.——He is diſguſted with the Whigs.——His plot diſcovered.——Conſternation of the Queen and miniſtry.——Lord treaſurer's prudent conduct.——Proceedings of the commons.——Their animadverſions on the Whigs.——They cenſure the barrier-treaty.——They examine the conduct of the allies.——Prince Eugene returns to the Continent.——Congreſs at Utrecht.——Death of the Princes of France.——Alternatives offered by Great Britain.——King Philip renounces his title to the French crown.——Anxiety of the Queen for peace.——Her attachment to the Pretender.——He writes to the Queen.——Artifice of the Earl of Oxford.——He deceives the Jacobites.——The Queen lays the terms before parliament.——Arguments for and againſt the peace.——Proceedings.——Campaign of 1712.——Inactivity of Ormond.——Conſternation of the allies.——Intrigues of Marlborough.——A ſuſpenſion of arms.——Affair of Denain.——The allies defeated.——Rapid progreſs of the French.——Bolingbroke ſent to France.——He ſettles terms with M. de Torcy.——The States eager for peace.——The Queen interferes for them.——Her views in favour of the Pretender.——He declines to change his religion.——Intrigues and propoſals of the Tories.——Deſigns of the Whigs.——Oxford pays court, in vain, to Hannover.——Death of the Duke of Hamilton.——Marlborough quits the kingdom.——Shrewſbury ſent to France.——Affairs of the North.——Progreſs of the peace.——Secret ſchemes of the Whigs.——

Projects of the houſe of Hannover.——They diſtruſt the Queen and miniſtry.—— The Elector indifferent about the ſucceſſion. ——Marlborough a ſpy on the Pretender.——Views of that Prince.——Peace of Utrecht.

CHAP. IX.

1712. Awkward ſituation and views of the Earl of Oxford.

THOUGH the Earl of Oxford acquired the reputation of ſpirit, from the diſmiſſion of the Duke of Marlborough, that meaſure ought rather to be aſcribed to his fears. He was in the ſame awkward predicament with his predeceſſor in office. Both were forced to adopt a line of conduct diametrically oppoſite to their principles and views. The Earl of Godolphin, though a Tory and a Jacobite, was obliged, from the circumſtances of the times, to place himſelf at the head of the Whigs. The preſent treaſurer, though a Preſbyterian and attached to the houſe of Hannover, was conſidered as the leader of the Tories, and a favourer of the claims of the Pretender. The bulk of mankind, ever deceived by outward ſhow, judged of the two miniſters by their own paſſions and prejudices. Godolphin, when in correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, was violently praiſed by many, and as extravagantly condemned by others, for his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Oxford was ſtill more unfortunate than his rival. He was ſuppoſed, by the court of Hannover itſelf, as well as by the people, a determined friend to the excluded family; even when he uſed all his efforts againſt their eventual reſtoration, and laid himſelf in the duſt at the feet of the parliamentary heirs of the crown. His profeſſions were conſidered as ſo many baits to deceive. But, in a happy enthuſiaſm for his own religious opinions, or perhaps, ultimately to gain the favour of the family moſt likely to ſucceed, he ſeemed determined to exclude all reſentment; and to ſhew that he was a much more ſincere friend than his adverſaries to the ſucceſſion of the Electoral family.

He diſcovers, by an accident,

IN this diſpoſition of mind, the Earl of Oxford was as much afraid of the Tories, as he was of the principal Whigs. His

CHAP. IX. 1712.

great deſire, when he aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, was to retain the moſt moderate of the low-church party in office. The violence of his friends, as well as the rage of his enemies, put an end, for a time, to this trimming ſcheme. To balance, in ſome degree, the vehemence of the high-church party, he wiſhed to keep Marlborough at the head of the army [a]. An incident, however, defeated all his preſent ſchemes, while it proved fortunate for his future conduct. Though he had entered, with ſuch an appearance of firmneſs and zeal, into the ſcheme of making peace with France, his courage failed him when the Whigs began their clamours againſt the preliminaries. He therefore endeavoured, by large promiſes, to gain the Emperor to his meaſures, through his ambaſſador at London. That miniſter, however, conſtruing Oxford's advances to his inability of ſupporting himſelf, adviſed his maſter to reject his propoſals, and to adhere to the Whigs. He affirmed, that there was no reaſon to apprehend the Tories durſt conclude a ſeparate peace with France, or offend the populace by giving jealouſy to the confederates. He propoſed, at the ſame time, that, to amuſe the people of Great Britain, large promiſes ſhould be made by the Emperor, for continuing, with redoubled vigour, the war. This meaſure, he ſaid, would either perſuade or terrify the Britiſh miniſtry to put an end to the negociations of peace; aſſuring his maſter, that ways and means could be afterwards found for evading his engagements, with credit [b].

the deſigns of the confederates

ONE Plunket, an Iriſh Jeſuit, bred at Vienna, reſided then at London. This perſon was on a footing of the greateſt intimacy with the ſecretary of the Imperial ambaſſador. He had the addreſs to procure from his friend, copies of moſt of the ambaſſador's *diſpatches* to the States-general and the court of Vienna. Being known to one Netterville and to Penn, the noted Quaker, he

[a] Stuart-papers, Feb. 1 1 2.

[b] Stuart-papers, 1712. Roger's dream, 1713. M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

informed the Earl of Oxford, by their means, of the diſcoveries he had made. He placed the papers, to the number of twenty-four, in his hands. Among other matters of importance, they contained the reſolution of the Duke of Savoy to adhere to the pacific meaſures of Queen Anne; together with a letter from the King of Portugal to the Emperor, importing, that he was reſolved to put an end, on his part, to the war. They contained alſo a ſcheme for dethroning the Queen; and another, in caſe that ſhould fail, for continuing the war for two years. Theſe papers being laid by the treaſurer before her Majeſty, made ſuch an impreſſion, that ſhe immediately reſolved to conclude a ſeparate peace with France [c].

and Whigs.

THE Earl of Oxford, apprized opportunely of theſe intrigues, paid no attention to the complaints and repreſentations of the Count de Galas. Plunket finding that miniſter dejected, on account of his being ſlighted by the Queen's miniſters, endeavoured to gain him over to the intereſts of the Pretender. But the Whigs having formed many viſionary projects for diſappointing the peace, the Count reſolved to adhere to their party. Plunket having failed in gaining his favour, reſolved to alarm his fears. He told him, that a deſign was on foot for marrying the Pretender's ſiſter to Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. That Charles, from a proſpect of the ſucceſſion to the Britiſh crown in the right of his intended ſpouſe, would aſſiſt the Pretender with a Proteſtant army. That there would be no difficulty in tranſporting troops from Sweden to Scotland; and that a Prince of Charles's high military reputation and genius, would find little difficulty in eſtabliſhing his brother-in-law in a kingdom where he had ſo many and ſo zealous friends. The ambaſſador carried this intelligence to the Whigs. They were alarmed, beyond meaſure. They ſent to the court of Hanover for an agent capable of ſupporting, in concert with them-

[c] Stuart-papers, 1712. Roger's dream, 1713. M de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX.

1712.

ſelves, the intereſts of the Electoral family. The Baron de Bothmar arrived, accordingly, in London, in the month of November, in company with the Duke of Marlborough; and the memorial, preſented in the name of the Elector, againſt the peace, was the reſult of conferences between the miniſters of that Prince and the leaders of the Whig-party [d].

Oxford's prudence.

HAD not the attachment of the Earl of Oxford to the Electoral family interfered, this meaſure might have proved fatal to the ſucceſſion, according to the act of ſettlement. The whole body of the Tories, the houſe of commons, and, above all, the Queen herſelf, were to the laſt degree offended. The Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewſbury, together with the majority of the cabinet-council, propoſed to ſend Bothmar, in the cuſtody of a meſſenger, out of the kingdom [e]. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the danger of this reſolution, oppoſed it with addreſs and effect. He repreſented, that the peace was not ſufficiently advanced, to truſt the terms to the court of France. That the mob, alarmed by their habitual fears of popery would become clamorous and join the Whigs. That the Jacobites would turn inſolent; and that, in ſhort, the whole kingdom would become a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. The Whigs perceiving that Bothmar's memorial produced no effect, flew, with the uſual vehemence of party, into another ſcheme. They ſent to the Prince of Savoy to come immediately to London. The object of his journey was to lay before the Queen and the parliament, the neceſſity of continuing the war. He was alſo to provide himſelf with proofs, that France had bought peace from the Britiſh court, for money. Upon this accuſation the Whigs, having a majority in the houſe of lords, were to ſend two or three of the cabinet-council to the Tower. Plunket, having received intelligence of theſe ſchemes, from his friend, the Emperor's agent, then at the Hague, conveyed the whole to the Earl of Oxford [f].

[d] Stuart-papers, 1713. MSS. paſſim, *penes me.* [e] Stuart-papers, 1713. [f] Ibid.

THOUGH

CHAP. IV.

1712.

Whigs ſend for Prince Eugene. His character.

THOUGH the intelligence furniſhed by Plunket, was the principal reaſon for the reſolute meaſures of the Earl of Oxford, he owed the preſervation of his power, and, perhaps, ultimately his life, to the happy, but unaccountable delay of Prince Eugene. Though a caution, which his enemies called political timidity, might prevent the Duke of Marlborough from adopting violent meaſures, there was no ſecurity againſt the ſchemes of the Prince: A man of great abilities, unconfined by principle, ſanguine in his views; as determined in the execution of his deſigns, as he was bold in undertaking the moſt deſperate meaſures. He kept one great object, his own ambition, perpetually in view. He puſhed forward, in one direct line, to that diſtinguiſhed point. He regarded obſtacles only as to their difficulty of being removed. He valued little the means he uſed; as he was taught by his pride that every thing calculated to extend his own greatneſs was allowable, if not juſt. In this diſpoſition of Eugene's mind, the only ſafety of the miniſtry conſiſted in his abſence from London. But the ſlow counſels of the houſe of Auſtria proved, according to cuſtom, highly favourable to their enemies. The Prince was detained at the Hague, till the ſeaſon of his being uſeful in London was paſt. The Earl of Oxford, apprized of the deſigns of his enemy, had time to fortify himſelf againſt his attacks; and, thus, by the incontinence of a ſecretary, and the addreſs of an obſcure Jeſuit, much miſchief was prevented, and Europe ultimately reſtored to tranquillity.

A majority made in the houſe of lords.

THE Earl of Oxford, long perplexed with difficulties, became at length reſolute, through his very fears. He diſmiſſed the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments. But this meaſure was not ſufficient to ſecure him againſt the deſigns of the Whigs. Though the houſe of commons were ſubſervient to his wiſhes, there was alſo a neceſſity of gaining a majority to the meaſures of the court in the houſe of lords. The excluded party had

CHAP. IX. 1712.

had acquired courage, as well as reputation, under the approbation of one branch of the legiſlature. To deprive them of that advantage, was to purſue with effect the victory already gained by the miniſtry, by the removal of the Duke. A ſudden reſolution was taken to command the deliberations of the houſe of lords, by the creation of twelve new peers. The meaſure was deemed arbitrary and dangerous; but it could not be called illegal. It ſerved only to ſhew the party, that an oppoſition is formed in vain againſt the crown, in an aſſembly whoſe number of members depends on the will of the Prince. The lords having met on the ſecond of January, the new peers were introduced. They had ſcarce taken their ſeats, when they were called upon ſervice. A motion was made to adjourn the houſe to the fourteenth of the month, the day to which the commons had adjourned. Upon a diviſion, the majority for the court appeared to be thirteen[f]. The violence of the party increaſed with this reverſe of fortune. Though the means uſed to defeat their efforts in the houſe of lords were obvious, and might have been foreſeen, they had derived hopes that the prerogative could not be exerted, from the timid character of the Queen[g].

Prince Eugene in London.

THREE days after the untoward diſcovery made by the Whigs of their own weakneſs, the Prince of Savoy, ſo long and ſo eagerly expected by the party, arrived in London. The miniſtry, knowing his deſigns, reſolved to watch his motions. The Earl of Oxford ſent one Drummond, a dependant of his own, to meet him in the river. St. John diſpatched, upon the ſame ſervice, a Mr. Brinſden, an oculiſt, an agent in whom he could confide. The Prince obtained an audience of the Queen; but he was coldly, though politely, received. She referred him for buſineſs to Oxford and St. John, the only perſons preſent at their interview. The Whigs were much elevated at the arrival of his Highneſs, in a conjuncture ſo

[f] 81 againſt 68.

[g] Stuart-papers, 1711.

critical

CHAP. IX. 1712.

critical to their affairs. Even ſuch Tories as carried their principles to the height of Jacobitiſm were not diſpleaſed. They were no ſtrangers to the principles, or rather the views, of the Earl of Oxford, in favour of the family of Hannover. They knew, that to defeat the peace was to ruin the miniſter. Nothing, but the fear of falling into the hands of the Whigs had induced them to ſupport the court. Had the leaders of the latter party followed a more moderate line of conduct, the Earl of Oxford muſt have fallen by the hands of his ſuppoſed friends. In the preceding autumn, the adherents of the excluded family had diſcovered, that they could form no hopes to their cauſe on the favour of the lord-treaſurer. Neither the Queen, nor her favourite, now Lady Maſham, were ignorant of this circumſtance; but both dreaded what they called the tyranny of the Whigs, ſhould the lord treaſurer, by the deſertion of the Tories, be forced to reſign.

His projects.

THE Prince of Savoy had formed no doubt of being able to defeat the treaty of peace, by embarraſſing the Britiſh miniſtry with ſplendid offers of advantage for continuing the war. He had reſolved to propoſe, in the name of the Emperor, to leave Great Britain in abſolute poſſeſſion of the commerce of Spain and America; to induce the King of Denmark and the Czar of Muſcovy to join in the grand confederacy; to make up the Imperial forces in Spain to thirty thouſand men; to pay one million of crowns, out of four, to be expended in the military operations on that ſide. Should either houſe of parliament accept theſe terms, in oppoſition to the miniſtry, the Elector of Hannover was to have paſſed into Great Britain with an army [1]. A revolution to be made in favour of that Prince would enable him to carry on the war to the laſt extremity againſt the houſe of Bourbon. But when Prince Eugene perceived, that the commons were firm in their ſupport of the

[1] De Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1713. MSS. *penes me.*

miniſtry;

miniſtry; that a majority had been ſecured in the houſe of lords; that the Duke of Marlborough was diſgraced, and rendered incapable to ſecond his views; that the Whigs, though obſtinate in their oppoſition, were divided in their councils; that men of influence and property were inclined to a peace; that the mob of London were only clamorous for war; he reſolved to ſpare no ſort of violence to accompliſh his views.

Schemes of Marlborough

IN forming his meaſures, the Prince of Savoy reſolved to conſult chiefly the Duke of Marlborough and the Baron de Bothmar, the Hannoverian envoy at the court of London. The Duke, at their firſt interview, chided the Prince for the unfortunate delay in his journey. His arrival, he ſaid, might have been of great advantage to the party, about a month before. He aſcribed his dilatorineſs to that Auſtrian gravity which had been often fatal to the affairs of the Imperial family. He told him, that, at the opening of the ſeſſion, their friends had a majority in the houſe of lords. That they could have ſent two or three of the oppoſite party to the Tower, without any difficulty. That their vacant places might be ſupplied with men willing to continue the war. That now the whole ſtate of affairs was changed; that twelve new peers had been created; that the Scottiſh peers were arrived; that they muſt have recourſe to violence, or drop altogether their deſign; that three or four perſons, together with the lord-treaſurer, who poſſeſſed the confidence of a ſilly woman [k], and governed her at pleaſure, muſt be removed. That the Prince muſt, in the mean time, behave himſelf with great moderation and diſcretion. That he ſhould endeavour to gain the good opinion of the miniſter, and induce the commons to grant ample ſupplies; and that the whole party ſhould watch ſuch accidents as might ariſe in the progreſs of time [l].

[k] Hannover-papers, 1712.

[l] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1712.

CHAP. IX.

1712. and of the Baron de Bothmar.

THE Duke deſcended from theſe particular facts to reflections more general. He affirmed, that the ſtate of the kingdom at preſent reſembled its ſituation at the late Revolution; that the diſorders were ſimilar, and demanded the ſame remedies; that ſhould a Prince of the Electoral family appear in Great Britain, under the cover of a manifeſto, ſetting forth, that the Pretender was coming with a Popiſh army, the mob might be deceived, and Queen Anne, like her father, would ſteal away to France. That then the crown might be ſettled by the Whigs, and the war be carried on with redoubled vigour. Theſe obſervations devolved the diſcourſe on the Baron de Bothmar. He averred, that though the diſorders might be the ſame, the ſame remedies were impracticable; that the nation was not ſufficiently prepared for a revolution; that the prejudices of the vulgar, the great engine in ſuch daring enterpriſes, were ſtill upon the ſide of the enemy; that though the Queen was ſuſpected of favouring a Popiſh ſucceſſor, ſhe herſelf was a ſtrict Proteſtant; that the jealouſy concerning religion was too feeble, on account of the diſtance of the danger; that though circumſtances had even been more favourable, the experiment would be extremely dangerous; that a miſcarriage would inevitably ruin the undertaking, load the family of Hannover with the public hatred, and exclude them from the ſucceſſion to the crown. The Duke of Marlborough ſuffered himſelf to be argued out of his obſervations by the eloquence of the Baron de Bothmar. But he is ſaid to have propoſed another project, more ſafe, and equally effectual. He ſuggeſted, that bands of ruffians ſhould be ſent through the ſtreets by night, to inſult the inhabitants, to raiſe diſturbances, and to excite mobs. That, ſhould people become accuſtomed to theſe nocturnal alarms, there would be no difficulty in aſſaſſinating ſuch perſons as the party might wiſh to remove, and to throw the whole blame on a licentious band [m].

[m] Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers, 1713.

THOUGH

CHAP. IX.

1712.

THOUGH Prince Eugene rejected this project, his own was not diſtinguiſhed with more humanity. He propoſed to ſet fire to London, in different places, in the night; particularly to the palace of St. James's, where the Queen reſided. He ſhewed, that the proper time for the execution of this deſign was when the guards on duty were commanded by an officer whom the party could truſt. That, in the midſt of the confuſion, the Duke of Marlborough ſhould appear at the head of a party in arms. That he ſhould firſt poſſeſs himſelf of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer. That then he ſhould ſeize the perſon of the Queen, force her to diſſolve the parliament, to call a new repreſentative, to make a free inquiry into the clandeſtine correſpondence with France, to puniſh the guilty with death [n]. The Lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, were conſulted upon this ſcheme. They refuſed at firſt to declare their own opinion; but they at laſt abſolutely rejected the violent propoſal of the Prince. They ſignified their inclination to proceed in the legal and ordinary way. They adviſed Bothmar to preſent a ſecond memorial, in the name of his maſter, more clear, more poſitive, and more comprehenſive, than the former. But though Bothmar agreed to all the ſchemes, in which the Whigs were only concerned, he ſhrunk back when it became his own part to act. He told them, that, by preſenting ſuch a memorial, without the expreſs orders of the Elector, he ſhould riſk his head. That, therefore, he was reſolved to extend his aid no farther, than to compoſe a writing, containing the ſtrongeſt expreſſions againſt the peace; and that this anonymous paper ſhould be printed in Holland, and publiſhed and diſperſed in London [o].

Prince Eugene's violent propoſal.

DISAPPOINTED in his views, by the caution of the Whigs and the timidity of Bothmar, the Prince of Savoy laid before his party another plan. He propoſed, that the Elector of

His further ſchemes diſappointed.

[n] Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. MSS. paſſim. [o] Ibid.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

Hannover ſhould be appointed commander in chief of the troops in Flanders, and governor-general in the Netherlands; that to ſtrengthen the Whigs, the Electoral Prince ſhould paſs into England, to awe the miniſtry, by appearing at the head of their enemies. Marlborough and Godolphin oppoſed this meaſure with great vehemence. They affirmed, that the Tories, to a man, were enemies to the Electoral family; that, ſhould the Prince of Hannover come over whilſt they are in poſſeſſion of the government, the abrogation of the act of ſettlement would be the neceſſary conſequence; and that a civil war might ariſe, perhaps as fatal to the nation as that between the houſes of York and Lancaſter: But the Duke of Marlborough was urged by ſtronger motives than the miſeries to be entailed on his country. The credit of his enemies daily increaſed. His own declined. He had already felt a change of fortune. He was afraid of further viciſſitudes. The Emperor had provided him with an eſtate in Germany, out of the ſpoils of the Elector of Bavaria. He had dignified him with the title of Prince. But though this ſettlement had ſecured a quiet retreat, it was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition. He had turned his eyes to the command of the Imperial troops in Flanders, with the title of Vicar-General of that country. He, therefore, could not approve of a project that placed the Elector in a ſtation which he wiſhed to obtain for himſelf [r].

Diſguſted with the conduct of the Whigs.

THE Prince, enraged at the difficulties raiſed againſt all his projects, declared, that he perceived the Whigs were no more friends to the houſe of Hannover, than the Tories. That they were enemies to all regal government, and biaſſed in favour of a republic [s]; but that, if he judged aright, they were as unfit for eſtabliſhing that form of government, as they were incapable of ſupporting it with patriotiſm and unanimity. That their propoſal

[r] Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. MSS. paſſim.
[s] Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart-papers.

to

CHAP. IX. 1712.

o enable the Emperor to carry on the war, by a loan on the revenue of his hereditary dominions, was either capricious or viſionary. That their ſchemes throughout were either ſpeculative or impracticable; that the ideal fabric raiſed by one was ſure of being overturned by the objections of another; that they ſeemed to him like thoſe vain men who were reported of old to employ themſelves in building the tower of Babel. That there were not three among them that agreed either in ſentiment or in language; that ſometimes they would have the Prince of Hannover; that, at other times, they were averſe from all ſovereigns, whether by ſucceſſion or election to the throne. That he perceived the greateſt number longed more for power and emolument, than for any change of meaſures. That, without any attachment either to the families of princes or forms of government, they wiſhed to manage the nation by a factious ariſtocracy. That, for his own part, he was only vexed that they obliged the Emperor to make demands, from which he ſhould be forced to deſiſt[r].

Conſternation of the Queen and miniſtry.

THE miniſtry were minutely informed concerning the particulars diſcuſſed in theſe conſults[s]. They were ſufficiently acquainted with their dangerous tendency. On the anniverſary of the Queen's birth[t], they took every precaution for the ſecurity of her perſon. The guards were doubled. The gates of St. James's were ſhut. Several parties of horſe were ſtationed in the neighbourhood. Some troops were appointed to attend Prince Eugene, under a ſhew of defending him againſt the preſſure of the mob; but, in reality, to watch his motions. They were informed, that, under the pretence of a tumult among the populace, ſome perſons, employed by the Prince and his party, were to force their way to the Earl of Oxford, and to aſſaſſinate him, together with Mr. St. John, and the lord-keeper, Sir Simon Har-

[r] Letter from Prince Eugene, Feb. 15, 1712. Stuart-papers, 1712.
[s] Stuart-papers, 1712. MSS. 1713. M. de Torcy, tom. ii. [t] Feb. 17.

court.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

court. The Queen was terrified beyond meaſure. Oxford, to protect himſelf and to encourage his miſtreſs, occupied apartments in the palace. The lord-keeper and the ſecretary took care not to venture abroad after it was dark. But, amidſt this alarm, the miniſter and his threatened aſſociates conducted themſelves with commendable prudence, in concealing their apprehenſions of danger. Had they carried the intelligence they had received to the council at large, or, above all, had it been laid before the parliament, the nation might have been kindled into a degree of frenzy againſt the projectors of ſuch dangerous ſchemes. The imprudence of the Baron de Bothmar, in being privy to theſe conſults, might have even endangered the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line. Men would ſcarce take time to diſtinguiſh the aſſiduous folly of the ſervant, from a ſettled deſign in the maſter to obtain the throne by unjuſtifiable means.

The Jacobites wiſh to lay the whole before parliament.

THE Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewſbury, in their attachment to the excluded branch of the Stuarts, were very unwilling to ſuffer a diſcovery ſo favourable to their principles to paſs without being laid before the parliament. Though the proofs furniſhed by Plunket and others were ſufficient to convince mankind of the reality of a conſpiracy, they were not deemed complete, in the eye of the law. Oxford endeavoured to conceal even from the cabinet-council the informations he had received againſt the Prince of Savoy. He ſubjected them, however, to the inſpection of the Queen. Plunket, thinking that Eugene ſhould be committed to priſon, had ſent a detail of the whole, by the hands of the Earl of Yarmouth, to the Duke of Buckingham, and to Harcourt, the lord-keeper. They laid it inſtantly before the reſt of the cabinet. The Earl of Oxford was alarmed. He knew their principles, and he was afraid of their violence. He entreated them to make no motion in the buſineſs. They affirmed, that the thing concerned them too nearly to be dropt without

without examination. They ordered Plunket to appear; but Oxford carried him firſt to Queen Anne. The Duke of Buckingham brought him before the cabinet. He was examined with ſtrictneſs. They promiſed to provide for him, during life, for his ſervices. They ordered him to repair to Holland, to induce, by promiſes, the friend from whom he had received the Prince of Savoy's papers, to come to London, to lay the whole proceedings of the confederates and Whigs before the parliament and the nation [t].

They are prevented by Oxford.

THE Earl of Oxford oppoſed this meaſure with various arguments. He ſaid, that to employ a Roman Catholic upon that ſervice, would furniſh the Whigs with a popular ground for clamour. That the ſcrutiny into their conduct would offend the Allies, in a degree that might prove extremely dangerous. That a court that would expoſe ſuch ſecrets to parliament could never afterwards be truſted. That the differences which muſt enſue between the confederates and the court of London would enable France to preſcribe her own terms; and that Great Britain, from being the umpire of the affairs of Europe, would ſink into contempt. Theſe ſolid reaſons were, however, rejected. The principles of Buckingham overcame the art of Oxford. Plunket was ſent to Holland. He prevailed with his friend to conſent to come to England, upon the promiſe of a proviſion for life: but he inſiſted to have that promiſe under the hand of the ſecretary of ſtate. Though the affair belonged properly to the ſecretary's office, the Earl of Oxford took the whole into his own department. Plunket informed him of the German agent's demands. But he kept the letter from the inſpection of the cabinet-council. He, in the mean time, amuſed Plunket, and contrived to employ him in Holland, as the only means to prevent the cabinet-council from making public this diſagreeable and dangerous affair [u].

[t] Stuart-papers, 1713. MS. paſſim.

[u] Ibid. paſſim. Stuart-papers, 1713.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1712.

His artful and cautious conduct.

THE Earl of Oxford, through the whole of this trying ſcene, behaved like a man whoſe paſſions lay ſubdued by his principles. Though he was no ſtranger to the deſigns of his enemies againſt his miſtreſs, though he was informed of their ſchemes againſt his own perſon, though thoſe who ſupported his meaſures upbraided him for his conduct, he proceeded, conſidering his ſituation, with great moderation and circumſpection. The violence of the Whigs, more than the vehemence of the Tories, had forced him into the meaſures, of which the firſt of thoſe parties ſo much complained. He was unwilling to diſgrace Marlborough. He was equally averſe from perſecuting that nobleman in parliament. When the commons, ſwayed by Tory-principles, animadverted upon the Duke and his adherents, the Earl of Oxford had proofs in his hands againſt them, that would infallibly ruin their reputation with the people, and might even endanger their lives. Though inſulted, ſtigmatized, and perſecuted by the Baron de Bothmar; though liable to the violence of that imprudent reſident, and ſubject to his ſecret and dangerous conſpiracies; though diſtruſted by the Princeſs Sophia, ſuſpected by the Elector, and hated by the whole Electoral family; he ſeemed to place himſelf above reſentment, and to encourage hopes that his conduct would ultimately contradict the miſrepreſentations of his enemies, and gain the confidence and even the gratitude of the preſumptive heirs of the crown. To accompliſh a purpoſe laudable in itſelf, he made afterwards uſe of a deception, leſs conſiſtent with honour than with true, or perhaps neceſſary, policy [x].

Proceedings of the comm ns.

DURING theſe ſecret intrigues, dangerous conſpiracies, and clandeſtine deſigns, the parliament proceeded along the obvious line of public buſineſs. The two houſes having met on the fourteenth of January, were required, by a meſſage from the Queen, to adjourn themſelves further to the ſeventeenth of the month.

[x] MSS. paſſim, 1712. Stuart papers. Hannover papers.

Her

CHAP. IX. 1712.

Her Majeſty ordered the ſecretary of ſtate to acquaint the commons, that her plenipotentiaries had arrived at Utrecht, and had already opened the conferences for the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity. That, to ſecure the concluſion of peace, by appearing provided for war, all preparations were made for opening an early campaign. She therefore requeſted the houſe to give the neceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies. She concluded with complaining of the licence of the preſs, which was become too great to be reſtrained by the laws in force; and ſhe recommended to the houſe to find a remedy equal to the miſchief. The anſwer of the commons was ſuitable to their principles and their uſual obſequiouſneſs to the views of the Queen. They thanked her for her promiſe to communicate to them the terms of the peace. They reflected on ſuch perſons as had ſpread groundleſs and malicious reports againſt her councils. They promiſed diſpatch in the ſupplies. They aſſured her that they would take the moſt effectual courſe to ſtop the licentiouſneſs of falſe and ſcandalous libels [x].

Animadverſions on the Whigs. Walpole expelled.

To theſe aſſurances to the Queen, the commons added animadverſions on thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the crown. Having taken under conſideration the report of the commiſſioners of public accounts, they found that Mr. Robert Walpole had been guilty of a high breach of truſt and notorious corruption. Upon the oath of one of his agents it appeared, that Walpole had received five hundred guineas and a note for five hundred more for two contracts, made by him when ſecretary at war, for ſupplying the troops in North Britain with forage. Though the ſhameful venality of this man deſerved puniſhment, his connexion with the former miniſtry was more the object of reſentment than his offence. He was expelled from his ſeat in the houſe and committed to the Tower [y]. The commons paſſed from the affair of Robert Walpole to a cenſure on the Duke of Marlborough. Upon examining

[x] Journals, Jan. 17. [y] Ibid.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

the charge againſt that nobleman, for having taken money of the contractors for bread and bread-waggons, and for deducting for his own uſe two and one half per cent, from the pay of the foreign troops in Flanders, in the pay of Great Britain, they came to a reſolution, that the Duke, in receiving thoſe ſums, had been guilty of unwarrantable and illegal practices. Their vote was laid by the whole houſe before her Majeſty. The attorney-general was directed to proſecute the duke. But either no proſecution was ever commenced, or it was carried on with a languor that defeated its deſign. To throw diſgrace on Marlborough was more the object of the miniſter, than the refunding of the public money. To accompliſh the firſt, the commons extended their animadverſions to his family and ſervants. Adam Cardonnel, his ſecretary, was ſoon after expelled the houſe for practices ſimilar to thoſe of his lord[z].

The barrier treaty examined,

DURING theſe animadverſions on the former miniſtry, the conduct of the commons was calculated to facilitate the preſent meaſures of the crown[a]. The Viſcount Townſhend, whom Marlborough had aſſociated with himſelf in the negociations for peace in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, with regard to a barrier in Flanders for the Dutch at the end of the war. In concluding this treaty, Townſhend, in a compliance with the views of his party, had exceeded his inſtructions. Liſle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and ſeveral places on the Lys and the Scheld, were guaranteed to the States. The moſt of thoſe cities were in themſelves an eſſential barrier to France. It could not therefore be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would yield, for the protection of her enemies, what was neceſſary for her own ſecurity. An obſtruction to the peace, which might ultimately defeat the deſign of the congreſs, threatened to riſe from this circumſtance. Beſides, the engagements of the States, in return

[z] Feb. 18. [a] Jan. 25.

for

for the barrier, were now deemed inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Queen of Great Britain and her friends [b]. They undertook to guarantee the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, to aid with their ſhips and armies the preſumptive heirs of the crown, whenever that ſucceſſion ſhould appear to be in danger. The miniſtry were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps the States themſelves, pretended that this perilous period was already arrived [c].

and its authors cenſured.

THE barrier treaty, and the inſtructions upon which it had been concluded by Townſhend, with all the letters that had paſſed upon the ſubject, were ſucceſſively laid before the commons. The Baron de Bothmar, with his uſual imprudence, made his maſter a party in favour of the treaty. He wrote in vehement terms to Mr. Secretary St. John [d]. He threatened ſeveral members of the lower houſe with the reſentment and vengeance of the Elector, ſhould they proceed to cenſure the perſons concerned. Though this conduct could ſcarce be ſuppoſed to proceed from inſtructions from Hannover, the enemies of that court improved the circumſtance to favour their own views. The more credulous part of the commons were induced to believe the ſuggeſtions of an intended invaſion, and the reports of a deſigned revolution. The moſt ſpirited were offended at this unſeaſonable interference with the reſolutions of a body who had a right to be independent of every external power. When therefore the affair of the barrier came to a vote, the commons reſolved, that ſeveral articles of the treaty were deſtructive to the trade and intereſt of Great Britain. That the Lord Townſhend had neither orders nor authority to conclude theſe pernicious articles. That therefore he who negociated and ſigned the treaty was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom. The States interfered in vain in a letter to the Queen herſelf [e]. The miniſtry having reſolved on a peace, were determined to remove every obſtacle that ſtood in the way.

[b] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.
[c] Stuart papers. Debates in parliament.
[d] Printed letter.
[e] Ibid.

IN

CHAP. IX.

1712.

Inquiry into the conduct of the allies.

In profecution of this deſign, the commons were encouraged to examine the conduct of the allies with regard to their furniſhing their reſpective quotas for the war. This inquiry opened a ſcene which contributed to increaſe the great deſire of the people for peace. It appeared that not one of the confederates except Great Britain had fulfilled any one of their engagements. That the Emperor, in particular, who had moſt to gain by the war, contributed the leaſt towards its expence. That the States of the United Provinces had not come up in any article to the terms of their treaties. That the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy made a lucrative trade of the war, by extracting from their friends the advantages which they ought to conquer from their enemies. The commons came to various reſolutions on this important ſubject. The Princes and States who compoſed the confederacy were treated with great freedom in the debates. The complaints of their reſpective miniſters were joined by the clamours of the excluded party. They affirmed, that the Emperor, who was the acknowledged head of the alliance, was attacked with unbecoming diſreſpect. That the Duke of Savoy, to whoſe ſpirit and activity the allies owed the conqueſt of Italy, was unworthily treated. That the States, the faithful allies, and even the benefactors of the Britiſh nation, were inſulted; and all this to facilitate a diſhonourable treaty, to pleaſe a faithleſs enemy, who preſumed to dictate the terms of peace, after having been almoſt totally ſubdued in the war [f].

The Whigs carry an addreſs in the houſe of lords.

While the miniſtry carried forward with ſafety their meaſures, under the protection of the commons, an unexpected incident gave to their enemies a tranſitory ſuperiority in the houſe of lords. The Queen, in a meſſage of the ſeventeenth of January, had recommended the reconſideration of the Duke of Hamilton's patent. The peers having adjourned the buſineſs from day to day, ſeemed

[f] Hiſt. d'Angleterre. Hiſt. of Europe, 1712. Debates.

at

CHAP. IX. 1712.

at length, by dropping their debates without coming to a deciſion, to adhere to their former reſolution. The lords who repreſented the peerage of Scotland, reſolved to ſit no more in an aſſembly that refuſed to acknowledge what they deemed their undoubted right. The Whigs improved this ſeceſſion to their own advantage. The ſpecific offers received at Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of France, on the firſt of February, having found their way into the Dutch news-papers, were laid before the peers, by the Lord Halifax, on the fifteenth of that month. He moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Queen, ſignifying the indignation of the houſe againſt the terms offered by the French King; and promiſing to ſtand by and aſſiſt her Majeſty, with their lives and fortunes, in proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour. The motion was carried, by a conſiderable majority. But this good fortune of the Whigs was not deſtined to laſt long. The Scotiſh peers were induced to reſume their ſeats; and their weight turned again the balance in favour of the miniſtry[g].

Prince Eugene, diſappointed, departs.

THE addreſs of the lords, obtained ſurreptitiouſly by the Whigs, was the laſt parliamentary effort of the party againſt the concluſion of the peace. The Prince of Savoy, whoſe negociations with the miniſtry had languiſhed into formal memorials and official anſwers, relinquiſhed all hopes of the object of his voyage to London. To preſerve appearances, Mr. Secretary St. John was commanded to lay before the houſe of commons, a propoſition made by the Prince, in the name of his Imperial Majeſty, for the ſupport of the war in Spain. The meſſage repreſented, that the Emperor judged forty thouſand men would be ſufficient for that ſervice. That his imperial Majeſty offered to make up his troops, in that kingdom, to thirty thouſand men; and to take upon himſelf one fourth part of the expences of the Spaniſh war[h]. To the great mortification of the Prince, not the leaſt.

[g] Publications. Annals of Queen Anne, 1712.

[h] Journals, Feb. 15.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

leaſt notice was taken by the houſe of his propoſal. The meſſage lay, diſregarded, on the table. He himſelf made preparations for returning to the Continent. But he remained ſome weeks after this event in London. The Queen, informed of his ſecret intrigues with the Whigs, gave way to all the terrors incident to her ſex. She conſidered herſelf in the utmoſt danger, as long as the Prince remained in England. Repeated meſſages were ſent, that the Yacht ordered to tranſport him to Holland was ready to ſail. She at length became ſo uneaſy, that ſhe is ſaid to have reſolved to ſend away by force a perſon ſo dangerous to her repoſe[i]. But the Prince prevented this diſgrace, by embarking at Greenwich, on the ſeventeenth of March[k].

Congreſs opened at Utrecht.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the Britiſh parliament, the conferences for reſtoring peace to Europe were opened at Utrecht. The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, together with thoſe of the States, met, in form, for the firſt time, on the eighteenth of January. Though the Earl of Strafford and the Biſhop of Briſtol had received orders to haſten the great work of peace, they were not ſufficiently inſtructed with regard to the article of Spain, which muſt neceſſarily form the foundation of the treaty. This ſecret was reſerved by the miniſtry for Mr. Prior, who was expected in quality of third plenipotentiary from Great Britain. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries, confined in their powers, converſed ſtill with thoſe of France, in the ſtile of enemies. They declared, that the articles ſigned by Menager ought rather to be conſidered as propoſitions than preliminaries. That they were neither binding on the Queen, nor conſidered, in the leaſt, as binding on the allies. This declaration compoſed, in ſome degree, the ſpirits of the confederates. The Emperor himſelf conſented to ſend plenipotentiaries to Utrecht. The peace depended not on that Prince, though the war had been undertaken in his cauſe. The confederates, as

[i] Stuart-papers, 1712.

[k] Public intelligence.

well

CHAP. IX. 1712.

well as the French, perceived, that the fate of the treaty was involved in the reſolutions of the Queen of Great Britain. But an unexpected incident threw, to an uncertain diſtance, the tranquillity that was ſuddenly expected by all the belligerent powers.

Death of the Princes of France.

In the month of April of the preceding year, the Dauphin of France, the only ſon of Lewis the Fourteenth, died, at the age of fifty. He was a Prince of a limited capacity, fond of tranquillity, and averſe from buſineſs, as he was unequal to its toils. He was ſucceeded in the title of heir of France, by his ſon, the Duke of Burgundy; a man of more fire, greater vivacity, and better abilities, than his father. But he alſo died, on the eighteenth of February, having ſurvived, only ſix days, his wife, the Dauphineſs, Mary Adilaide of Savoy. Theſe events, ſo fatal to the royal family of France, were followed, in a few days more, by the death of the Duke of Britany, the laſt Dauphin's eldeſt ſon. They were all buried together in the ſame grave. This uncommon mortality was aſcribed by the vulgar to the ambition and intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. This perhaps was but an idle report. But the profligate pleaſures of that Prince had induced mankind to form the worſt opinion of his morals. Out of three ſons born to the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Anjou, a ſickly infant, only remained. The misfortunes of France raiſed the courage of ſuch of the confederates as were eager for continuing the war. The Emperor roſe in his hopes, and increaſed his demands. The States grew more obdurate. The Britiſh ambaſſadors became more cool in their zeal. The miniſtry either did not chuſe or durſt not ſend Prior, as third plenipotentiary, to Utrecht. They concurred with the reſt of the confederates, in demanding new precautions for the ſtability of the peace, and for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the ſame Prince[1].

[1] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Swift's four years.

NOTWITH-

CHAP. IX.

1712.

Alternatives offered by Great Britain.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe demands, on the part of Great Britain, the miniſtry made no ſecret of their reſolution to conclude a peace. The lord-treaſurer diſpatched a Mr. Harley, a relation of his own, to Utrecht. He directed the Abbé Gaultier, who ſtill reſided in London, to propoſe different alternatives, out of which the French King might form a propoſal, that ought to ſatisfy the allies of Great Britain. Harley was charged with the like commiſſion. The plenipotentiaries ſtopt the progreſs of the conferences. They ſaid, that he had brought ſuch orders as would break off all negociation, unleſs the court of France ſhould agree to one of the alternatives offered by the Abbé Gaultier, in the name of the Queen of Great Britain. The memorial of Gaultier repreſented the juſt alarm of Europe, ſhould the perſon who was actually King of Spain ever aſcend to the throne of France. He ſhewed that this danger was far from being chimerical, as this Prince was ſo near the ſucceſſion of the latter kingdom. That the only way to prevent the danger apprehended by the confederates, was for Philip the Fifth to transfer his right to the Duke of Berry. That, without this expedient, neither the Britiſh nation, nor their allies, would ever conſent to a peace which would be, in that caſe, not only unſafe but impracticable [m].

May.

Arguments of the French King.

THE French King was embarraſſed by an incident which he had actually foreſeen. He endeavoured to elude the demands of the court of Great Britain. To accompliſh his purpoſe, he advanced all the trite arguments uſed by caſuiſts, in defence of the hereditary deſcent of the crown. In a letter to the Britiſh miniſtry, he affirmed, that the King, though ſupreme lord of his dominions, has not the power of altering their fundamental laws. That the prince next to the crown was the neceſſary heir. That his right is an inheritance which he receives neither from his predeceſſors nor the people, but from the law. That, when one

[m] Mem. de Torcy, tom. ii. Swift's four years.

King

King dies, another ſucceeds, without aſking the approbation or requiring the conſent of any perſon. That he ſucceeds, not as heir, but as maſter of the kingdom; the ſovereignty of which belongs to him, not by choice, but by birth-right. That he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a prior king, to no edict, to no liberality in another perſon, but to the law. That this law is eſteemed the work of HIM who eſtabliſhes monarchies. That God alone can break this firſt link in the chain which binds together the community. That this law can neither be invalidated by agreement, nor rendered void by renunciation. That, ſhould the King of Spain renounce his right, for the ſake of peace, that act would only deceive himſelf and diſappoint his allies [k].

concerning hereditary right.

MR. Secretary St. John correſponded with the court of Verſailles upon this ſubject. He returned an anſwer leſs complicated and more deciſive. He admitted, that the French nation might hold, that God alone can aboliſh the law of ſucceſſion. But that in Britain moſt men were of another mind. That the moſt ſcrupulous, on this delicate ſubject, believed that a prince might forego his right, by a voluntary reſignation. That the perſon in whoſe favour the renunciation was made, might be juſtly ſupported by the princes who ſhould happen to be guarantees of the treaty. That, in ſhort, the Queen of Great Britain would put an end to all negociation, unleſs the French ſhould accept of the expedient propoſed. That it was neither her deſign nor inclination to deprive Philip either of the title or power of King. That ſhe wiſhed, upon his reſignation of the crown of Spain, to preſerve his right to that of France, and to place him on another throne. That Naples, the territories of Savoy, the duchies of Montferrat and Mantua, ſhould be erected, for him, into a kingdom. That Spain and the Indies ſhould be conferred on the Duke of Savoy, in

[k] De Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

place of his own dominions; and that, upon the event of Philip's acceſſion to the throne of France, the iſland of Sicily ſhould be given to the houſe of Auſtria [l].

June. King of Spain renounces his title to the French crown.

THOUGH the French King amuſed St. John with arguments in favour of hereditary right, he wrote to his grandſon to deſire him to accede to the propoſals of Great Britain. That Prince, after a delay ſuitable to the gravity of Spaniſh councils, reſolved to renounce his precarious proſpect of the crown of France, for the certain poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain. The Queen of Great Britain, impatient, for various reaſons, for peace, ordered the Earl of Strafford to return to London. The avowed object of his journey was to receive his ultimate inſtructions to conclude the treaty, as ſoon as the King of Spain's anſwer ſhould be received. When his anſwer was, accordingly, received, in the beginning of June, the Queen agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms. The conditions of this indulgence to France, was the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the Britiſh troops; and the punctual execution of the article concerning the union of France and Spain. She propoſed, at the ſame time, that a Dutch garriſon ſhould be introduced into Cambray. The French King, deriving ſpirit from her eagerneſs, rejected this demand, with a degree of diſdain. He declared, that he would rather refuſe the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and put an end to all negociation, than admit a clauſe ſo contrary to his own honour and the intereſt of his kingdom. The Queen, anxious for peace, receded from her demand. St. John wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that, to accompliſh the ceſſation of arms, he had only to tranſmit the act of renunciation to the Duke of Ormond, who had ſucceeded Marlborough in the command of the army in Flanders [m]. That the Earl of Strafford had juſt ſet out for Utrecht. That all reſtraint, with regard to the confederates, ſhould be laid aſide; and that the Britiſh plenipotentiaries ſhould act, in concert

[l] De Torcy, tom. ii. [m] Ibid.

with

with thoſe of France, in preſcribing laws to ſuch as ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable conditions of peace.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

FRANCE owed a change ſo great and ſo unexpected, to favourable accidents more than to her own policy and intrigues. Though the Britiſh miniſtry had long perceived, that they muſt either relinquiſh their power or conclude a peace, their late vehemence, in carrying on the negociations, proceeded from their fears rather than from ambition. The Queen, herſelf, frightened at the real or ſuppoſed conſpiracies of the Whigs, was anxious to end the war. The ſupport given by the confederates to a party whom ſhe dreaded, threw her inclinations in the ſcale of France; and ſhe ſeemed even willing to derive protection from a prince whoſe power had been ſo lately broken by her arms. The ſame attention to her own ſafety raiſed her reſentment againſt the preſumptive heirs of the crown. She was no ſtranger to the dangerous intrigues of the Baron de Bothmar. She knew that ſhe had been long diſtruſted by the family of Hannover. The apprehenſions incident to her ſex had taken entire poſſeſſion of her mind. Though ſhe probably entertained little affection for a brother whom ſhe had never ſeen; though, with a zeal ſuitable to her family, ſhe was utterly averſe from his ſyſtem of religious faith, and wedded to her own; though ſhe was as much afraid of his preſence in Britain as ſhe was terrified at the coming of a prince of the electoral family; ſhe ſeems to have entered with a degree of warmth into his cauſe [n].

Cauſe of the anxiety of Anne for a peace.

THE violence of the Whigs and the imprudence of the Baron de Bothmar might have precipitated the meaſures of Anne in concluding the peace; but there is reaſon to believe, that her ſchemes in favour of the Pretender were prior to her late fears

Her attachment to the eventual ſucceſſion

[n] Stuart-papers, 1712. Hannover-papers, 1713.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

from the houſe of Hannover. When Mr. Menager, in the preceding September, had finiſhed the buſineſs of his maſter, he is ſaid to have endeavoured to ſerve the views of the court of St. Germains. He firſt opened himſelf to Mr. Secretary St. John. He was introduced, by his means, to Mrs. Maſham, the Queen's favourite. Two articles of importance were ſettled in this conference. The Queen deſired to be permitted to diſown her brother, to ſatisfy the confederates. But ſhe agreed, that the treaty ſhould not be underſtood to preclude France from aiding the Pretender, in caſe of her own deceaſe. Mrs. Maſham is ſaid to have declared, with freedom, the ſecret ſentiments of her miſtreſs. She told Menager, that the Queen reckoned it an unhappineſs to poſſeſs the throne of her brother. That ſhe had a ſecret uneaſineſs on that head. That this was not all her misfortune. That ſhe was obliged, againſt her diſpoſition and principles, to promote meaſures calculated to exclude her own family, for ever, from the throne; and that ſhe would be inexpreſſibly happy to be delivered from the neceſſity of doing ſo much wrong [o].

of the Pretender to the throne.

MRS. Maſham, at the ſame time, declared, that though the Queen wiſhed to promote her brother's intereſt, ſhe could fix upon no meaſure of ſerving, effectually, his cauſe. That though a majority of the better ſort were attached to the hereditary deſcent of the crown, the common people entertained a mortal averſion to a Popiſh ſucceſſor. That it was utterly impoſſible to enter into any treaty, without confirming the ſettlement of the crown in the Proteſtant line. That ſhe had no hopes but ſuch as aroſe from the moſt Chriſtian King. That ſhe wiſhed to relieve that Prince from every obligation of not aſſiſting her brother, in caſe of her own demiſe. That ſhe could not truſt her plenipotentiaries. "But ſure," ſaid ſhe, "ſome reſerves may be made, for the time to come [p]." Sentiments expreſſed with ſo little

[o] Stuart-papers.

[p] Ibid.

reſerve,

reſerve, to a foreigner, could not have remained a ſecret to the Queen's ſervants. Such of theſe as had principles of the ſame kind were impreſſed with fears like her own. An intelligence ſo favourable to their views was ſoon conveyed to St. Germains. The Pretender inſtructed his adherents, in both houſes of parliament, to forward the meaſures of the crown. He was no ſtranger to the principles of the Earl of Oxford. But he hoped, that the bad treatment he daily received from the agents of the court of Hannover, would, at length, induce him to oppoſe their views, or, at leaſt, ſoften the oppoſition of that miniſter to his intereſt [q].

His party aſſiſt the miniſtry.

THE Queen was extremely ſenſible of the ſervice rendered to her meaſures by the Pretender's adherents [r]. Though ſhe had created twelve new peers, the majority for government in the houſe of lords was ſo ſlender, that every vote was liable to accidents. When, upon rejecting the Duke of Hamilton's patent, the peers of Scotland abſented themſelves, the Whigs carried a diſagreeable addreſs from the upper houſe to the throne. The efforts of the treaſurer, though he was ſuppoſed to have offered weighty arguments upon the ſubject, was not ſufficient to recall the refractory Scots to their duty in parliament. Many of them were, from principle, attached to the Pretender. Reſentment had roufed others to a determined reſolution of oppoſing all the meaſures of the Whigs. A kind of reſcript from the court of St. Germains ſent them back to the houſe of lords [s]; and the oppoſing party loſt all the benefit which they hoped to derive from their ſhort-lived victory. The ſame influence was extended to the houſe of commons, where it was leſs neceſſary [t]. The Earl of Oxford was no ſtranger to the ſupport he received from the Jacobites. He reſolved, therefore, to encourage outwardly their views. He admitted the agents of the court of St. Germains into his converſation and intimacy. His myſterious character

[q] Stuart-papers, 1712. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid. [t] Ibid.

gave

CHAP. IX. 1713.

gave an air of importance to his very nods and inſinuations. He could, therefore, deceive a race of men blinded by an enthuſiaſtic zeal for their own cauſe. The Lady Maſham, adopting the inclinations of her miſtreſs, was much in the intereſt of the Pretender. Her friendſhip for Oxford had long ſince declined. She wrote to M. Menager, on the ſecond of March, that the affairs of the court of St Germains had fallen into the hands of the treaſurer; and that he would value himſelf upon deceiving their hopes, and diſappointing all their views [u].

He writes to the Queen.

THE Pretender himſelf, it muſt be confeſſed, never believed that the Earl of Oxford was ſincere. But he knew, that to oppoſe that miniſter was to throw the whole into the hands of the Whigs. The lord-treaſurer ſtood on a dangerous precipice. He was deteſted by both ſides. The Whigs talked of aſſaſſination and death. The Tories threatened to deliver him over to the rage of his political enemies. In the midſt of this ſecret ferment, the Chevalier de St. George wrote to the Queen. He told her, that, in the preſent ſituation, it was impoſſible for him to remain longer ſilent. He put her in mind of the honour and preſervation of her own family. He aſſured her of his eternal gratitude, ſhould ſhe uſe any efficacious meaſures towards his eventual ſucceſſion to the throne. He promiſed, he ſaid, the beſt to himſelf from her good-nature and humanity. He was ready to agree to whatever ſhe might chuſe to propoſe for her own intereſt, which he reckoned inſeparable from his own. The Queen was too prudent, or, perhaps, too timid, to make any anſwer to this letter. But her inclinations were ſufficiently known. She even expreſſed her terror, that France would not let him eſcape from her hands. The example of M. Fourbin, who refuſed to land him in Scotland in the year 1708, was produced as a preſumption

[u] MSS. paſſim.

that

that the French King was reſolved never to part with a perſon who might hereafter favour his own deſigns [x].

Artifice of the Earl of Oxford.

NOTWITHSTANDING this anxiety in the Queen, her fears from the court of Hannover ſeem to have weighed more with her mind, than her affection for her brother. The intelligence, which had been induſtriouſly conveyed to her ears, concerning domeſtic conſpiracies and foreign invaſions, had even removed, for a time, her objections to the Popery of the Pretender. Urged by the Jacobites, and the moſt violent of the high-church party, ſhe is ſaid to have reſolved to lay before the parliament the ſecret practices of Prince Eugene, and the dangerous ſchemes of the Baron de Bothmar. The principles of the Earl of Oxford had been highly ſerviceable to the intereſts of the Electoral family. Though the idle project of an invaſion proceeded from the indiſcreet zeal of his miniſter, the Elector himſelf had avowed openly his diſapprobation of the conduct of the Britiſh court. The deſigns of the Whigs, if theſe could be proved, might, by implication, be carried home to his highneſs by his enemies. Whatever the event of the inquiry might have been, the diſcuſſion of a matter ſo delicate would prove extremely diſagreeable to the Electoral family. A nation ever ſubject to extraordinary panics from plots and conſpiracies, might be rouſed to a dangerous reſentment, upon very weak grounds. The Earl of Oxford foreſaw theſe difficulties, and he dexterouſly prevented the ſcheme propoſed, for laying an account of his diſcoveries before the parliament. To ſoothe the violence of the Pretender's adherents, he made a ſhew of entering, with ſome zeal, into his cauſe; and, by inſinuating that his ſucceſſion to the throne could not be prevented, contrived to ſerve effectually the intereſts of the houſe of Hannover [y].

[x] Stuart-papers, 1712.

[y] Stuart-papers, April 1712.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1712.

He deceives the Jacobites.

THE Earl of Oxford, not content with having judiciouſly prevented an inquiry in parliament concerning the intrigues of the confederates and Whigs, had made every uſe of his diſcoveries to haſten the great work of peace. Though he diſappointed Plunket, in not encouraging his intrigues in Holland, he had the addreſs to render that Jeſuit ſubſervient to his views. He was no ſtranger to the circumſtance, that Plunket's vigilance in detecting the ſchemes of his enemies proceeded from views of ſerving the cauſe of the Pretender. He therefore employed him in communicating to the court of France the diſcoveries which had been made, and the conſequent reſolution of Queen Anne to conclude a ſeparate peace. To pleaſe the Jacobites, he held forth a ſpecious tale to that impatient and credulous race of men. He inſinuated, that the Pretender could not be immediately ſerved, on account of the watchfulneſs of the Whigs, and the unſurmountable prejudices of the vulgar againſt his family, and eſpecially his religion; but that there was a fixed reſolution formed of keeping a good correſpondence with France, to enable that kingdom to favour his pretenſions to the Britiſh throne. That it was now in the power of the French King, by cloſing with the wiſhes and demands of the Queen of Great Britain, to impoſe what terms he pleaſed upon the confederates, of whoſe ingratitude and conduct ſhe had juſt grounds to complain [z].

The Queen eager for peace.

DURING theſe ſecret tranſactions in Britain, the daughter born to James the Second, in his exile, died of the ſmall-pox at St. Germains. The Pretender himſelf had fallen ill, with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms of the ſame diſorder, as deprived his friends of every hope of his life. The fears of Queen Anne for her own perſon and authority increaſed in proportion to his danger. The proofs which ſhe had received of the deſigns of the Whigs and confederates had made a deep impreſſion on her mind [a]. She thought

[z] Stuart papers, May 1712.

[a] Stuart papers, paſſim, 1712.

herſelf

herſelf defenceleſs and alone, ſhould the check of a pretender to the crown be removed, from the ſuppoſed views of the family of Hannover, whom ſhe was taught to regard in the light of enemies and rivals. But though theſe were her inclinations, the ſame happy timidity which gave riſe to her anxiety, prevented her from entering, with effectual eagerneſs, into her brother's cauſe. She reſted all her hopes upon the court of France. She hoped, from the gratitude of Lewis the Fourteenth, for the repoſe which ſhe alone could beſtow, a ſupport againſt the ſchemes of the confederates and Whigs. Urged by theſe and ſimilar motives, ſhe could no longer hide her anxiety for peace. In the moment that fortune, by the demiſe of the Dauphin and his ſon, threatened to throw back the houſe of Bourbon into all the perils of a diſaſtrous war, they were ſuddenly relieved, by the timidity of the Queen of Great Britain. The miniſtry, rouſed by terrors for themſelves, were equally eager for breaking, by a ſeparate peace, the power of the confederates. Thus every thing conſpired to extricate France with advantage, and a degree of reputation, out of a war that once threatened the diſſolution of her monarchy.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

On the ſixth of June, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, and made a ſpeech from the throne. She obſerved, that though the making of peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, ſhe was reſolved, in conſequence of her promiſe, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the treaty, before the ſame ſhould be concluded. That, with regard to the concerns of Great Britain, the French King had agreed to acknowledge her title, and the eventual ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover to the throne. That the works and harbour of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, Gibraltar and Portmahon remain in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain; that the iſland of St. Chriſtophers ſhould be ceded, the Streights and Bay of Hudſon reſtored, the iſland of Newfoundland,

She lays the treaty

CHAP. IX. 1712.

foundland, with Placentia, delivered up, and all Acadia or Nova-Scotia yielded for ever to the Britiſh nation. That the trade and commerce of Great Britain ſhould be ſettled in the beſt and moſt permanent manner; and that the aſſiento or contract for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with negroes, ſhould be granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain, for the term of thirty years.

before her parliament.

WITH regard to the States-General, ſhe told them, that France had agreed to almoſt the ſame barrier that had been offered in the negociations of the year 1709. That the Spaniſh Low Countries were to be ſecured to the Emperor. That the Rhine ſhould be the barrier of the Empire; that Briſac and the fortreſſes of Khel and Landau ſhould be ceded; that the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany ſhould be ſettled on the plan of the treaty of Weſtphalia. That, on the ſide of Italy, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, the Spaniſh territories on the Tuſcan ſhore, ſhould be yielded to the houſe of Auſtria; that the fate of Sicily remained ſtill undecided; but that all diſputes were for ever removed, with regard to the ceſſion of that iſland by the Duke of Anjou. That the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1709, and that offered at preſent by France, was very inconſiderable; beſides, that ſhe herſelf was endeavouring to procure for his Royal Highneſs ſtill greater advantages. That, in return for all, Spain and the Weſt-Indies were to remain to King Philip; but that, to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain upon one head, that Prince was to renounce for ever, in the moſt ſolemn manner, all pretenſions to the French monarchy [b].

Arguments againſt

THIS ſpeech was received by the nation, as individuals were attached to one or other of the parties, that ſtrove for the management of public affairs. The adherents of the Whigs affirmed,

[b] Journals, June 6, 1712.

that,

CHAP. IX. 1712.

that, ſhould theſe conditions of peace be accepted, they could not perceive why the war was at all begun. That the grand confederacy was intended to depreſs the exorbitant power of France, by the acceſſion of a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon to the throne of Spain; but that, by the preſent treaty, that power was left in the ſame ſtate as when hoſtilities commenced. That the renunciation of Philip, offered as a ſecurity, was rather a matter of ridicule, than any ſerious propoſal. That the promiſes and oaths of Princes were but weak obſtacles in the way of their ambition. That France herſelf had been ſo juſt as to own, that any agreement of a Prince to break the ſucceſſion of a crown was nugatory, as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. That, ſhould King Philip think himſelf bound by his own renunciation, neither his poſterity nor the French themſelves would allow that he had a power to extend the obligation beyond his own life. That, however inſignificant the rights of monarchy might appear to the people of Great Britain, who had broken the line of ſucceſſion in their own country, the thing was regarded with another eye in France, where the deſcent of the crown was deemed the firſt link of that great chain which kept together the vaſt body of the monarchy.

and for the peace.

On the other ſide, it was affirmed, that, ſince the commencement of the war, the face of things was totally changed; that France, broken by a ſeries of uncommon misfortunes, had ceaſed to be dangerous; that, as the ſtate of affairs now ſtood, freſh expedients and meaſures were not only proper, but even neceſſary. That when the war began, King Charles the Third was only a titular monarch, without a revenue, without power, and without importance. That the caſe was now much altered, as that Prince had obtained the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, together with the Imperial crown. That it would be the height of folly to revive, in the perſon of the preſent Emperor, the power

CHAP. IX. 1712.

which endangered Europe in the days of Charles the Fifth. That, ſhould the confederates reſolve at any rate to place the crown of Spain on the head of the Emperor, the ſucceſs would at beſt be doubtful. That it would be extremely idle, and highly impolitic, to throw away blood and treaſure on an undertaking, which, by being accompliſhed, would deſtroy that very balance for which the maritime powers had ſo long contended with the houſe of Bourbon. That, as to Philip's renunciation, though a ſlender thing in itſelf, it derived great force from the efforts of thoſe who were to enjoy its benefits; that, as matters were ſituated, the beſt means had been uſed for anſwering the end for which the war began; that there was at preſent but a bare poſſibility that the ſucceſſion of France ſhould fall to the ſhare of the King of Spain; but that there was a certainty of preſent danger, from the union of the Spaniſh monarchy to the power of the houſe of Auſtria, ſtrengthened by the influence derived by that family from an uninterrupted poſſeſſion of the Imperial crown.

The commons vote an addreſs of thanks.

In the houſe of commons, an addreſs of thanks was voted, without one diſſenting voice[c]. But the lords adjourned the buſineſs to the next day; and, when they met, fell into warm debates. Though the Whigs affected to deſpiſe the articles of the propoſed peace, theſe were well received by the body of a nation already groaning under the burden of an unprofitable war. The terms were deemed by the diſpaſſionate favourable to the kingdom. In the treaty of the year 1709, upon which the excluded party highly valued themſelves, no ſpecific advantages to Great Britain were propoſed. In the preſent, ſhe had not only obtained a ſecurity to her commerce, but even an acceſſion of territory. The truth is, that the whole was very inadequate to the expence of the war, and unſuitable to its uncommon ſucceſs. No doubt can now be entertained, that, had the confederates

[c] Journals, June 6, 1712.

continued

continued to preſs France on the ſide of Flanders, but the crown of Spain muſt have been relinquiſhed by the houſe of Bourbon. But it is extremely doubtful, whether the Britiſh miniſtry were acquainted with a circumſtance, which the French only owned when the ſeaſon for redreſſing the evil was paſt. The oppoſition in the houſe of lords, deſpairing to prevent the addreſs, endeavoured to clog it with an amendment. They propoſed an addition to the motion for obtaining the guarantee of the Allies to the treaty: but, upon a diviſion, it was rejected by a great majority [d]. A proteſt, entered by ſeveral lords, upon this queſtion, was, after a warm debate, expunged out of the books of the houſe [e].

Other tranſactions

THEIR approbation of the articles of peace was the laſt buſineſs of importance tranſacted in this ſeſſion of parliament. Beſides the great buſineſs of the treaty, and the conſequent conteſts of parties on that ſubject, ſome other affairs, that deſerve to be mentioned, fell under diſcuſſion in the two houſes. The act for a general naturalization of all foreign Proteſtants was repealed [f]. This law, which had been paſſed by the Whigs when in power, had been always odious to the high church party. They ſaid, that as moſt Proteſtants abroad differed from the church-government eſtabliſhed in England, ſo the naturalizing bill was calculated to increaſe the number of Diſſenters in the kingdom. But, after the ſurmiſes of a projected invaſion were carried to the miniſtry, one other eſſential reaſon was added to the former, for repealing the act. The party affirmed, that when that law ſubſiſted, no importation of foreign Proteſtants could be deemed illegal; that a foreign Prince might become, when he pleaſed, maſter of the kingdom, by ſending judiciouſly his ſubjects before him into a country where they became denizens, at the expence of a ſhilling a head, the common price of an oath to the government. That, ſhould ſuch a Prince, which was likely to be ſoon

[d] June 7. [e] June 13. [f] Feb. 9.

the

CHAP. IX. 1712.

the caſe, aſcend the throne of Great Britain, he might, without any breach on the laws of the kingdom, enſlave the nation with an army of his native ſubjects.

of parliament.

THE repealing of the act of naturalization was conſidered by the Diſſenters in the light of an attack upon themſelves. But this was not the only invaſion on their eſtabliſhed opinions, of which they choſe to complain. The commons, in their attachment to the church of England, extended their protection to the epiſcopal clergy in Scotland. A bill was introduced, for granting a toleration to all ſuch as ſhould uſe the liturgy of the church, in that part of the kingdom. The thing ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that no oppoſition was made. But a clauſe in the bill required the civil magiſtrates to execute none of the ſentences of the judicatory of the church of Scotland. The Preſbyterians were alarmed at a circumſtance, that annihilated their eccleſiaſtical authority. The bill, however, paſſed with little oppoſition in either houſe. It was followed by another, which was contrary to the Preſbyterian principles. The courts of judicature in Scotland were commanded, by an act, to diſcontinue their ſittings, during ſome days at Chriſtmas, though the obſerving of holidays is contrary to the tenets of Preſbytery. But the moſt mortifying act of all, was that for reſtoring patronages, which had been aboliſhed in King William's reign. In vain was it urged, that ſuch an invaſion on the church of Scotland was a breach upon the union of the two kingdoms, by which the rights of Preſbytery were unalterably ſecured. The bill paſſed with little oppoſition, notwithſtanding the complaints and petitions of ſeveral of the Scotiſh clergy[z].

Campaign of 1712. Inactivity of Ormond.

WHILE the nation were in a ſtate of ſuſpence, with regard to the negociations carried on between Great Britain and France, the

[z] Burnet, vol. iv.

confederates

CHAP. IX. 1712.

confederates took the field in Flanders. The Prince of Savoy had received a reinforcement of Germans, that increaſed the army to the number of one hundred and twenty-two thouſand men. The Duke of Ormond, who had ſucceeded Marlborough in the command of the Britiſh forces, and ſuch troops as were in Britiſh pay, arrived in the camp near Douay, in the end of April. That nobleman found himſelf extremely uneaſy in the high ſtation in which he was placed. He had carried orders from the Queen to hazard, by no means, a battle, unleſs he perceived an apparent and great advantage. He was ſenſible of the extreme difficulty of executing ſuch undeciſive orders, and, at the ſame time, of concealing the real motive of his conduct from the penetrating eye of the Prince of Savoy. He, however, reſolved to obey her Majeſty's commands, and to prevent, as much as poſſible, the cauſe of his conduct from being even ſuſpected [h]. The ſtrong ſituation of the French army, under the Mareſchal de Villars, who had poſted himſelf behind the Scheld, had induced the Duke to hope that no action could happen. The Prince of Savoy, however, finding that the enemy had not occupied with entrenchments the ſmall ſpace between the ſource of the Somme and that of the Scheld, made diſpoſitions for attacking Villars. His deſign was to decide the fate of the war by a battle, or to force the French to retire, and to leave Cambray expoſed to a ſiege. He communicated his intentions to the Duke of Ormond, on the twenty-eighth of May. His Grace declining to give an immediate anſwer, confirmed the Prince in the ſuſpicions which he had for ſome time entertained. The deputies of the States ſent an immediate account of Ormond's inactivity to the Hague. The States ſent an expreſs to the court of Great Britain. The Whigs brought the affair into the houſe of lords. But the miniſtry were neither moved with the repreſentations of the Dutch, nor the

[h] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

majority

CHAP. IX. 1712.

majority of the peers perſuaded by the clamours of the excluded party [1].

Conſternation of the confederates.

DURING this ſtate of altercation and ſuſpence, the Prince of Savoy reſolved to ſit down before Queſnoy. This ſiege was but of ſhort continuance. The town ſurrendered after a weak defence, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. The ſpirits of the confederates, depreſſed by the inactivity of Ormond, were greatly exalted by this ſucceſs. But as the propoſed ceſſation of arms between Great Britain and France was no longer a matter of mere ſuſpicion, the former dejection of the allies returned. They pretended to make no doubt, but that all the troops in Britiſh pay would follow the Britiſh forces. They dreaded, that the Mareſchal de Villars would take advantage of the ſeparation, and attack the Prince of Savoy. The States, in particular, were afraid of a terrible reverſe of fortune, at the end of a proſperous war. Their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht reproached the Biſhop of Briſtol with the odious conduct of his court. They perceived themſelves expoſed, in a defenceleſs ſtate, to the vengeance of an enemy whom they had treated with haughtineſs and contempt. They exaggerated the perils of their condition. They even mixed threats with expreſſions of deſpair. But their former courage returned, when they underſtood that the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain refuſed to follow the Duke of Ormond.

Intrigues of Marlborough with the Dutch.

THIS meaſure, ſo diſtreſsful to the Britiſh miniſtry, proceeded from the aſſiduity of the Duke of Marlborough. That nobleman wrote to the penſionary Heinſius, and the Prince of Savoy, to hinder the foreign troops from obeying the Duke of Ormond. He hoped to prevent, by this contrivance, the French King from delivering up Dunkirk to the Britiſh forces. That circumſtance, which was likely to happen, would infallibly raiſe the clamours

[1] Journals. Publications of the Times.

of

of the populace againſt the miniſtry, terrify the Tories in parliament, and give a plauſible pretext to the Whigs to ſend the authors of the ineffectual peace to the Tower. The Duke, in conjunction with the Lords Halifax and Somers, propoſed another ſcheme, more deciſive in its conſequences, but leſs eaſy to be accompliſhed. They adviſed the States to aſſiſt the Elector of Hannover to paſs with a force into Great Britain. The project was to ſpread a report, that the Pretender, at the inſtigation of the miniſtry, was preparing to invade the kingdom with a French army; and, at the ſame time, to declare in a manifeſto, that his Electoral Highneſs was arrived, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line[k]. They affirmed, that the people, alarmed for their religion and liberty, would flock round his ſtandard; and that the Queen, like her father, would make her eſcape to France. This plauſible project is ſaid to have been tranſmitted to the Princeſs Sophia. But the leſs violent Whigs are reported to have adviſed her clandeſtinely to refuſe her conſent; as that meaſure might furniſh the Tories, already averſe from the intereſts of her family, with a pretence for altering the ſucceſſion[l].

The auxiliaries refuſe to obey the Duke of Ormond.

THE refuſal of the foreign troops to obey the Duke of Ormond transferred the perplexity of the other confederates to the Britiſh court. They had agreed with the French, that the Queen's troops, conſiſting of twenty-five battalions and ninety-four ſquadrons, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the army under the Prince of Savoy. But when Ormond communicated his orders for that purpoſe to the generals of the auxiliaries, they refuſed to obey. One battalion and four ſquadrons of the Duke of Holſtein, and two ſquadrons of Walif's regiment of dragoons of the country of Liege, were the only foreigners that ſeemed ready to follow the Britiſh general[m]. The intelligence was received in London by

[k] Stuart-papers, 1713. [l] Ibid. [m] De Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

different perſons, as they were variouſly inclined to the contending parties. The joy expreſſed by the Whigs was unbounded. The indignation of the Tories was equally exceſſive. Reports were ſpread, that a deſign was formed by the Prince of Savoy to diſarm the Britiſh forces, and to confine the Duke of Ormond. This queſtion had certainly been agitated at the conſults of the malecontents with Prince Eugene, in the month of February [n]. But whether it was ever intended to be put in execution, is rather to be ſuſpected than proved.

The French refuſe to deliver up Dunkirk.

THE refuſal of the auxiliaries to obey his orders, reduced the Duke of Ormond to a ſtate of the utmoſt perplexity and uneaſineſs. He delayed his march, till he ſhould receive poſitive commands from his court. The miniſtry were thrown into a degree of conſternation, by freſh complaints on the ſubject from the French King. They had loſt the confidence of the allies. They had fallen under the diſtruſt of the court of Verſailles. The principal terms of the ſtipulated ceſſation was the delivery of Dunkirk, and the immediate confirmation of the renunciation made by King Philip, of his eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of France. Lewis the Fourteenth informed the Queen of Great Britain, that he underſtood the propoſed ceſſation to be general between the two armies. That, ſhould he even ſatisfy himſelf with a particular ceſſation, he wiſhed to be underſtood, that all the troops in Britiſh pay ſhould quit the reſt of the confederates. That, till this condition ſhould be fulfilled, he thought proper to ſuſpend his orders for admitting the Britiſh troops into Dunkirk. Mr. Secretary St. John ſoon removed this difficulty, by the expreſs orders of his miſtreſs. He wrote to the Marquis de Torcy, that the Queen was reſolved to unite herſelf effectually with France, to defeat this laſt effort of men, who, to ſatisfy their private reſentment, wiſhed to protract the calamities of war. That, to ſhew

[n] Stuart-papers. De Torcy. Swift's four years.

the

the firmneſs of her mind and ſincerity of her intentions, ſhe had commanded him to ſignify to the miniſters from thoſe Princes whoſe troops were in the Britiſh pay, that, ſhould they perſiſt to ſeparate themſelves from her native troops, they ſhould expect no more of her money[o]. That poſitive orders were, in the mean time, ſent to the Duke of Ormond, to ſeparate the Britiſh forces from allies that neither deſerved nor ſhould receive her ſupport.

They, however, yield; and a ſuſpenſion of arms is declared.

THE court of France were too eager for a tranquillity that was ſo neceſſary to their affairs, not to ſuffer themſelves to be convinced by St. John's letter. They foreſaw, that the confederates, upon being deſerted by Great Britain, would either ſeriouſly think of peace, or become ſubject to a ſudden reverſe in war. Orders were immediately diſpatched for delivering Dunkirk to the Britiſh troops. The obſtructions experienced already by the Duke of Ormond induced the miniſtry to place the fate of the peace in a kind of independence upon accident. They ſent Sir John Leake to take the command of the fleet in the Downs. They ordered him to provide tranſports for carrying troops to occupy Dunkirk from Great Britain. On the eighth of July, Brigadier Hill took poſſeſſion of the place. Two days before this event, the Prince of Savoy ſeparated himſelf from the Britiſh troops, and ſat down before Landrecy. The Duke of Ormond, directing his route to Aveſne le Seiq, declared, at that place, a ſuſpenſion of arms. In his march toward Ghent, which city, together with Bruges, he intended to occupy, he was refuſed by the confederates a paſſage through Bouchaine. He was treated with the ſame diſreſpect and diſtruſt by the garriſons of Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, and Liſle. On the twelfth of July, the Duke took poſſeſſion of Ghent, and, ſoon after, of Bruges; and thus, by commanding the navigation of the Lys and

[o] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

Scheld, became the umpire of the operations between the contending armies [p].

The allies defeated at Denain.

THE good-fortune of the confederates ceaſed at the ſeparation of the Britiſh forces from their army in Flanders. The happy raſhneſs of the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding campaign, had rendered the Prince of Savoy, the only rival of his glory, more enterpriſing. Having opened the trenches before Landrecy, he placed a body of his troops at Denain, to favour the paſſage of his convoys from Marchiennes [q]. His own camp was fortified, and independent of inſult. But the Marſchal de Villars, however, had the addreſs to render the Prince afraid of being attacked; which induced him to weaken the body of troops commanded by the Earl of Albemarle at Denain. That lord's force, at laſt, conſiſted of fourteen thouſand men. Villars, having made a feint of advancing towards his right, on the ſide of Landrecy, turned ſuddenly to the left, and arriving at Neuville in the morning of the twenty-fourth, threw at once three bridges acroſs the Scarpe. The Prince of Savoy, apprized of the unexpected march of the enemy, haſtened to the lines between Denain and Neuville. He reinforced the Earl of Albemarle with ſix battalions. He went in perſon to haſten the march of his right wing. He had ſcarce quitted the lines, when they were entered, almoſt without reſiſtance, by the Count de Broglio. Four battalions of Palatines and other German auxiliaries threw down their arms and fled. The whole French line, having paſſed the Scheld, were led by Villars againſt the camp of the Earl of Albemarle. He marched up to the enemy, without firing a ſingle ſhot. He entered the intrenchments, cut thoſe who reſiſted to pieces, and forced the ſurvivors to fly. But their retreat was cut off by the precaution of the French general, who had occupied a bridge, which they had built behind, on the Scheld.

[p] Publications of the Times. [q] Hiſt. d'Angleterre.

THE

CHAP. IX.

1712. Rapid progreſs of France.

THE loſs of the confederates was conſiderable, in an action which decided the fate of the war. One thouſand were ſlain in the engagement and flight. Fifteen hundred were drowned. Two thouſand five hundred fell into the hands of the victors. Many officers of great diſtinction were taken, killed, or loſt in the Scheld. The Prince of Savoy had the mortification to arrive when his friends were incapable of receiving relief. He attempted, in vain, to force the bridge occupied by the French. This, however, was only the beginning of a long chain of misfortunes. Marchiennes, where all the magazines of the confederates were depoſited, was taken, in three days. Prince Eugene, inſtead of annoying the enemy, was not able to defend himſelf. He raiſed the ſiege of Landrecy. Douay [r], Queſnoy [s], and Bouchain [t], were ſucceſſively taken, in his ſight. The taking of Marchiennes, in depriving the Prince of the means of war, enabled the enemy to proſecute their operations with vigour. A ſucceſs ſo uncommon and ſo unexpected elevated the French beyond meaſure. The joy of the Britiſh miniſtry was equal, but leſs obvious, than that of the court of Verſailles. They were glad to ſee the haughtineſs of the Whigs humbled, their hopes diſappointed, their oppoſition to the peace, as it were, puniſhed in a ſignal manner, their affected contempt of their own nation, ſince they ceaſed to be commanded by a general of their party, all revenged by a defeat, which could not fail to be followed by conſequences fatal to their views [u].

Campaign in Spain, Italy, Dauphiné, and on the Rhine.

THE ſignal events of this campaign were confined to Flanders. No enterpriſe of conſequence was undertaken, no action of renown happened on any other ſide of the war. In Italy, the Imperialiſts beſieged and took Porto Hercole. In Spain, the Count de Staremberg, though delivered from a formidable enemy by the death of Vendôme, attempted nothing important. King

[r] Auguſt 27. [s] Sept. 23. [t] Oct. 7.
[u] Hiſt. d'Angleterre. Hiſt. de France. Kane's Mem.

Philip,

CHAP. IX. 1712.

Philip, having a near proſpect of peace, permitted the war to languiſh on his ſide. In Dauphiné and Savoy, the ſummer was ſpent by the contending armies in obſerving each other's motions. An inactivity, which bore every appearance of a perfect tranquillity, prevailed on the frontiers of Portugal. The Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the army of the Empire on the Rhine, formed a project, toward the end of the campaign, to force the lines of Weiſſembourg, and to penetrate into Alſace. Having detached two bodies of his troops, by two different roads, they were deceived by their guides, and, meeting in the night, charged one another as enemies, and returned, in the utmoſt confuſion, to their own camp. Thus ended, in misfortune and diſgrace, the operations of a war, which had covered the arms of the confederates with ſo much renown [u].

Tendency toward a peace.

THE diſappointments on the part of the allies diminiſhed their hopes. But the time for putting an end to the war was not yet arrived. The Queen of Great Britain herſelf, though ſhe appeared anxious for peace, endangered the ſucceſs of that meaſure, by peremptorily inſiſting upon the ceſſion of the kingdom of Sicily in favour of the Duke of Savoy [x]. Mr. Secretary St. John, who had been raiſed to the peerage, on the ſeventh of July, by the title of Viſcount Bolingbroke, had demanded that article, in terms more likely to create a quarrel, than to facilitate the concluſion of the negociation. But when the court of France was embarraſſed about the anſwer moſt proper to be made to his Lordſhip, he informed them, by letter, that he was commanded by the Queen to go in perſon to France. He accordingly arrived at Paris, in the end of the month of Auguſt. His inſtructions furniſhed his Lordſhip with full powers to bring the negociation to a ſpeedy concluſion. But this power was annexed to the indiſpenſable condition of obtaining Sicily for the Duke of Savoy.

[u] Hiſt. of Europe. Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. [x] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

THE

The Queen of Great Britain expreſſed a particular attention to that Prince, which might be conſidered unaccountable upon any other grounds, than her deeming his family, after herſelf and the Pretender, the next in blood to the ſucceſſion of the crown, upon the ancient form. But though ſhe inſiſted upon obtaining an immediate kingdom for the Duke, her principal object in his favour was the eventual ſucceſſion of the houſe of Savoy to the throne of Spain, after the failure of King Philip and his poſterity.

Bolingbroke ſent to France.

THIS ſudden reſolution of ſending Bolingbroke to France proceeded from the earneſtneſs for peace expreſſed upon every occaſion by that lord. He had adviſed the Queen to prefer a ſeparate treaty to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, as the moſt certain means of obviating the difficulties which the enemies of peace oppoſed to a ſimple ceſſation of arms. The example of Great Britain, he affirmed, would be ſoon followed by the confederates. The Kings of Portugal and Pruſſia, he ſaid, as well as the Duke of Savoy, and the Dutch, were too prudent to continue the war after the ſeparation of ſuch a powerful ally as Great Britain; and, ſhould the Emperor and empire ſacrifice their convenience and intereſt to their reſentment, he aſſured her, that they would ſoon drop a conteſt which they could not maintain with any effect. The Earl of Oxford oppoſed the advice of Bolingbroke, to avoid giving offence to the Elector of Hannover. Though he was attached from principle to that Prince, he was apprehenſive of being called to an account whenever he ſhould aſcend the Britiſh throne. This event ſeemed to be at no great diſtance, as the Queen daily declined in her health. This was the cauſe of all thoſe delays and uneaſineſſes which might have been prevented by a definitive treaty between Great Britain and France. This conduct was extremely impolitic in the miniſter, as it gave an appearance of timidity to his meaſures; a circumſtance which expoſed him to all

CHAP. IX. 1712.

all the machinations and intrigues of his own enemies and thoſe of the peace [y].

Terms ſettled between him and de Torcy.

WHEN Bolingbroke arrived at Paris, he entered into conferences with the Marquis de Torcy on the object of his embaſſy. The two miniſters, poſſeſſed of unlimited powers from their reſpective courts, ſoon agreed: That the Duke of Savoy and his deſcendants ſhould be called to the throne of Spain, in default of King Philip and his male poſterity. That this ſubſtitution ſhould be inſerted in all the public acts, with regard to the renunciation of Philip's right to the crown of France. That the renunciation itſelf ſhould be regiſtered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and admitted ſolemnly by the cortes or ſtates of Caſtile and Arragon. That the ceſſion of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy ſhould for the preſent remain a ſecret for various reaſons. But that he ſhould never be ſuffered to alienate that iſland for any other territory. The article of the barrier to this favoured Prince was not ſo eaſily ſettled. The French miniſter refuſed to grant more for that purpoſe than Exilles, Feneſtrelles, and the valley of Pragelas. This whole affair was therefore referred to the general congreſs at Utrecht. The two ſecretaries of Great Britain and France having ſettled theſe terms, the Viſcount Bolingbroke had an audience of the French King. He was received with the utmoſt politeneſs by that Prince; and was treated by the whole court with a reſpect ſuitable to the earneſt deſire of the kingdom for peace. The ceſſation of arms was prolonged for four months; and Bolingbroke, having left Prior to manage the affairs of his nation in France, returned to London, highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy [z].

States eager for peace.

THE change of affairs in Flanders had rendered the confederates ſenſible that they were incapable to maintain the war ſhould Great Britain deſert the grand alliance. The Dutch, who had

[y] M. de Torcy, tom. ii. Stuart papers, 1712.

[z] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

moſt to loſe by a continuation of hoſtilities, were the firſt who ſeriouſly thought of peace. The defeat at Denain, the ſubſequent misfortunes, the diſappointment of the projects of the Prince of Savoy, had blaſted their hopes and humbled their pride. Their eyes were opened to the true ſtate of their affairs. They deſcended at once from that haughtineſs with which they had been inſpired by the ſucceſs of the war. Inſtead of preſcribing terms to the houſe of Bourbon, they ſolicited the good offices of Great Britain, for renewing the conferences, which had been long interrupted by their own obſtinacy. They dropt their pretenſions of receiving all the anſwers of the French plenipotentiaries in writing. The latter, therefore, agreed to renew the conferences, upon condition that the Queen of Great Britain's ſpeech to her parliament ſhould be admitted as the plan of the treaty. The miniſters of the other allies were alarmed at the puſillanimity of the Dutch. Count Zinzendorff, the Imperial miniſter, repeated his exhortations and promiſes. He aſſured them, that the Prince of Savoy was on his march to fight Villars. That he was ſure of victory. That, as there was no riſk in ſuſpending the conferences, the States ought to temporize, by waiting for the reſult of events [a].

An incident interrupts the conferences.

ZINZENDORFF prevailed. The conferences under various pretences were delayed. But when time brought no favourable change, the Dutch fell into their former fears. They redoubled their ſolicitations for the renewal of the conferences of Utrecht. A ſilly quarrel between the ſervants of M. Menager, one of the French plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of the Count de Rechteren, deputy of the province of Overyſſel, interrupted again the great work of peace. The French King took advantage of the folly of Rechteren, as it was not his intereſt to confer with the allies till he had ſettled his meaſures with the Viſcount Bolingbroke. The pretence itſelf was plauſible. He inſiſted that the States ſhould

[a] Swift's four years. De Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

declare whether Rechteren followed their orders in his inſolent conduct, or whether he had purſued the dictates of a paſſionate mind, inflamed by the arts of the houſe of Auſtria. If he acted in obedience to his maſters, there was no ſafety, he ſaid, for his miniſters at Utrecht. If he had no guide but his own paſſion, the States were called upon to diſavow the conduct of a ſervant who had abuſed their confidence. The French King therefore told them, that Rechteren ſhould be recalled by his conſtituents, and another deputy be appointed in his place. This dictatorial conduct, ſo contrary to the abject behaviour of the court of France in the year 1709, was not capable to raiſe the indignation of the States. The haughtineſs which aſſumed the name of ſpirit at that period, had vaniſhed with their good fortune; and they ſuffered an enemy whom they deſpiſed to retort upon them their own wanton inſolence with impunity.

The Queen interferes for the Dutch.

THE abject behaviour of the States was, at preſent, of ſome advantage to their affairs. Their ſubmiſſion to the French reconciled the court of Great Britain to their intereſt. The reſentment of the Britiſh nation ceaſed, with the obſtinacy of the Dutch. The miniſtry reſolved to interfere in their cauſe. They preſſed, therefore, the court of France to a ſeparate peace. They deſired them to regiſter immediately the renunciations, as on them the peace of Europe depended. That, upon the fulfilling of this eſſential article, the Queen of Great Britain ſhould declare, that ſhe could obtain no other plan but that offered by France. That it was the buſineſs of the confederates to determine upon this head. That they ſhould have three months to conſider; but that the French King ſhould be no longer obliged to grant even theſe terms, after the expiration of the time. The Queen inſiſted, in return, with the court of Verſailles, to depart from their claims, on the reſtitution of Tournay [b]. That town, ſhe ſaid, as it was

[b] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

the great object of the States, was alſo neceſſary to their barrier. Though Lewis had reſolved to retain Tournay, he yielded prudently to her requeſt. He found, that by the bad ſtate of the Queen's health, there was reaſon to fear ſhe might die in the midſt of an unfiniſhed war. He knew that the miniſtry muſt fall with her life. That their enemies and his own would again poſſeſs themſelves of the whole power of the kingdom. That a Prince, who had declared himſelf averſe from peace, was to mount the throne, and was likely to renew or rather to continue the war [c].

CHAP. IX. 1712.

THIS prudential conceſſion of Lewis the Fourteenth, ſmoothed the way for a treaty which was not deſtined to be ſoon concluded. But though the clandeſtine meaſures, for reſtoring peace, employed much of the time of Queen Anne, a part of her attention was turned to views that were ſtill more ſecret. Thoſe who were moſt about her perſon, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually with regard to the intereſt of the Pretender. She ſeemed willing to favour his views. But ſhe perceived obſtacles in his way, which he himſelf had not the ſtrength of mind to remove. In her own attachment to the church of England, ſhe ſignified her inclinations that the Pretender ſhould relinquiſh Popery, and place himſelf in a capacity of being ſerved. When ſhe was urged, by the Duke of Buckingham, to endeavour to break the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, her anſwer, though it conveyed a regard for her brother, was ſuitable to good ſenſe and prudence. "How can I ſerve him," ſhe ſaid, "my Lord? He makes not the leaſt ſtep to oblige me, in what I moſt deſire. You know a Papiſt cannot enjoy this crown in peace. But the example of the father has no weight with the ſon. He prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I

Secret views of the Queen

[c] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

CHAP. XI. 1712.

undo what I have already done? He may thank himſelf for his excluſion. He knows that I love my own family better than that of any other. All would be eaſy, ſhould he enter the pale of the church of England. Adviſe him to change his religion, as that only can change the opinions of mankind, in his favour [d]."

with regard to the Pretender.

THOUGH Buckingham had aſſured the family of Hannover, that he had been perſecuted by the Whigs, for his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion [e], he conveyed his intelligence to the court of St. Germains. He, at the ſame time, ſeconded the requeſt of the Queen. But his arguments were loſt on the Pretender and his ſervants. Though that unfortunate Prince was in no danger of becoming an apoſtle, like his father, he was, perhaps, equally attached to the Romiſh faith. Under a pretence that his converſion would be deemed inſincere, he evaded the requeſt of his friends. He affirmed, he had ſo little prejudice againſt the religion of his country, that he intended to carry along with him to the place of his exile, a Proteſtant clergyman, to officiate to his Proteſtant ſervants. That when he ſhould be permitted to return to Great Britain, he would be ready to hear ſuch arguments as might induce him to change his preſent faith. That it was even the intereſt of England to have a Prince on the throne, whoſe religion would leſſen the power which the conſtitution had placed in his hands. That, as he was ready to relinquiſh, during his own time, the prerogative of nominating Biſhops, and of appointing clergymen to livings, no danger could be apprehended by the eſtabliſhed church. That he was willing the preſent teſts, ſo far as they regarded Popery, ſhould continue; and, as he entertained no prejudice againſt the doctrines of the church of England, he was ready to have no ſervants but ſuch as were of the Proteſtant perſuaſion [f].

[d] Stuart-papers, July 1712.
[e] Hannover-papers, paſſim.
[f] Stuart-papers, 1712.

THESE

CHAP. IX. 1712.

THESE profeſſions might be honeſt; but they were an irrefragable proof of weakneſs. A man who relinquiſhed his hopes of a great kingdom, for a ſpeculative tenet of faith, diſcovered a degree of enthuſiaſm that ought never to be truſted. Inſincerity itſelf is leſs a crime in a prince than folly. He who wiſhes to govern nations, muſt rule them through their principles; otherwiſe his government becomes a tyranny, and only laſts as long as it is not oppoſed. Among a people accuſtomed to monarchy, the Sovereign only is capable of ſhaking his own throne. To differ from his ſubjects, in their religious opinions, is almoſt the only prerogative which he may not, without danger, employ. Of all mankind, HE has the leaſt right to be ſingular in his faith. If he is not willing to go to heaven in the ſame way with his people, they will ſcarce acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth. That public affection, which is the chief ſupport of his throne, muſt be changed for ſuſpicion and jealouſy. A mutual diſtruſt prevails, which will ſoon degenerate into that unforgiving averſion, that invariably follows a difference of faith, in feeble minds. When ſociety is even mellowed down into an indifference, which borders on infidelity, the worſt conſequences are to be expected and feared. Indignation againſt the weakneſs of a bigot will, even then, ſupply the place of religious zeal; and violence itſelf becomes juſt, in a certain degree, when it is oppoſed to folly. Reflections.

THE generality of the Tories, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary deſcent of the crown, overlooked the attachment of the Pretender to the Popiſh faith. Afraid only of the violence of the common people, they recommended to him to make a ſhow of changing his religion. They aſſured him, that ſhould he declare himſelf a member of the church of England, without the formality of a public converſion, they would endeavour to obtain the repeal of the act of ſettlement, in the preſent parliament. That, The Tories urge the Pretender

CHAP. IX. 1712.

That, however, the Pretender could not be mentioned in the new law. That the diſpoſal of the crown, according to the precedents of former times, ſhould be veſted in the reigning Queen. That, however, ſhe muſt be reſtricted to leave her throne to a Proteſtant. That, as her affection for her brother was not to be ſuſpected, they had no apprehenſions of her not making a will in his favour. That, in the mean time, to obviate every danger of diſappointment, he ſhould be permitted to live in Scotland. That they expected, from his own prudence, a moderate comportment, during his ſiſter's life. That, conſidering the bad ſtate of her health, the poſſeſſion of the crown could be no diſtant object; and that an outward compliance with the forms of worſhip eſtabliſhed by law, in Great Britain, was only wanting to the completion of the whole deſign [g].

to change his religion.

THOUGH the hopes of the Tories were too ſanguine to be ſo very eaſily accompliſhed, there was a degree of good fortune in the religious obſtinacy of the Pretender. Had he been leſs prejudiced, or, perhaps, more diſhoneſt, he might, at this period, break, or, at leaſt, greatly endanger the ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover to the crown. Though men of diſtinction and eminence have aſcribed the ſucceſs of the Revolution and Proteſtant ſucceſſion to their own abilities and patriotiſm, the benefits of both were derived from the happy zeal of the common people for the eſtabliſhed religion. Though the excluded family were guilty of many follies, they were only odious on account of their Popery. A popular cry againſt their bigotry, which was far from being ill-founded, was more fatal to their hopes, than the act of ſettlement. The moſt zealous of their abettors were unable to ſtop this torrent. When they planned their meaſures, in ſecret, for the reſtoration of their favourite line of Kings, they were terrified from all their ſchemes, by the clamours of the populace.

[g] Stuart-papers, 1712.

Thoſe,

CHAP. IX. 1712.

Thoſe, therefore, who wiſhed, at this period, that the Pretender ſhould change his religion, were his beſt friends. Without reconciling the lower ſort, in ſome degree, to his perſon, by his adopting their faith, it is extremely doubtful, whether the abrogation of the act of ſettlement, the zeal of his ſiſter, or the efforts of all his friends, could render him ſecure upon the throne [h].

Deſigns of the Whigs.

But though the Whigs ſuſpected theſe ſecret intrigues, and conveyed inſinuations concerning them to the public, with many aggravating circumſtances, they were not able to gain the people to their views. They affirmed, that by a ſecret article of the ſeparate peace between Great Britain and France, Scotland was to be immediately ceded to the Pretender [i]. They carried their ſurmizes, with unabated diligence, to the preſs. But there they met the enemy upon diſadvantageous ground. The Earl of Oxford had the good fortune to be ſupported, before the public, by able and perſevering writers. He owed this circumſtance, like his power, to the ſtate of the times, and neither to his own liberality nor conduct. The dangers of domeſtic conſpiracies, from the Whigs, and even of an invaſion from abroad by the confederates, were inculcated with vivacity and force. Though no effectual meaſures for carrying into execution either of theſe deſigns, had been taken by the diſcontented, they failed more from the want of opportunity than inclination. The excluded party, and eſpecially the Duke of Marlborough, who ſtill preſerved an influence with the Dutch, continued to urge the confederates to continue the war. They were even ſaid to have eagerly ſuggeſted an attempt, ſimilar to that which had proved ſo ſucceſsful at the late Revolution. They affirmed, that the fleet and army were both averſe from the Queen's meaſures; and that a change in the

[h] Stuart-papers, 1712.

[i] Stuart-papers, July 1712.

throne,

CHAP. IX.

1712.

throne, and conſequently an alteration of meaſures, might be accompliſhed, without drawing the ſword [k].

Oxford pays court, in vain, to the houſe of Hanover.

DURING ſchemes, formed by the two parties, the Earl of Oxford purſued a ſecret line of his own. Perceiving the declining health of the Queen, he was anxious to ſtretch beyond her life the term of his power; or, at leaſt, to inſure his ſafety. To this point was directed all his care and attention, in times ſufficiently agitated with more important concerns. To accompliſh his purpoſe, he endeavoured, by deceiving the court of St. Germains, with his myſterious conduct, to gain the favour of the houſe of Hannover [l]. In both he was equally unſucceſsful. The Jacobites formed ſome hopes, on the neceſſity of his ſituation, but none upon his attachment to their cauſe. The Electoral family, ſwayed by the miſrepreſentations of the Whigs, became inſenſible to all his ſubmiſſions and earneſt profeſſions [m]. To ſolicit their good opinion, he had ordered Mr. Thomas Harley from Utrecht to the court of Hannover. To beſpeak a favourable reception, Harley carried to the Princeſs Sophia the act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for ſettling the precedence of her family, as the next heirs of the crown of Great Britain. Harley, who from the ſtation of an aſſiſtant to the ſecretary of the treaſury, was thus raiſed to the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary, arrived at Hannover, in the month of July. If he was charged with any thing but profeſſions of attachment from the miniſter, he had not the good fortune to ſucceed. The Elector continued, with all his influence, to oppoſe the peace; and made, at the ſame time, no ſecret of his diſtruſt of the Queen and her principal ſervants.

Duke of Hamilton appointed ambaſſador to France.

WITH regard to the latter, the Elector was certainly deceived. But a doubt can ſcarce be formed, that Anne herſelf was extremely

[k] Stuart-papers, July 1712. [l] Ibid. [m] Hannover-papers.

averſe

averſe from the ſucceſſion of his Highneſs to the throne. She was no ſtranger to the attachment of the lord-treaſurer to the houſe of Hannover. She knew that Bolingbroke had never brought any principle in competition with his own intereſt. She was reſolved to truſt neither, in an affair which ſeems to have engaged the greateſt part of her thoughts. With a natural jealouſy of her own authority, ſhe declined to gratify the Jacobites by calling her brother into the kingdom. But ſhe was extremely anxious to ſettle, with France, ſome plan to ſecure his eventual ſucceſſion, after her own death. To accompliſh her purpoſe, ſhe had, very early in the preſent year, fixed her eyes on the Duke of Hamilton, as a proper perſon to be ſent ambaſſador to the court of Verſailles. Bolingbroke, who managed the treaty, hitherto, fruſtrated this deſign, by taking that province to himſelf, in the preceding ſummer. But, ſoon after the return of that nobleman from Paris, ſhe appointed the Duke her ambaſſador-extraordinary to the French King.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

An accident, fatal to the Duke of Hamilton, diſappointed at once the deſigns of the Queen and the hopes of the Jacobites, from his embaſſy. The Duke and the Lord Mohun, a man of an infamous character [n], who had been twice tried for murder, had been engaged in a tedious law-ſuit, for many years, the circumſtances of which had kindled between them, the moſt bitter animoſity and enmity. Being both preſent at the examination of witneſſes, at the chambers of a maſter in chancery, Hamilton threw a kind of reflection on one of the perſons examined, which ſeemed to glance at the Lord Mohun. His Lordſhip, urged by one General Macartney, a perſon attached to the Whigs, and eſpecially to the Duke of Marlborough, ſent a challenge to the Duke; and they met, in Hyde-park, in the morning of the fifteenth of November. Hamilton killed his adverſary, on the

He is unfairly killed in a duel.

[n] Swift's four laſt years.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

ſpot, though he himſelf was wounded. When, faint with the loſs of blood, he was leaning in the arms of his ſecond, he is ſaid to have been barbarouſly ſtabbed in the breaſt by Macartney[o]. He died, in a few minutes, in the field. Macartney made his eſcape. A proclamation was iſſued againſt him by the privy-council. The Tories aſcribed the Duke's death to the malice of the Whigs. The Queen was terrified. The populace were variouſly affected; and the writers of government accuſed, in open terms, their political enemies of murder [p].

Duke of Marlborough quits the kingdom.

THE current running violently againſt the Whigs, upon this occaſion, the Duke of Marlborough, who was, perhaps unjuſtly, accuſed of being privy to the challenge, thought proper to retire from the kingdom. The Earl of Oxford is ſaid to have embraced this favourable opportunity, for ridding himſelf of an enemy whom he had reaſon to fear. He informed his Grace, that he was well acquainted with his correſpondence abroad, and his intrigues at home. That he knew of his ſecret applications to the States, his clandeſtine meaſures to induce the troops to deſert the Duke of Ormond, his ſecret deſigns againſt the government, his dangerous conſults with the Prince of Savoy. That he had long been no ſtranger to his correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. That he had been apprized of his negociations for ſelling the peace to France, on a former occaſion; and his preſent project for invading the kingdom with a foreign force. That, notwithſtanding the proofs in his hands, he meant nothing leſs, than to ſeek his life or to ruin his fortune. That, however, for his own ſecurity, he muſt requeſt his Grace to quit the kingdom, as the only means to put an end to his own ſuſpicions and the fears of the Queen [q]. They had a meeting on this ſubject at the houſe of Mr. Thomas Harley; and Marlborough left London,

[o] Swift's four laſt years. Examination before the council.

[p] Publications of the Times. [q] Stuart-papers, 1712, 1714.

on the twenty-fourth of November. Having paſſed from Dover to Oſtend, he was received with diſtinguiſhed honours by all the Dutch garriſons, on his way to Antwerp, where he fixed his reſidence.

Duke of Shrewſbury ſent to France.

THE death of the Duke of Hamilton made way for the Duke of Shrewſbury, as ambaſſador to the court of Verſailles. The jealouſy of the lord-treaſurer is ſaid to have raiſed his Grace to this dignity. Both Shrewſbury and Buckingham were much attached to the cauſe of the Pretender. They had great influence with the Queen, and they led the cabinet-council. To remove them from office was beyond the lord-treaſurer's power. Yet they were great checks upon the execution of his own deſigns. He apprehended from Shrewſbury, though a Jacobite, no danger in France; as the timidity of his character was a ſufficient ſecurity againſt his principles. Though the peace with the houſe of Bourbon was not formally concluded, acts of confidence and friendſhip had paſſed, for ſome months before, between them and the court of London. The Lord Lexington, having been appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to Philip the Fifth, had arrived at Madrid, in the middle of October. The profeſſed buſineſs of Lexington was to be preſent at the King of Spain's ſolemn renunciation of the crown of France, for himſelf and his poſterity; which ceremony was performed in the preſence of the council of Caſtile and Arragon. Philip, in return to the embaſſy of Great Britain, ordered the Marquis de Monteleone to repair to London in a public capacity. No Prince could owe more to another, than the King of Spain to Queen Anne; and, therefore, the politeneſs of the ambaſſador was expreſſive of his maſter's gratitude[r].

Affairs

WHILST the war in the Weſt of Europe was haſtening to a period, that in the North and Eaſt was carried on with various

[r] Publications of the Times.

CHAP. IX. 1712.

turns of fortune. The obſtinacy of the King of Sweden detained him ſtill at Bender. His kingdom was preſſed on every ſide by powerful enemies. His intrigues at Conſtantinople effectuated various changes in the Ottoman miniſtry. In the year 1711, the Turks, by his influence, declared war againſt the Ruſſians. An army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men paſſed, in ſeven columns, the Danube. They advanced to the ſouthern bank of the Pruth, eleven leagues from the mouth of that river. The Ruſſians, led by Czeremetoff, under whom the Czar ſerved in perſon, in quality of lieutenant-general, had the imprudence to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded, in a narrow paſs formed by the Pruth. Peter was now in the ſame deſperate condition with Charles himſelf at Pultowa. But though he was equally unfortunate, he was more prudent. He deſired to capitulate. He ſtrengthened his requeſt with large preſents to the Vizier. He obtained advantageous terms, when he had nothing to expect but misfortune. Charles, who had declined to attend an army which he was not ſuffered to command, hearing of the ſituation of the Ruſſians, haſtened to the Ottoman camp. He arrived juſt in time to ſee his mortal enemy relieved from his diſtreſs. He reproached the Vizier. He demanded a detachment for purſuing the Czar. He could obtain nothing. He returned, in a furious manner, to Bender *.

of the North.

THE Czar, unexpectedly relieved from his misfortunes on the ſide of Turkey, reſolved to turn his whole force againſt the kingdom of Sweden. The kings of Denmark and Poland entered Pomerania with their united forces. But their ſucceſs was not anſwerable either to the fears of the Swedes, or their own expectations. Having ſat down before Stralſund, they could make no impreſſion on the place. They attacked Wiſmer, with no ſucceſs. They retreated to their reſpective dominions, and cloſed the cam-

* Hiſt. du Nord, tom. ii.

paign

paign of 1711 with disgrace. In the summer of the present year, the King of Denmark turned his arms against the dutchy of Bremen. He crossed the Elbe, with a numerous army. He sat down before Stade. His troops, in the mean time, held Wismer in blockade. The Swedish general, Steinbock, assembled his army, fortified Stralsund, and came to battle with the enemy. Though the Danes had all the advantage of superior numbers, and of the weather and ground, they were totally routed and put to flight. The unfortunate King Stanislaus had the satisfaction to be present in an action where his allies acquired so much renown[r]. CHAP. IX. 1712.

1713. Progress toward a general peace.

THE affairs of Great Britain consisted more of the secret intrigues of parties, than of transactions that commanded the attention of the public. The hopes of the adherents of the Pretender, and the jealousies of the friends of the house of Hannover, were encouraged and fomented, with great industry, by the violent leaders of both sides. The year 1712 closed with the arrival of the Duke d'Aumont, as ambassador from the court of Versailles to that of London. Though the defection of Great Britain from the grand alliance promised a certain end to the war, the progress toward peace was made but by very slow degrees. The resolute conduct of the British ministry gradually overcame the delays of the allies. The Earl of Strafford, repairing to the Hague, with orders from the Queen to settle a new barrier-treaty with the States, induced the Republic to accede to the plan of pacification settled between Great Britain and France. Their example was successively followed by the Duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. The first owed too much to the Queen to oppose longer her pacific measures. The latter, already tired of the war, was forced suddenly to patch up a peace, by a Spanish invasion of his kingdom. The Emperor, though determined to continue hostilities, found himself incapable of supporting any military opera-

[r] Hist du Nord, Dec. 20, 1712.

tions.

CHAP. IX. 1713.

tions in Spain. He, therefore, agreed to the evacuation of Barcelona; and thus, though indirectly, ſeemed to own the title of Philip the Fifth [u].

Secret deſigns of the Whigs.

DURING theſe advances towards a peace, the parliament was prorogued from day to day. The Queen, daily expecting the concluſion of the treaty, was willing to prevent all further animadverſion on its progreſs from the oppoſing party. In this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, a kind of unſettled tranquillity prevailed. The Whigs made in ſecret every preparation for opening, with effect, the operations of the political campaign. Diſappointed in their violent meaſures, they reſolved to purſue the line of oppoſition, in a leſs dangerous and more legal way. The jealouſy which they had raiſed in the court of Hannover, continued to diſtract the councils of the Electoral family. Ignorant of the bigotry of the Pretender, they were beyond meaſure alarmed at the report of his intentions to change his religion. They were no ſtrangers to the ſolicitations of the Tories to induce him to place himſelf in a way of being ſerved in parliament. Should even the report of his converſion prevail, they were perſuaded, that a bill to repeal the act of ſettlement was likely to be propoſed. They were informed from Paris, that the pretended Prince, by diſmiſſing his Popiſh ſervants, was preparing for an alteration in religion. They determined, therefore, to uſe every meaſure, that prudence could ſuggeſt, to defeat his deſigns on the Britiſh throne [x].

Projects of

THE Baron de Grote, his Electoral Highneſs's reſident at London, was directed how to proceed in this delicate affair. He was deſired to conſult the leaders of the Whigs, particularly the Lord Halifax, upon the ſubject of propoſing a bill for excluding the Pretender from the throne, and his poſterity, even though he

[u] Hiſt. of Europe. Hiſt. d'Angleterre. Report of the ſecret committee, &c.

[x] Hannover-papers, 1713.

ſhould

ſhould become a Proteſtant. The houſe of Hannover hoped to derive a double advantage from this unneceſſary project. Should the act paſs, a material point would be gained. Should the bill be oppoſed by the miniſtry, that conduct would unmaſk them to the nation. They obſerved, as a great defect in the act of ſettlement, that no clauſe was inſerted for excluding the Pretender, ſhould he relinquiſh the Romiſh faith. They averred, that, upon the ſlighteſt appearance of a feigned converſion, the whole fabric, which the Whigs pretended to have reared for the Princeſs Sophia, would fall at once to the ground. Theſe fears had made ſo much impreſſion, that they were willing to be reconciled to the Earl of Oxford, though they diſtruſted his principles and views. The Lord Halifax, who was, in ſome degree, in his confidence, was requeſted to ſound the treaſurer on a point, which was deemed important to the higheſt degree [y].

the houſe of Hannover.

THE new act, for the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, was not the only ſubject that was to employ the embaſſy of Halifax to the Earl of Oxford. He was deſired to diſcover his ſentiments on the ſubject of a penſion to the Princeſs Sophia. A proviſion, and even a houſehold to the next heir of the crown, was thought neither an extravagant nor unreaſonable demand. In the preſent ſituation of the Elector's affairs, a freſh ſupply of revenue was much wanted. His agents every where complained of their too ſcanty allowance. The Whigs, with all their patriotiſm, were ſoliciting for penſions [z]. Some lords, who were zealous for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, were, it ſeems, too poor to follow their conſciences. They had ſold their votes to the miniſtry. But they would take ſmaller ſums from his Electoral Highneſs. The Earl of Sunderland, in his attachment to the family of Brunſwick, had advanced three hundred pounds to one of theſe poor conſcientious lords [a]. The Earl wiſhed to ſee this ſum repaid. Though the

[y] Hannover-papers, Jan. 3—6, 1713. [z] Hannover-papers, 1713. [a] Ibid.

Elector

CHAP. IX. 1713.

Elector might be willing to gratify ſuch faithful friends, he had reaſon to expect that they would help to ſerve themſelves. They were, therefore, deſired to promote, with all their influence, the penſion demanded for the Princeſs. His Highneſs was no ſtranger, upon the preſent occaſion, either to the abilities or poverty of the Duke of Argyle. The whole world knew his love of money. He deſired that nobleman, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to promote the allowance to the Electreſs, as they might expect good penſions to themſelves from that fund [b].

Their jealouſy of the Queen and miniſtry.

THE bill for eſtabliſhing the penſion for the Princeſs Sophia was to furniſh another trial of the intentions of the lord-treaſurer. But, in the opinion of the Elector's ſervants, no further trial was neceſſary. They were already convinced of that miniſter's attachment to the Pretender. Had his profeſſions in favour of the ſucceſſion been even ſincere, the court of Hannover concluded, that he was too far engaged with France and the Queen to retreat. They ſuppoſed, that his prudence, and even his ſafety, dictated a firm adherence to the cauſe of the pretended Prince of Wales. The Queen, they ſaid, was too much attached to her brother, to be ever brought back to proper meaſures. "Should Oxford attempt to change her views, he muſt fall like Godolphin and Marlborough." He had too much regard, they thought, for his own intereſt, not to profit by the misfortunes of his predeceſſors. He muſt not, they thought, be truſted. They affirmed, therefore, that the friends of the ſucceſſion ought to ruin his power, by expoſing his conduct to the nation. That no meaſure was better calculated for this purpoſe, than the new bill of excluſion and the penſion. "But what need have we of further proofs?" they ſaid. "We have long known that Oxford is irrecoverably devoted to the Pretender. His couſin endeavoured to impoſe on the Electreſs and the Electoral Prince, with empty profeſſions of

[b] Hannover-papers, Jan. 27, 1713.

zeal.

zeal. But, though he might deceive them, his treachery could not eſcape the penetrating eyes of the Elector."—"Both Oxford and Bolingbroke," ſays Robethon to Grote, "are inviolably attached to the Prince of Wales. But the ſentiments of theſe two JACOBITE lords ought not to be attributed to the memorial of the Baron de Bothmar [c]."

Elector indifferent about the ſucceſſion.

WHILE his ſervants entertained ſuch ſuſpicions of the Britiſh miniſtry, the Elector himſelf ſeems to have become indifferent concerning the ſucceſſion of his family to the throne. Teaſed by the unmeaning profeſſions of the Tories, and haraſſed by the demands of the Whigs, he dropt all perſonal correſpondence with both parties. He ſuffered his ſervants to continue their intrigues in London. He liſtened to their intelligence. But to the requiſitions of his Whiggiſh friends for money he turned a deaf ear. He was, however, perſuaded, at length, to order ſix hundred pounds to the Lord Fitzwalter, to enable that needy peer to repay a debt of three hundred pounds to Sunderland [d]. He allowed forty pounds to the author of a news-paper, for conveying to the public paragraphs favourable to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion [e]. He added ten pounds to that ſum, after various repreſentations from his council and ſervants. The difficulty with which he was brought to grant ſuch trifles, furniſhes a ſtrong proof that his Highneſs was either diſguſted with ſuch pitiful demands, or very indifferent with regard to the throne.

Marlborough a ſpy on the Pretender.

WHILST the Elector was haraſſed with demands of money from London, the Duke of Marlborough ſuggeſted another article of expence, from his retreat at Antwerp. He informed his Highneſs of the neceſſity of having a ſpy in the Pretender's court, to obſerve the motions of that Prince. He offered, for fifty

[c] Hannover-papers, Feb. 17—21, 1713.

[d] Ibid. Feb. 14, 1713. [e] Ibid. Feb. 10, 1713.

CHAP. IX. 1713.

louis-d'ors a month, to find a proper perſon to execute that important ſervice. He took, in the mean time, a part of this neceſſary function upon himſelf[f]. He conveyed ſome intelligence to the court of Hannover. But his want of information ſeems to prove, that his Grace was no longer truſted with the ſecrets of the excluded family. The ſervants and the friends of the Elector were ill informed concerning the Pretender. They were perſuaded, that he was reſolved to enter into the communion of the church of England. They heard, that he had left all his Roman Catholic ſervants at St. Germains, when he retired to Chalons ſur Marne. That none but Proteſtants were in his train, but the Earl of Middleton, who had yielded to convenience, more than to conviction, in his converſion to the Romiſh faith. Their fears increaſed in proportion to their ignorance of the Pretender's bigotry. They could not, for a moment, ſuppoſe, that he would ſacrifice his proſpect of the Britiſh throne to a ſpeculative tenet of religion[g]. The excluded party in Great Britain haraſſed, at the ſame time, the Elector, with propoſals of his invading the kingdom with a body of troops. They ſuggeſted, that, ſhould the Dutch refuſe a ſquadron of men of war, ſome ſhips of force might be obtained from Denmark. But the Elector rejected the ſcheme, as utterly improper, as well as impracticable[h].

Secret views of the Pretender, and of the treaſurer.

DURING theſe intrigues on the part of the court of Hannover, the agents of the Pretender were equally buſy, and ſtill more anxious, in their negociations and intrigues. He himſelf had retired from St. Germains, in the preceding ſummer. Having obtained a ſafe-conduct from the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain, he now reſided at Bar. Though he entertained ſuſpicions of the Earl of Oxford, upon much better grounds than the houſe of Hannover, he built much on the affections of the Queen and the zeal of the Tories. The lord-treaſurer, however, broke art-

[f] Hannover-papers, Feb. 21, 1713. [g] Ibid. March 21. [h] Ibid. March 7.

fully

fully the deſigns of the firſt. He fruſtrated the ſchemes of the latter, by dividing their councils. While the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Buckingham remained in the cabinet-council, he deemed juſtly that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger. But he had removed the firſt, by appointing him ambaſſador to France. The ſecond was broken with infirmities, and weighed down with years. Oxford endeavoured, in the mean time, to gain the moſt moderate Whigs. He laid ſchemes for obtaining a moderate parliament. The ſheriffs, pricked for the counties, were of the low-church party. He endeavoured to impreſs the electors with the neceſſity of chuſing ſuch repreſentatives as ſhould favour the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line. Though he was on the point of loſing the Tories by this conduct, he was ſo unfortunate as not to gain the Whigs. While he made the moſt vehement profeſſions to the Electoral family, they were firmly perſuaded, that he was an obſtinate and determined Jacobite. Though he was courted by the Pretender, that Prince knew him to be an inflexible Whig.

Peace of Utrecht.

THESE ſecret intrigues on both ſides fill a period remarkable for no public tranſaction. The parliament continued to be prorogued, as the tedious negociations at Utrecht had not yet been brought to a cloſe. Great Britain, who firſt began the negociation, was deſtined to conclude the treaty. The Duke of Shrewſbury and the Marquis de Torcy ſettled the plan of a general peace at Paris, which a courier carried to Utrecht, in the middle of March. The Portugueſe and Dutch had already agreed to put an end to their part of the war. Others prepared to follow their example. On the twenty-ſeventh of March, the lord privy-ſeal and the Earl of Strafford acquainted the miniſters of the allies, that they had appointed the thirty-firſt for ſigning a treaty of peace, and one of commerce, between the Queen of Great Britain and France. They requeſted, therefore, the plenipotentiaries of

CHAP. IX. 1713.

the confederates to be prepared, at the ſame time, to ſign their reſpective treaties. The conditions of peace to be allowed to the Emperor and the Empire had been ſettled by the Queen of Great Britain and the French King. Theſe were delivered, in form, to the Count Zinzendorff, his imperial Majeſty's miniſter. But the Emperor, yielding to his reſentment, reſolved to continue the war. The Britiſh and French plenipotentiaries were the firſt who ſigned for their reſpective ſovereigns. Their example was followed, in the ſpace of a few hours, by the miniſter of the Duke of Savoy, and by thoſe of Portugal and Pruſſia. The States were the laſt who ſigned the treaty; the French plenipotentiaries having inſiſted, that the miniſters of ſuch Princes as their maſter had acknowledged as Kings, ſhould take place of the ambaſſadors of a republic [1].

[1] Swift's four Years. Publications of the Times. Boyer's Queen Anne.

CHAP. X.

Reflections on the peace of Utrecht.——Critical ſituation of the lord-treaſurer.——He is hated by both parties.——His views and intrigues.——Queen averſe from the houſe of Hannover. ——Parliament meets.——Their proceedings.——Treaty of commerce examined.——Diſcontents of the Scots.——Character of the Duke of Argyle.——Motion for diſſolving the Union.—— Lord-treaſurer terrified.——Addreſs againſt the Pretender.—— Parliament prorogued.——Intrigues and diſſenſions in the cabinet.——Cabal of the Whigs.——They demand money, in vain, from the Elector.——Views of the Pretender.——Campaign of 1713.*——A ferment in England.——Seditious conduct of the Scots.——Affairs of Ireland.——Jacobitiſm of Sir Conſtantine Phipps.——Diſſenſions between the Queen's ſervants.——Intrigues of Bolingbroke with Marlborough. —— Marlborough correſponds with the Pretender.——Whigs demand money for poor lords.——The friends of the houſe of Hannover deſpond. ——A general panic.——Mr. Harley ſent to Hannover.—— Some Tories join the Whigs.——Peace of Raſtadt.——Treaty with Spain.——Parliament meets.—— Miniſtry reform the army. ——The Elector refuſes to gratify the Whigs.——Their unmanly fears.——Their conſpiracy to ſeize the Tower.——Succeſſion voted out of danger.——Motions of the Whigs againſt the Pretender.——Their vain fears.——Their ſcheme to embarraſs the Queen. ——A writ for the Electoral Prince demanded.—— The Queen's anxiety.——The Elector's demands.——Intrigues of the lord-treaſurer.——Views of the Pretender.——Proclamation againſt him.——The Queen endeavours to gain the Elector.——Death of the Princeſs Sophia.——State of the miniſtry. ——Parliament prorogued.—— Open rupture among the Miniſtry. ——Concert*

——Concert between Bolingbroke and Marlborough.——Their views.——Diſmiſſion and character of the Earl of Oxford.——Death and character of the Queen.

CHAP. X.

THE peace, ſigned at Utrecht on the laſt day of March, 1713, has been ſtigmatized as diſgraceful by the moſt of thoſe writers who have recorded the events of the times. The great ſucceſs and enormous expence of the war could ſuggeſt no demands that were not likely to be granted, by an enemy reduced to the laſt extremity. The French nation, unſucceſsful in all their efforts, were broken by diſaſters. Their ſovereign, deſtitute of reſources for action, became timid and undeciſive in his counſels. He had implored the pity of the confederates, in a manner that, by expoſing his own weakneſs, contributed to augment their demands. Inſtead of deriving ſpirit from indignation and deſpair, the court of Verſailles yielded to thoſe unmanly complaints, that deprive even misfortune itſelf of regret. In this untoward ſtate of their affairs, the fate of the houſe of Bourbon depended upon the Queen of Great Britain; and, as the humanity, which ought ever to be extended to private diſtreſs, is frequently ſacrificed to utility in public tranſactions, ſhe could ſcarce be blamed for making a more rigorous uſe of the advantages which fortune had placed in her hands.

1713. Obſervations and reflections

BUT though more ſplendid conditions might certainly have been obtained, the peace of Utrecht was neither diſhonourable nor diſadvantageous. Great Britain, it is true, bore the greateſt part of the weight of the war. But ſhe was manifeſtly the ſole arbitreſs of peace. She impoſed terms on the victors, as well as on the vanquiſhed. Without gratifying the pride of France, ſhe checked the inſolence of the confederates. She favoured thoſe the moſt, who firſt acquieſced in the plan ſhe propoſed. She treated with neglect, or puniſhed with diſappointment, ſuch as were

CHAP. X. 1711.

were either obſtinate or ſlow. The advantages which ſhe obtained for herſelf, though neither adequate to her victories nor her expence, were ſolid, and even ſplendid. She ſecured the dominion of the Mediterranean, by obtaining Gibraltar and Minorca. She ſtrengthened her limits and extended her dominions in America. She forced France to relinquiſh all pretenſions to Newfoundland, to cede Hudſon's Bay, and to yield St. Chriſtopher's. She obliged the French King to acknowledge the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to ceaſe to protect, and even to abandon the Pretender. She reduced him to the humiliating neceſſity of deſtroying Dunkirk, whoſe very ruins were to remain as a monument of his diſgrace. As the laſt triumph over his pride, ſhe terrified him into the greateſt conceſſions to the Duke of Savoy, whom, of all the allies, he hated the moſt.

on the peace of Utrecht.

WITH regard to the confederates, the moſt of them were highly ſatisfied, and none had any great reaſon to complain. The King of Pruſſia obtained all his demands. The Duke of Savoy was recompenſed beyond his moſt ſanguine hopes. He had obtained the ceſſion of Savoy, the diſtrict of Nice, with all that he had received in Italy, from the Emperor Leopold. He was raiſed to the regal title and to the throne of Sicily; and he was eventually to ſucceed to the crown of Spain, in default of Philip the Fifth and his iſſue-male. The King of Portugal had contributed little to the carrying on of the war, and his demands from the peace were few, and, without heſitation, granted. Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, together with the other cities already in their poſſeſſion, were given, as a barrier, to the States. Their commerce with France was placed on the foundation eſtabliſhed by the tariff of 1664. With regard to the Empire, the Rhine was to form its limits on the ſide of France. All fortifications, either poſſeſſed or raiſed by the French, beyond that river,

were

CHAP. X. 1713.

were to be reſtored to the Emperor, or deſtroyed. The kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan were ceded for ever to his Imperial Majeſty; and the reſt of the dominions of Italy, that had changed maſters in the courſe of the war, were to return to their former ſovereigns. There was a conſiderable difference, it muſt be confeſſed, between theſe terms and thoſe offered by France in the year 1709. But a change of circumſtances may juſtify an alteration of ſentiments. Without abandoning the project of reducing the too great power of the houſe of Bourbon, the Britiſh miniſtry might allege, that there was an equal neceſſity for preſcribing limits to the vaſt claims of the family of Auſtria.

Perilous ſituation of the Earl of Oxford.

THE lord-treaſurer obtained a triumph over his enemies, by concluding the treaty of Utrecht. But he ſtill ſtood upon very dangerous ground. Diſtruſted equally by both ſides, he was deſtitute of friends; and his whole ſecurity reſted in the implacable jealouſy of the two parties, who were alike his enemies. In this tottering ſituation, he endeavoured to ſupport himſelf, by flattering the Tories in private, and by taking publickly the ground of the Whigs. In the political farce, he was, in ſome meaſure, the ſole actor; and the populace were the ſpectators, who were to decide his merit, and even his fate. To the common people, the appeal of the rivals for power had been made, for many years. The terrors of the vulgar for Popery, and their principles in favour of the proteſtant religion, had been the great ſupport of the eſtabliſhed form of government. The bulk of the nation were hitherto favourable to the miniſtry. To retain their confidence was a matter of the laſt importance to the Earl of Oxford; as, by the triennial act, the preſent parliament was near its end. The Whigs, to influence the approaching elections, had propagated, with more aſſiduity than ſucceſs, an opinion, that the Queen and her ſervants were irrecoverably in the intereſt of

CHAP. X. 1713.

of the Pretender. To prevent the bad conſequences of this dangerous impreſſion, was a meaſure of neceſſity; and it employed the whole attention of the leaders of the Tories.

He is hated by both parties.

THE boldeſt and the leaſt politic propoſed the paſſing of a ſeptennial bill, as the beſt and moſt deciſive means of ſecuring the continuance of their own power [k]. The lord-treaſurer was too timid, or, perhaps, too prudent, to follow their advice. He perceived, that a meaſure ſo unpopular would deprive him of the ſupport of the vulgar, and place an uncontrolable power in the hands of the high-flying Tories. The cabinet-council were his enemies. He knew, that the moſt vehement of thoſe who ſupported his meaſures in the two houſes, wiſhed only for the continuance of their preſent influence in parliament: That, ſhould they attain their purpoſe, they would be willing to join with his avowed enemies, the Whigs, and to ſend him to the Tower [l]. To amuſe the Jacobites, he admitted the agents of the Pretender into his converſation and privacy [m]. He endeavoured to perſuade them, that all his meaſures tended to the accompliſhment of their wiſhes and views. But he had the misfortune to be as little believed by the excluded family, as he was by the legal heirs of the crown. His caution, his ſlow meaſures, his myſterious character, were by no means calculated to create in others any confidence in his conduct. His only hold of his power, was the aſcendant which he had obtained over the Queen. By terrifying that timid Princeſs with reports of danger, and by inſinuating artfully, that ſhe could be ſafe only in his own hands, he reduced her into a ſtate of dependence on himſelf, and generally ſubſervient to all his deſigns [n].

His ſecret views and intrigues.

IN one important inſtance, her habitual obedience to the miniſter is ſaid to have yielded to her prejudices. To ſecure himſelf

[k] Stuart-papers, 1713.
[l] Ibid. Feb. 1713.
[m] Ibid. Feb. 27, 1713.
[n] MSS. paſſim.

CHAP. X. 1713.

with the populace, the lord-treaſurer reſolved to take the ground of the Whigs. The danger of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, from the Queen and her ſervants, had been long a favourite topic with that party. They were at great pains to inform the public, that the courts of London and Hannover were upon the very worſt terms. Though this was a notorious fact, they had hitherto found it difficult to perſuade the populace on that head. To remove every impreſſion of this kind, the miniſter formed a deſign of inducing the Queen to aſſure her parliament, in her ſpeech from the throne, that the utmoſt harmony ſubſiſted between her and the preſumptive heirs of her crown. He even attempted to reconcile the Jacobites to the propriety of this meaſure. He told them that, ſhould the houſe of Hannover, upon theſe aſſurances, deſert the Whigs, that party, who were ready to ſacrifice their profeſſed principles to their paſſions, would declare for the Pretender. That this circumſtance would ruin their importance with the populace; and enable the real friends of the excluded Prince to ſecure for him the ſucceſſion [o].

The Queen averſe from the houſe of Hannover.

THOUGH the adherents of the Pretender were too zealous and ſanguine to be incredulous, they gave little faith to the aſſurances of the Earl of Oxford [p]. But though they relied in nothing upon his attachment to their cauſe, they affected to place the utmoſt confidence in his meaſures. The Queen, however, was not ſo eaſily won to his project of aſſuring the nation of her zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Either from a returning affection for her own family, or rendered averſe from the intereſts of the preſumptive heirs of the crown, by the intrigues of their agents in London, ſhe, for ſome time, refuſed to make any mention at all of the houſe of Hannover in her ſpeech [q]. The lord-treaſurer made the ſtrongeſt repreſentations againſt this unexpected reſolution. He applied to her prudence. He alarmed her fears.

[o] Stuart-papers, March 1713. [p] Ibid. [q] Hannover-papers, May 16, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1713.

He told her, that the ſafety of her government, and perhaps of her perſon, depended upon her quieting the minds of people with regard to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. That her ſilence upon the preſent occaſion, would confirm the reports induſtriouſly ſpread by the Whigs. That, by expreſſing zeal for the family of Hannover, ſhe would defeat the deſigns of their adherents; and that by taking the only ground upon which the Whigs fortified themſelves againſt her authority, ſhe would reap all the benefit of their ſituation, and enſure to her ſervants every advantage in the approaching elections[r].

April 9th. Her ſpeech to her parliament.

SWAYED by theſe arguments, or yielding to her own fears, the Queen at length conſented. She opened the ſeſſion of parliament, on the ninth of April, with a ſpeech from the throne. She informed the two houſes that the negociations of peace were brought to a happy concluſion. She mentioned what ſhe had done for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. She expreſſed her hopes, that the perfect friendſhip which ſubſiſted between her and the houſe of Hannover, would effectually diſappoint ſuch perſons as made a merit of ſeparating their intereſts. She demanded of the commons the neceſſary ſupplies. She earneſtly recommended the cultivating of the arts of peace, as the beſt means for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the enormous expence of the war. She complained of the licence of the preſs, and the dangerous growth of the impious practice of duelling. She mentioned the neceſſity of reſtraining both theſe evils, with new laws; as the old were inadequate to that ſalutary purpoſe. She left, ſhe ſaid, the force neceſſary for the protection of the nation, to the wiſdom of her parliament. As for herſelf ſhe wanted no protection but the loyalty of her people; no guarantee but the intereſt ſhe had in their hearts. Having recommended unanimity in their councils, and requeſted them to uſe their endeavours to

[r] Hannover-papers, May 16, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1713.

calm the minds of her people, ſhe concluded with a reflection on the party-rage which had ſo long diſturbed the repoſe of her kingdom [s].

The Whigs diſconcerted.

THIS judicious ſpeech diſconcerted the Whigs in all their projects. In the houſe of commons an addreſs of thanks was voted, with but one diſſenting voice [t]. It was carried with a great majority in the houſe of lords [u]. Diſappointed in their public exhibitions, the party had recourſe to their ſecret intrigues. Sunderland, Orford, Townſhend, Halifax, Somers, Cowper, and the Lord-Chief-Juſtice Parker conſulted together for two days [w]. But tey could contrive no probable means for preventing the lord-treaſurer's deſigns. The Lords Townſhend and Halifax went twice, in the name of the reſt, to Kreyenberg, the Hannoverian reſident. They affirmed, that the Queen's ſpeech had given a fatal blow to the influence of the Whigs, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. That the authority of the Sovereign had overturned all the deſigns of their party. That the nation gave implicit credit to the Queen; and conſtrued into party-rage all inſinuations againſt the exiſtence of a perfect friendſhip between her and the court of Hannover. That the Elector only could undeceive the people. That, therefore, a deciſive ſtep was neceſſary; otherwiſe, the intereſts of his family and the hopes of his friends would be for ever loſt [x].

Their intrigues with the Hannoverian reſident.

IN this diſtreſsful ſituation, they implored Kreyenberg to lay their humble ſolicitations at the feet of the Elector. They entreated his Highneſs, for the ſake of God [y], to ſend over the Electoral Prince. Without the preſence of one of the family, they ſolemnly averred, that the ſucceſſion muſt inevitably be defeated. This requeſt they had frequently made, to no purpoſe,

[s] Journals, April 9th, 1713. [t] Stuart-papers. [u] 78 againſt 43.
[w] Hannover-papers, 1713. [x] Ibid. April 14, 1713. [y] Hannover-papers, 1713.

before

before the meeting of parliament. They now renewed their entreaties with more confidence, as their own condition was more helpleſs, and the juncture itſelf more favourable. They deſired the Prince to take advantage of the Queen's declaration. To feign to believe her ſincere, and to come under pretence of returning thanks, in perſon. They ſaid, that without his preſence, they could move nothing effectually in parliament. That they could not even mention the penſion expected for the Princeſs Sophia. That the only queſtion of party they could propoſe, was the removeal of the Pretender from Lorrain. "But," ſay they, "if the Electoral family ſhall not interfere deciſively, the Earl of Oxford will ſave us the trouble of that motion. He has gained the people by the artifice of the Queen's ſpeech. He will alſo ſucceed in the approaching elections; and eſtabliſh the Pretender in the kingdom, as the eventual ſucceſſor to the throne [z]."

Proceedings of the commons.

WHILE the Whigs were thus diſconcerted, the miniſtry carried all their meaſures, with little oppoſition, in parliament. Though no communication of the treaty had been made to the two houſes, they had returned general thanks for the peace. The commons granted the demanded ſupplies [a]. They reduced the troops and navy, according to the directions of the court. They gained the army by allowing half-pay to the officers. They ſecured their influence with their conſtituents by reducing the land-tax to two ſhillings in the pound. In the midſt of this attention to the nation, they ſhewed their attachment to the miniſtry. The commiſſioners for examining the accounts of the army made a report that bore hard on former miſmanagements. Some inſtances of corruption and embezzlement of public money were detected. But it ſoon appeared that the houſe was more eager to expoſe the enemies of the prevailing party, than to puniſh the guilty. One

[z] Hannover-papers, 1713.

[a] Journals, April 13.

William

CHAP. X. 1713.

William Churchill, a member, was ſlightly cenſured. A vote was paſſed againſt the Earl of Wharton, for having ſold an office for a thouſand pounds. But, as this inſtance of corruption happened before the act of general pardon, the houſe took advantage of that circumſtance, and reſolved to proceed no farther in the matter [b].

Treaty of commerce before the houſe.

THIS appearance of unanimity in the houſe of commons, was ſoon interrupted, by an important debate. Though the terms of the treaty had not hitherto been communicated to parliament, the proclamation of the peace, on the fifth of May, had been attended with the loudeſt acclamations of the populace. The nation in general were highly pleaſed, that a period was put to a war whoſe exceſſive weight had rendered them inſenſible to its renown. The treaty which ſettled the ceſſion of territories between her Britannic Majeſty and the French King, was accompanied by a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France. The ratifications of the two treaties had been exchanged at Utrecht, on the twenty-eighth of April. On the ninth of May, Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the exchequer, delivered to the commons a meſſage from the Queen. She informed the houſe, that though it was the undoubted prerogative of the crown to make peace and war, ſhe had reſolved from the beginning to communicate to her parliament the treaties ſhe had now concluded [c]. The houſe appointed the fourteenth of May, for reſolving themſelves into a grand committee, to conſider the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of navigation and commerce. A converſation, rather than a debate, paſſed between the parties, on the treaty of peace. The Whigs found, in the treaty of commerce, the beſt ground for oppoſing the court, with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Arguments for and againſt it.

WHEN the houſe met, on the fourteenth of May, a motion was made to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth

[b] May 16. [c] Journals, May 9th.

articles

articles of the treaty of commerce. A violent debate aroſe between the friends of the miniſter and the leaders of the Whigs. The firſt endeavoured to prove, that a great advantage would reſult to the nation from a free commerce with France. The latter affirmed, that a trade with that kingdom would prove extremely prejudicial to the woollen, ſilk, and paper manufactories; and above all, to the commerce with Portugal, which brought annually ſo much bullion into the kingdom. The friends of the miniſtry deduced their arguments from an enumeration of the vaſt quantities of Britiſh commodities exported to France before the two laſt wars. The Whigs averred, that ſince the Revolution, the ſtate of commerce was entirely changed. That France had ſet up and encouraged woollen manufactures of her own. That Britain had learned, in the courſe of ſo many years, to accommodate herſelf without the product of France. That the French, having the work performed for leſs money, could ſell their goods at a cheaper rate. That, ſhould Britain even be capable of balancing her own trade with France, ſhe could not prevent the latter kingdom from engroſſing the commerce of other countries. That the increaſe of the trade to Portugal, the moſt valuable branch of Britiſh commerce, was owing to the high duties, which amounted to a kind of prohibition of French wines. That ſhould the duties on theſe wines be reduced to an equality with thoſe on the wines of Portugal, the trade with that kingdom would be loſt; as men in general would prefer the wines of France, when they could be purchaſed at the ſame rate [d].

CHAP. X. 1713.

THE adherents of the miniſtry advanced arguments equally ſolid and concluſive. But when parties are inflamed againſt each other, paſſion decides in the place of reaſon. Upon a diviſion of the houſe, the bill was ordered to be introduced, by a great majority [e]. The Whigs, adhering to their purpoſe of diſtreſſing the

Bill concerning it rejected.

[d] Debates, printed.

[e] 252 againſt 130.

miniſter,

CHAP. X. 1713.

miniſter, called the prejudices of the nation to their aid. They carried their arguments to the preſs. The lord-treaſurer oppoſed them, on the ſame ground. But the fate of the bill was not ultimately determined by this public conteſt. Many of the Tories, to the laſt degree offended at the trimming conduct of the Earl of Oxford, had reſolved to join the Whigs, on the preſent occaſion, to accompliſh his ruin. Sir Thomas Hanmer, though he had been inſtrumental in concluding the treaty of commerce, oppoſed it, with vehemence, as the beſt ground for affronting the lord-treaſurer. He was at the head of a ſociety of forty members of the houſe of commons, who called themſelves the October-club. This junto reſolved to throw their whole weight in the ſcale of the oppoſing party; and to terrify the Earl of Oxford into deciſive meaſures for the Pretender. They had frequently requeſted him, in vain, to remove the Whigs from the lieutenancy of the counties, the commiſſions of the peace, and the offices of the revenue. He had repeatedly made the moſt ſolemn promiſes upon this ſubject. But though the diſſolution of parliament was approaching, he had hitherto done nothing in an affair upon which the ſucceſs of the Tories, at the new elections, ſo much depended [f]. When, therefore, the bill was brought to a debate, the moſt violent of the Tories, led by Hanmer, oppoſed its being engroſſed; and, upon a diviſion of the houſe, carried their point, by a majority of nine votes [g].

Diſcontents of the Scots.

DURING the dependence of this bill, another matter of ſtill greater importance employed the attention of parliament. The houſe of commons, in renewing the duty on malt, for another year, extended that tax to Scotland. The members for that part of the kingdom, unanimouſly oppoſed the meaſure. They complained, that the duty, in itſelf too great a burden for their country, was contrary to an expreſs article of the union between the king-

[f] Stuart-papers, June 23, 1713.

[g] 194 againſt 185.

doms.

doms. That it had been ſtipulated by that treaty, that no duty ſhould be laid on malt in North-Britain during the continuance of the war. That, though hoſtilities had ceaſed, no formal peace was yet concluded with Spain. That, though a pacification between the two crowns was no longer a matter of uncertainty, yet it was a maxim in law, that odious things were to be literally underſtood. But that matters of favour were to be interpreted with more liberality. That as the tax itſelf was, by the expreſs words of the bill, to be applied to deficiences in the war, this act laid an impoſt on the Scots, from which they were evidently exempted by the treaty of Union [h]. Theſe arguments made a great impreſſion on the houſe. But, on a diviſion, a majority appeared on the ſide of the bill. The Scotiſh members, in both houſes of parliament, were ſo much offended, that they met at a tavern, and having appointed two lords and two commoners to wait, in their name, upon the Queen, they requeſted her permiſſion for bringing in a bill for the diſſolution of the Union [i].

CHAP. X. 1713.

THOUGH the Queen expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at the addreſs of the Scots, they reſolved to proceed in their intended motion. Several of the Jacobite part of the Tories entered with eagerneſs into a meaſure, which was well calculated to diſtreſs the Earl of Oxford. The Whigs, for the like reaſon, were ready to throw their weight into the ſame ſcale. But the perſon who animated the whole oppoſition, on this ſubject, was the Duke of Argyle. This nobleman, eſpouſing the principles or paſſions of his family, had uniformly profeſſed his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and his conſequent averſion to a miniſter who was deemed to favour the Pretender. Careleſs and eager in his diſpoſition, he neither concealed his reſentment nor diſguiſed his deſigns. With a commanding manner, which ſtamped

Character of the Duke of Argyle.

[h] Burnet, vol. iv. [i] MSS. paſſim.

CHAP. X. 1713.

his very forwardneſs with an appearance of authority, he was feared by many, but beloved by none. Brave in his perſon, but not remarkable for his conduct, he might be conſidered, in his military capacity, as a bold partiſan, rather than a judicious commander. In his civil character, his fire degenerated into a violence, that often defeated his views. In his public exhibitions in parliament, he was rather ſpirited than eloquent; better calculated to terrify his enemies, than to ſupport his friends. His great defect was a love of money and emolument, which he could not effectually conceal, with all the efforts of his pride [k]. His chief talent was an addreſs in managing the prejudices of the vulgar. He marked their opinions as they changed, and fell dexterouſly down with the tide.

Motion for diſſolving the Union

THE Earl of Oxford, no ſtranger to the importance of the Duke of Argyle, had reſolved to gain him by promiſes of advantage. His object was to place him as a kind of ſpy upon the Whigs, and to terrify, upon occaſion, that party, by his means [l]. But the Duke declined to enter into the views of the miniſter, till he ſhould obtain the office of maſter-general of the ordnance, vacant by the death of the Duke of Hamilton. The lord-treaſurer was unwilling to truſt a place of ſuch importance in the hands of a man whom intereſt only could gain to his ſide. Diſappointment heightened the Duke's reſentment. He reſolved to gain by force what he could not obtain by favour. He oppoſed the court with vehemence. He treated the miniſter with inſult. He therefore entered, with great zeal, into the counſels of his countrymen, for the diſſolution of the union between the two kingdoms. To carry a point of ſuch great importance, was likely to introduce a confuſion into the meaſures of government, that would prove fatal to the power of the Earl of Oxford. The reſentment of the moſt violent Jacobites kept pace with the warmth

[k] Hannover and Stuart-papers, 1713.

[l] Stuart-papers, 1713.

and

CHAP. X. 1713.

and vehemence of the Whigs. Both reſolved to ruin the lord-treaſurer, as each looked upon him in the light of an enemy. They flattered, therefore, the prejudices and fomented the reſentment of the Scotiſh members[l].

rejected by a ſmall majority.

On the firſt of June, the Earl of Finlater, having recounted, in the houſe of lords, the various grievances reſulting to the Scotiſh nation from the Union, concluded with a motion for diſſolving that treaty. Finlater was ſeconded by the Earl of Mar. The debate became general on this important ſubject. But the force of argument was leſs apparent, on both ſides, than the irreconcilable ſpirit of the two parties. The violence of Argyle againſt the Earl of Oxford was ultimately ſerviceable to that miniſter, at the ſame time that it contributed to defeat his own deſigns. The Duke having, in the courſe of the debate, mentioned, with the utmoſt contempt, the Pretender, offended ſome lords, who ſecretly favoured his cauſe. Though they were willing to humble the Earl of Oxford, they were averſe from the principles of his more open enemies. Two biſhops, in particular, who poſſeſſed, between them, three proxies, by quitting the houſe[m], carried five votes from the Scots and Whigs. When the queſtion for bringing in the bill was put, it was carried in the negative, by a majority of four voices. A circumſtance, which preſerved the kingdom from confuſion, was highly favourable to the Earl of Oxford. Had the motion been carried in the affirmative, it was to have been followed by another, for ſending the treaſurer to the Tower[n]. The Scots, diſappointed by their want of ſucceſs, and incenſed by the ſpeech of Argyle, fell again into the views of the court. Thus the precipitate zeal of one of their own number prevented the Whigs from regaining the power that had been ſo long the ſole object of their intrigues and deſire.

[l] MSS. 1713.
[m] MSS. paſſim, 1713.
[n] Ibid. Hannover and Stuart-papers, 1713.

CHAP. X.

1713.

Lord treaſurer terrified.

THE deſertion of his friends, upon the treaty of commerce and the motion for diſſolving the Union, threw the Earl of Oxford into a kind of political deſpair. He ſaw that he was hated by the Tories, at the ſame time that he was proſcribed by the Whigs. The irreconcilable animoſity of the two parties had been hitherto the only ſupport of his power. The predominancy of either was to him alike deſtructive. His prudence was now in arms againſt his principles. The moſt direct way to preſerve his authority, was to gratify the more violent Tories, by abetting the views of the Pretender. But even that obvious path was beſet with difficulties and dangers. Should his meaſures aſſume the appearance of Jacobitiſm, the jealouſy of the people againſt Popery might throw them into the ſcale of the Whigs. To retain the favour of the populace, was now as neceſſary as to regain the ſupport of the Tories. He had, therefore, recourſe to the old expedient of giving private aſſurances to the Jacobites, while he marked his public conduct with a zeal for the houſe of Hannover. Though this artifice was too ſtale to deceive the Tories, the Whigs ſhewed ſuch an intemperate joy for their ſucceſs in the affair of the treaty of commerce, that the former reſolved to ſupport a miniſter they hated, to exclude a party whom they had great reaſon to fear [m].

Proceedings of parliament.

IMPRESSED with this opinion, ſuch Tories as had oppoſed the treaty of commerce endeavoured to give a proof of their reſolution to change their conduct. Sir Thomas Hanmer, by whoſe influence the bill was rejected, moved for a palliative addreſs to the Queen, approving of the treaties of peace and commerce. His motion was carried by a great majority [n]. The Queen's anſwer was full of art and addreſs. She thanked the commons for their approbation of the treaty of commerce. She ſtated its advantages, and the great difficulties with which it had been obtained. The treaſurer, by this victory over his enemies, became

[m] MSS. paſſim, 1713.

[n] 156 againſt 72.

more

more important in the eyes of his party and ſuppoſed friends. He reſolved to profit by their zeal. On the twenty-fifth of June, a meſſage from the Queen was preſented to the commons, by the chancellor of the Exchequer. This meſſage imported, that the civil liſt, prior to the year 1710, when the late changes in the miniſtry happened, had run greatly in arrear. That her Majeſty, therefore, requeſted the houſe to enable her to raiſe a ſum ſufficient to pay her debts upon the funds of the civil liſt. As the meſſage contained a kind of reflection upon the former miniſtry, the conſequent motion was oppoſed with great vehemence by the Whigs. But they found, upon this occaſion, that their late triumphs were not owing to themſelves. A bill, empowering the Queen to raiſe five hundred and ten thouſand pounds, for the payment of the debts of the civil liſt, paſſed the houſe, by a great majority. The Whigs complained, that advantage had been taken of the abſence of many of their party, who had retired into the country when the buſineſs of the treaty of commerce was finiſhed [o].

Addreſs for removing the Pretender.

THE Whigs, ſenſible of their own inferiority, had hitherto declined to make any of the motions in parliament that had been recommended to their party by the court of Hannover [p]. The bill for excluding the Pretender, ſhould he turn Proteſtant, was neglected, as either uſeleſs or dangerous. The penſion to the Princeſs Sophia was not propoſed, though the ſucceſs of that meaſure might have furniſhed the Elector with an opportunity of enabling ſome NEEDY LORDS [q] to follow their conſcience. To ſhew their attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, or, more probably, to haraſs the Queen and her miniſtry, who were conſidered as averſe from the houſe of Hannover, the Whigs reſolved to move for an addreſs, that the moſt preſſing inſtances ſhould be uſed with the Duke of Lorrain to remove from his dominions the Pretender to

[o] Journals. Burnet, vol. iv. [p] Hannover-papers, 1713. [q] Ibid.

the

CHAP. X. 1713.

the crown of Great Britain. This motion was oppoſed in the houſe of lords by none but the Lord North. The commons voted the addreſs, without one diſſenting voice. This ſpirit of compliance defeated the views of the Whigs. They hoped, that their political enemies would have the imprudence to outvote them in their motion. That this circumſtance would, to uſe their own expreſſion [r], open the eyes of the nation. That the mob, who had hitherto ſupported their antagoniſts, would change ſides, or, at leaſt, entertain ſuch jealouſies of the Tories, as might be hurtful to that party, in the approaching elections for a new parliament [s].

Parliament prorogued.

THE addreſs for the removal of the Pretender concluded all buſineſs of importance in the preſent ſeſſion. On the ſixteenth of July the Queen prorogued the parliament, with a ſpeech from the throne. She thanked, in a particular manner, the commons, for the ſupplies, by which they had amply provided for the public ſervice. She hoped, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce would be ſo well underſtood, that the advantageous conditions obtained from France might be rendered effectual to her people, by law. She expreſſed how ſenſible ſhe was of the affection, zeal, and duty of the commons. She recounted their former ſervices. She enlarged upon their late favours. She acknowledged her gratitude for their having furniſhed her with ſupplies for continuing the war, and for ſtrengthening her hands in obtaining peace. She ſaid, that, at her coming to the crown, ſhe found a war prepared to her hands. That God had bleſſed her arms with many victories in that war, which ſhe had improved, by procuring an advantageous and honourable peace. She requeſted her parliament to make the people ſenſible of what they had gained by the late treaties. She entreated them to remove the groundleſs jealouſies, which had been ſo induſtriouſly raiſed.

[r] Hannover papers, 1713.

[s] Ibid.

To

CHAP. X. 1713.

To prevent all unhappy diviſions, that might not only weaken, but even endanger the advantages which ſhe had obtained for her kingdoms. "There are ſome, very few, I hope," ſhe ſaid, "who will never be ſatisfied with any government. Shew, therefore, your love for your country, by obviating the malice of the ill-minded, and by undeceiving the deluded. Nothing can eſtabliſh peace at home, nothing recover the diſorders that happened during the war, but a ſteady adherence to the conſtitution in church and ſtate. None but ſuch as are true to theſe principles can be truſted. They have the beſt title to my favour, as I have neither intereſt nor aim, but to ſecure the religion of my country and the liberty of my people [t]."

Whigs diſpleaſed at the Queen's ſpeech.

THE Queen pronounced this ſpeech with a kind of energy and vehemence, that ſufficiently ſhewed the ſentiments were her own [u]. The enemies of the miniſtry were loud in their complaints againſt the reflections thrown, from ſuch a height, on themſelves. It was ſtrange, they ſaid, that the Queen, who confeſſedly knew nothing of trade [x], ſhould paſs a cenſure on her parliament for rejecting the treaty of commerce. They made exceptions againſt the expreſſion, that ſhe found a war prepared to her hands, as an inſult upon the memory of the late King. They obſerved, that, in the whole ſpeech, no mention was made of the Pretender, none of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. But they were moſt offended at the contempt with which ſhe treated the oppoſing party, and the impreſſion which ſhe gave to the nation of their conduct and views. The adherents of the Whigs carried their arguments and complaints to the preſs. The Tories and the miniſtry deſcended to meet their adverſaries in the ſame field. The nation was overwhelmed with eſſays, papers, and pamphlets. Aſſertions, without proof, were on both ſides improved into facts; and a ſuſpicious people were rendered unhappy, by the

[t] Journals, July 16, 1713. [u] Publications of the Times. Burnet, vol. iv. [x] Ibid.

artifice

CHAP. X. 1713.

artifice and clamour of contending knaves. The object of the two parties was the ſame.—The parliament was diſſolved; and each endeavoured to ſerve themſelves with the people in the approaching elections.

Intrigues and diſſenſions in the cabinet.

THE ſpeech, that gave ſo much offence to the Whigs, ſeems to have been fabricated without the advice of the Earl of Oxford. Though he was the oſtenſible miniſter, he guided no longer the cabinet. When he was, in a manner, proſcribed by the two contending parties in parliament, he was violently attacked in the cloſet. The Viſcount Bolingbroke, who had, from the beginning, traverſed his meaſures, had long fixed his eyes upon his power. Having gained the Lady Maſham, by gratifying her paſſion for the public money, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the Queen, by entering, without heſitation, into all her prejudices. The lord-treaſurer was equally hated by both the great parties. The Whigs pretended that he did too much, the violent Tories found that he had done nothing, for the Pretender. His manner and his opinions were alike diſguſtful to both ſides. With a ſhow of application to buſineſs, he never brought affairs to a period. He heard repreſentations with an appearance of attention. But his anſwers were ſlight, undeciſive, and vague. The Viſcount Bolingbroke, yielding to his own intemperate ambition, or the natural violence of his character, deſpiſed Oxford, and thwarted his deſigns. When a diviſion happened among the Tories, before the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion, he endeavoured to place himſelf at the head of an independent party [y]. The mortifications, which the treaſurer experienced, proceeded from the machinations of his rival, more than from the inveteracy of his enemies. The treaty of commerce muſt be reprobated, as it was THEN ſupported, by the Earl of Oxford; and a breach upon the

[y] Oxford to Queen Anne, June 9, 1714.

union of the two kingdoms was encouraged, as it was likely to prove fatal to their power [z]. CHAP. X. 1713.

DURING theſe intrigues in the cabinet, the Whigs continued their own ſecret cabals. In their eagerneſs for power, they perſuaded themſelves that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger. They continued their ſolicitations to the Elector of Brunſwick, to ſend to Great Britain the Electoral Prince. They had repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt deciſive terms, that the Queen and her ſervants were irrecoverably attached to the Pretender. They threw his Highneſs, in the affair of the Succeſſion, into a deſpondence, that degenerated into a kind of deſpair. He became careleſs and indifferent about a throne, which was repreſented ſo difficult to aſcend. To humour, however, thoſe who called themſelves his friends, he agreed, at length, to ſend his brother Duke Erneſt, to Great Britain. The Whigs, diſappointed by this propoſal, formed an opinion, that his Highneſs was jealous of the influence which might be acquired by his ſon, in Great Britain. They requeſted him, therefore, to come in perſon. But he abſolutely refuſed to comply with a demand, that ſeemed at once impracticable in itſelf, and inconſiſtent with his own dignity [a]. Secret cabals and intrigues of the Whigs.

THOUGH the backwardneſs of the Elector threw a damp on his party, his ſervants continued, with a degree of eagerneſs, a correſpondence with the Whigs. His Highneſs having poſitively declared, that he would not riſk an expedition into Britain in a hoſtile manner, prior to the Queen's death, his miniſters had begun to take precautions in expectation of that event. They had ſent, early in the year, ſeveral queries to the leaders of the Whigs. The anſwers which were to form the line of their conduct, were given, by the lords Somers, Cowper, and *Halifax*. They declared, that no commiſſion, granted either by the Princeſs

[z] MSS. paſſim. [a] Hannover-papers, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1713.

Sophia or the Elector could be valid, ſhould theſe be ſigned and executed during the Queen's life. They declined for themſelves to act upon authorities neither eſtabliſhed by precedents nor appointed by law. The Duke of Marlborough and General Cadogan who ſignified their inclination to have the eventual command of the troops, were not ſo ſcrupulous. They declared, that a writing in French, without any adherence to forms, would be ſufficient. That the authority of the Duke of Marlborough was ſo great among the ſoldiers, that any piece of parchment was enough to enſure their obedience to his command. As for Cadogan, he wiſhed only for a ſhow of authority to take poſſeſſion of the Tower, or to place himſelf in conjunction with the Electoral Prince at the head of the Britiſh troops, that ſtill lay in garriſon in ſome cities in Flanders [b].

They demand money in vain from the Elector.

THE Whigs had, in the beginning of the year, haraſſed the Elector with demands of penſions for poor lords. They had perpetually teaſed his Highneſs for money to political writers and for ſpies planted round the Pretender. Though their ſolicitations on theſe ſubjects had been attended with little ſucceſs, they continued to make applications of the ſame diſagreeable kind. When the ſeſſion was drawing to a concluſion and a diſſolution was foreſeen, they demanded one hundred thouſand pounds from the Elector, to corrupt boroughs, to influence the elections, and to return men of conſtitutional and Whiggiſh principles to the enſuing parliament [c]. The magnitude of the ſum left no room for heſitation in rejecting their requeſt. One repulſe, however, was not ſufficient either to intimidate or diſcourage a party ſo eager in the purſuit of their deſigns. They diminiſhed their demand to fifty thouſand pounds. The Elector plainly told them, that he could not ſpare the money. That he had done the greateſt ſervice conſiſtent with his own particular ſituation and the ſtate of Europe

[b] Hannover-papers, paſſim, 1713. [c] Ibid.

in general, to the well affected in Great Britain. That he had engaged the Emperor and Empire to continue the war againſt France. That he employed ſeventeen thouſand of his troops againſt that kingdom. That this circumſtance had deprived the French King of the power of ſending an army into Great Britain with the Pretender. That, could he even advance the money, which was far from being the caſe, the ſecret could never be kept; and that a diſcovery might be dangerous, from the offence that the meaſure was likely to give to the Britiſh nations [d].

Situation and views of the Pretender.

DURING theſe intrigues for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, the Pretender lived in great ſecurity at Bar-le-duc, under the protection of the Duke of Lorrain. Though he had declined to change his religion at the ſolicitation of his adherents, his ſervants were almoſt all of the Proteſtant perſuaſion. The Earl of Middleton, who had yielded to policy more than conviction, his former ſyſtem of faith, was the only Roman Catholic of any conſequence in his train [e]. A clergyman of the church of England had come from Britain at his deſire, to exerciſe the functions of his order in his family [f]. In daily expectation of a change in his favour, he declined all correſpondence, except ſuch as ſolely conveyed intelligence of the ſtate of opinions and the ſecret intrigues in government. The ſame diſtruſt of the lord-treaſurer that prevailed at Hannover, was entertained, with much more reaſon, at Bar-le-duc. But both agreed in the opinion, that his own ſafety would, at length, induce the Earl of Oxford to throw himſelf in the ſcale of the Pretender. The adherents of that Prince placed, however, their greateſt hopes in the inclinations of Queen Anne. They knew that an interior cabinet was formed in oppoſition to the trimming conduct of the lord-treaſurer. That Bolingbroke, who had long hated that nobleman, had flattered the prejudices of the Queen and her favourite, to ruin the miniſter. That the

[d] Hannover-papers, July 11, 1713. [e] Ibid. 1713. [f] Stuart-papers, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1713.

latter had applied to the principal Whigs for protection againſt his colleagues in office [g]. That the Whigs had rejected his ſupplications; and that he was thrown into political deſpair. The Jacobites, therefore, hoped to derive from his ſituation an aid which they could not expect from his principles [h].

Whigs encourage the Emperor to continue the war.

THE Whigs, in their eagerneſs for power and office, had extended their intrigues to the councils of foreign powers. Their expectations and their fears for themſelves, had induced them to flatter the Emperor and Empire to the continuance of an unequal war. They inſinuated through the court of Hannover, that one of two events, very likely ſoon to ariſe, would turn the balance againſt the houſe of Bourbon. That, ſhould the Queen, already manifeſtly near her end, happen to die, the war would be inſtantly renewed by Great Britain, under the Electoral family. That, in caſe of the demiſe of Lewis the Fourteenth, who was now broken with infirmities and age, France, by falling under the dominion of a minor, would be rendered incapable to defend herſelf, and much leſs would ſhe be able to keep Philip the Fifth on the throne of Spain. That the houſe of Auſtria might recover a crown, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived, by the timidity and ſiniſter deſigns of the Britiſh miniſtry, whoſe power was to expire with the life of the Queen. That to accompliſh this great deſign, nothing was neceſſary, but to remain on the defenſive, on the Rhine. That to make conqueſts was of much leſs importance than to maintain the ſhow of war; and, that even ſlight diſaſters might be of ſervice, as they would contribute to alarm the Britiſh nation, by the progreſs made by the arms of France [i].

Campaign of 1713.

THE ambition of Charles the Sixth, coinciding with the repreſentation of the Whigs and the court of Hannover, he reſolved to proſecute the war. Foreſeeing the event that deprived him of the

[g] Stuart-Papers, 1713. [h] Ibid. [i] Stuart and Hannover-Papers, paſſim, 1713.

aid

CHAP. X. 1713.

aid of his allies, he had accommodated the differences which had long ſubſiſted between his family and the malecontents in Hungary. Preliminary articles, containing a general amneſty on both ſides, had been followed by a formal treaty. The famous Ragotſki, diſappointed in his views, had fled to Poland, and twenty-two regiments of Hungarians, taking the oaths to the Emperor, paſſed into his army. The Prince of Savoy commanded the Imperialiſts. When he was making preparations for paſſing, with great caution, the Rhine, he was ſuddenly ſtopt, by the approach of a ſuperior force, under the Mareſchal de Villars. The French had acquired their uſual confidence, by the deſertion of the maritime powers from the grand confederacy. They took Worms, Spire, Keiſerlauter, and other places, with little reſiſtance. They inveſted and took the important fortreſs of Landau. Villars, having formed greater deſigns, forced the paſſage of the Rhine, attacked and defeated the General Vaubonne, in his intrenchments, and took Fribourg, before the end of the campaign. The Emperor, unwilling to continue a diſaſtrous war, began ſeriouſly to wiſh for peace. Conferences, that afterwards terminated in a treaty, were accordingly opened, at Raſtadt, between the Prince of Savoy and the Mareſchal de Villars [k].

A ferment in England.

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, riot, clamour, and confuſion prevailed at home. The Queen, having diſſolved the parliament [l], in terms of the triennial act, the two parties took the field. To influence the elections, they had long carried their diſputes to the preſs. Each endeavoured, by their writers, to impoſe upon a credulous multitude. Poſitive aſſertions were advanced, according to cuſtom, as facts; and declamation was ſubſtituted in the place of argument. The Whigs, diſappointed in their expectations of money from Hannover, had endeavoured to gain the mob of London, through their habitual prejudices againſt

[k] Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom. vii. [l] Annals of Queen Anne, 1713. MSS. paſſim.

the

CHAP. X.

1713.

the French. The terrors from the Pretender were inculcated, in vain, againſt the poſitive aſſurances of the Queen, in favour of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The imprudence and inattention of the Duke d'Aumont, the French ambaſſador, had furniſhed the diſcontented with an opportunity of inflaming the populace againſt his nation, and conſequently againſt the miniſtry. To gain popularity, that miniſter had, upon his entrance into London, ſtrewed whole handfuls of ſilver coin among the rabble. Their acclamations ended with his generoſity. The crowds, whom their avarice had aſſembled before his houſe, diſappointed in their expectations, gave free vent to their averſion to France and Popery. They were eaſily induced to connect the intereſts of the Pretender with the object of D'Aumont's embaſſy; and thus the Whigs contrived to inſtil a jealouſy into the populace, to favour their own intereſts in the general elections.

Riotous behaviour of the Scots.

THE ferment raiſed in England by the general elections, extended itſelf to Scotland, with equal violence. The Whigs, as well as the Tories, in that part of the kingdom, were averſe from the miniſter. The firſt were offended at his oppoſing, with ſuch ſucceſs, the breaking of the Union. The latter could not forgive his ſlow councils in favour of the Pretender. The Scotiſh Jacobites, with their uſual vehemence, carried their zeal into folly and imprudence. Some boroughs were induced, by their ſuggeſtions, to addreſs the Queen upon the hereditary deſcent of the crown. Whole ſocieties, as well as individuals, celebrated the birth-day of the Chevalier de St. George, and drank his health at their entertainments and carouſals. Lockhart of Carnwath, an avowed Jacobite, was unanimouſly choſen member for Edinburgh. A great number of the inhabitants, upon this occaſion, ſigned a petition to be preſented to the houſe of commons, for the bringing in a bill to diſſolve the Union. The populace, having aſſembled round the ſtatue of Charles the Second, in the parliament-

parliament-cloſe, drank, attended with the loudeſt ſhouts of joy, healths to the Queen, the diſſolution of the Union, and the hereditary deſcent of the crown. They adjourned, in the ſame riotous mood, to the market-croſs, and filled the whole city with treaſonable acclamations and noiſe [m].

Affairs of Ireland.

IRELAND could not be ſuppoſed to remain free from the confuſion which prevailed in every corner of Great Britain. The Duke of Shrewſbury was appointed lord-lieutenant; and he arrived at Dublin, in the month of October [n]. Though his Grace had uniformly paſſed for a ſtaunch friend to the Revolution [o], he owed his preſent preferment to the miniſter's certain knowledge of his Jacobitiſm [p]. The Earl of Oxford, thwarted in the cabinet by Shrewſbury's zeal for the Pretender, had wiſhed for his removal from the kingdom. He had ſent him, with this deſign, ambaſſador to France; from which kingdom his Grace had returned, in the month of Auguſt. The lord-treaſurer found more difficulty in perſuading Shrewſbury to accept of the government of Ireland. The former, however, was aſſiſted in his ſcheme by his rival the Viſcount Bolingbroke. That Lord, having long formed the deſign of placing himſelf, in conjunction with the lord-chancellor, at the head of the high-church party, became as jealous of Shrewſbury as of Oxford [q]. He therefore found means, through the Lady Maſham, to prevail with the Duke to accept of a government, more honourable in itſelf, than important in the great line of public affairs.

Duke of Shrewſbury lord-lieutenant.

THE Duke of Shrewſbury, upon his arrival at Dublin, found that city in a ferment concerning the election of a lord mayor. The Whigs and Jacobites carried their conteſt, on this ſubject, to a degree of violence little ſhort of frenzy. The latter were

[m] Publications of the Times. [n] Oct. 27. [o] Hiſtories and Publications of the Times. [p] Stuart-papers, 1713. [q] MSS. paſſim.

ſupported,

CHAP. X. 1713.

ſupported, with great zeal and addreſs, by Sir Conſtantine Phipps, lord-chancellor of the kingdom, who was at no pains to conceal his attachment to the Pretender and his cauſe. The Duke of Shrewſbury profited by the violence of Phipps. He concealed, with ſucceſs, his own principles in favour of the hereditary deſcent of the crown. He averred, in public, that he was ſtill the ſame he was in the year 1688. He drank, with an appearance of zeal, to the pious memory of King William; though it is well known he deſerted the cauſe of that Prince when alive. On the anniverſary of King William's birth-day, his Dutcheſs, then in correſpondence with the excluded family, gave a magnificent ball, and flattered the principles of the Whigs upon the occaſion. The elections for members of a new parliament were, in the mean time, carried on with induſtry, contention, and animoſity. The two parties of Whigs and Tories, as in Great Britain, oppoſed each other with violence, and even bloodſhed. The troops were obliged to interfere in the elections for the city of Dublin, where force only could ſuppreſs the ungovernable fury of the voters, on both ſides[r].

Proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.

THOUGH the advantage was viſible, on the ſide of the Whigs, in the Iriſh elections, the Tories formed a numerous party in the houſe of commons. Upon a diviſion, on the choice of a ſpeaker, the former were found to poſſeſs only a majority of four votes. In the houſe of lords the intereſt of the latter ſeemed to prevail. The violence that had ſubſiſted without doors, was carried into the debates and reſolutions of the lower houſe. They inquired into the late riots in Dublin. They examined into the proſecutions in the court of Queen's Bench againſt the authors and printers of ſome treaſonable publications. The object of the Whigs was to attack the Lord Chancellor Phipps; who, being at the head of the law, was averſe from exerting its rigour againſt

[r] Publications of the Times.

writers,

writers who favoured his own principles. The commons reſolved, that a book, intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George," was a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel. That the deſign of that libel was to impeach her Majeſty's title to the crown, and the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hannover. That Sir Conſtantine Phipps, lord-chancellor of Ireland, had acted contrary to his duty and the Proteſtant intereſt, by repreſenting the author as an object of the Queen's mercy. That the lord-chancellor had, in a ſpeech to the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin [s], by declaring his opinion, prejudiced a cauſe depending in a court of law. That, therefore, an addreſs ſhould be preſented to her Majeſty to remove Sir Conſtantine Phipps from his place of lord-high-chancellor, for the peace and ſafety of her Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland [t].

They animadvert on the lord-chancellor.

In the houſe of lords, principles ſimilar to thoſe of the chancellor, combining with the weight of government, obtained votes of an oppoſite kind. They reſolved, that Sir Conſtantine Phipps had, in the ſeveral ſtations wherein he had ſerved her Majeſty, acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. That a committee ſhould immediately withdraw, and prepare an addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſubject of theſe votes. The commons, offended at the reſolutions of the lords, extended further cenſures to the conduct of Phipps. They accuſed him openly of abetting the views of the Jacobites, from his refuſing his approbation, as chancellor, of a perſon elected lord mayor of Dublin, merely becauſe that perſon was attached to the principles of the late Revolution. The flame could be only extinguiſhed by a prorogation. The Duke of Shrewſbury, apprized of the declining health of the Queen, was willing, of himſelf, to put a period to the conteſts in Ireland, and to return to London. Though the indiſcreet Jacobitiſm of the lord chancellor merited

[s] Jan. 12, 1712.

[t] Journals, Dec. 18, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1713.

cenſure, the conduct of the Iriſh commons was much blamed by the Britiſh Tories. The figure which Phipps had made at the trial of Doctor Sacheverell, had gained the affection of the church-party. The Whigs were loud on the other ſide of the queſtion; and the truth is, that the chancellor had been, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of unhappy diſtinctions between the Proteſtants of Ireland.

Domeſtic affairs.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Ireland, the ferment raiſed in Britain, by the arts of the two parties, continued. Though the Tories were, in general, the moſt ſucceſsful, more Whigs found their way into the houſe of commons in the preſent than in the preceding elections. The new parliament, which was to have met on the twelfth of November, was further prorogued to the tenth of December. This meaſure was, at the time, aſcribed to the manifeſt decline of the Queen's health and the ſquabbles among her ſervants. The Earl of Oxford, having received a repulſe from the Whigs, in the month of Auguſt [s], had endeavoured to regain the confidence of the Tories. To gratify their prejudices, ſome changes were made in the principal departments of the ſtate. To influence the elections in their favour, ſome alterations were made in the inferior offices of the revenue. With regard to the firſt, men, remarkable for the Tory principle, were placed in eminent ſtations, which had been rendered vacant by deaths, diſmiſſions, or removals. The Earl of Mar, then actually in correſpondence with the Pretender, was made third ſecretary of ſtate. The Earl of Dartmouth, having received the privy ſeal, made a vacancy for Mr. William Bromley, as one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries. Sir William Wyndham became chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Robert Benſon, raiſed to the peerage, by the title of Lord Bingley. The Lord Lanſdowne, in his principles a Jacobite, had received the

[s] Hanno ver-papers, 1713.

place of treaſurer of the houſehold, which had been for ſome time vacant by the removal of the Earl of Cholmondeley, the laſt Whig of any importance that remained in office [d].

Diſſenſions between the Queen's ſervants.

WHILST the lord-treaſurer endeavoured to gain the Tories by theſe changes, he only ſtrengthened the hands of his enemies againſt himſelf. Bolingbroke, encouraged by the acceſſion of Secretary Bromley and Sir William Wyndham, continued his intrigues in the cabinet. The animoſities between the members of adminiſtration were no longer unknown to the public. The writers employed by government were buſy in preparing the nation for an approaching change [e]. The Earl of Oxford himſelf, though fond of the diſtinction paid to his high ſtation, was diſpleaſed at being deprived of its power. He thought ſeriouſly of retiring from buſineſs. But there was now no ſafety in retreating. He had too much offended the Whigs, to be either forgot or forgiven by that party. The Tories, ſhould he join with their political enemies, would ſeek an opportunity, and they actually poſſeſſed the means of revenge. In this ſtate of affairs, he ſacrificed his pride to neceſſity. He reſolved to bear with mortifications, rather than reſign his office. His indignation againſt his rival might contribute to his preſent firmneſs. He ſaw, that the very perſon who had already ruined his intereſt with the Queen, wiſhed to deprive him of the influence with the nation, which he ſtill derived from his office [f].

Secret intrigues of Bolingbroke.

THE enmity ſubſiſting between the treaſurer and his rival in influence, was greatly fomented by the uninterrupted connexion between the latter and the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke, not remarkable for friendly attachments, ſeemed to have departed from the uſual indifference of his character, with regard to the

[d] Gazettes, Auguſt and Sept. 1713.
[e] Nov. 16.
[f] MSS. paſſim. Publications of the Times.

CHAP. X. 1713.

Viſcount Bolingbroke. He is ſaid to have declared, upon the death of the Marquis of Blandford, that he had now no comfort left in the world, except in Henry St. John, whom he regarded and loved as his own ſon [a]. During his campaigns abroad, he held an intercourſe, by letters, with St. John, even when that gentleman was cloſely connected with Harley, his mortal enemy. When Harley, through the intrigues of Mrs. Maſham and the changed opinions of the nation, brought about a change in the miniſtry, in 1710, St. John, without breaking with Marlborough, gratified his own ambition, by accepting the office of ſecretary of ſtate. When, therefore, the Duke was on the worſt terms with the court, he had a friend in the cabinet, who ſupported his intereſt when the current was not too ſtrong to be ſtemmed. When the dangerous intrigues of Marlborough, in the end of 1711, furniſhed the lord-treaſurer with an opportunity of removing him from all his employments, St. John yielded to the times, and approved of a meaſure which he could not oppoſe [b].

He takes advantage of the Queen's ſtate of mind

THE difficult ſituation of the Earl of Oxford, the perpetual conteſt between his intereſt and principles, his awkward manner, and a conduct throughout undeciſive, ſoon rendered him obnoxious to the Tories, and hated by the Whigs. He, however, retained, throughout the year 1712, his influence with his ſovereign, by finding means to perſuade that timid Princeſs, that he himſelf was neceſſary to her ſafety, againſt the dangerous deſigns of the Whigs. When time had expunged from her memory a part of her fears, ſhe began to liſten to the inſinuations of Bolingbroke againſt the treaſurer. Subject to frequent illneſſes, and ſenſible of the decay of her own conſtitution, ſhe became apprehenſive, that ſhe was faſt approaching to her end. An enthuſiaſt, like the moſt of her family, ſhe became anxious for the eventual ſucceſſion of her brother to the throne, from motives of religion.

[a] MSS. paſſim.

[b] Original Papers, paſſim.

Her

CHAP. X. 1713.

Her ſolemn promiſes to her father, a letter written to her by that Prince in his laſt illneſs [c], her having been, by her deſertion, the obvious cauſe of his ruin [d], were always preſent to a mind enfeebled by ſickneſs, as well as ſuperſtition. She deemed the death of her children a ſignal puniſhment, inflicted by Providence for her own injuſtice to a parent, as ſhe was pleaſed to conſtrue her conduct [e]. Having left her father in his extremity, with a view of ſecuring his throne to her own poſterity, ſhe weakly thought, that Heaven had interfered to diſappoint her deſigns [f].

with regard to the Pretender.

BOLINGBROKE had long watched the emotions of her mind, and he endeavoured to turn them to his advantage. Having flattered her prejudices, by pretending to enter into her views, he gradually ſupplanted the influence of the lord-treaſurer. He repreſented the languor of his meaſures. He gave inſinuations concerning his ſecret intrigues with the Whigs. The artifice which he uſed with the Queen, he employed, with equal ſucceſs, on the more violent Tories. In the beginning of the preſent year, he formed a ſerious deſign of placing himſelf at the head of a party, independent of the Earl of Oxford. But a well-grounded fear of the Whigs induced him afterwards to adhere to the lord-treaſurer. He was, however, at the bottom of all the mortifications which that miniſter ſuffered, by the deſertion of ſome of the high-church party in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. To humble his rival was ſuitable to his violent paſſions. To ruin him entirely, conſidering the times and his own precarious ſituation, was inconſiſtent with common prudence. His object was to ſtrengthen himſelf, with the return of the Duke of Marlborough. That nobleman would have no objection to join with any party, who ſhould contribute to the fall of his enemy, the Earl of Oxford [g]. To feel the pulſe of the Tories, and to ſound the inclinations of the Queen, reports

[c] Hannover-papers, 1713.
[d] Her letter to her father, Dec. 1691.
[e] Hannover-papers, 1713.
[f] Ibid.
[g] MSS. paſſim, 1713.

were

CHAP. X. 1713.

were induſtriouſly ſpread, in the ſummer, that the Duke was to return to Britain, at the expreſs deſire of the miniſtry [h].

His intrigues in favour of Marlborough,

THESE inſinuations produced not the expected effect. The Queen was averſe from the meaſure. The Tories expreſſed no deſire for the Duke's return. His Grace, having ſpent the ſummer in making vain ſolicitations to the houſe of Hannover for ſending the Electoral Prince to Britain, ſeemed to be ſuddenly ſeized with an impatience, not unnatural to his diſpoſition, however much it was concealed. He repreſented to the Elector, that, being now in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, he wiſhed to paſs the reſt of his life in quietneſs, in his native country. That, as his Highneſs ſeemed ſo indifferent about the ſucceſſion, it was time for his friends to take care of themſelves. That, by coinciding with the views of the miniſtry, whoſe almoſt avowed intentions were to reſtore the Pretender, the friends of the houſe of Hannover might, perhaps, obtain ſecurity from a Prince, whoſe favour they could not, in reaſon, expect. Theſe chidings, bearing the appearance of zeal, were neither regarded nor feared. In the mean time, Bolingbroke proceeded in his intrigues. He daily gained the ground which the unhappy manner of the treaſurer was deſtined to loſe. He had often complained to the Queen of his principles. He now loudly accuſed him of dilatorineſs and indolence. He affirmed, that, by neglecting the power which the influence of government had placed in his hands he had permitted a greater number of Whigs, than was conſiſtent with the ſafety of government, to obtain ſeats in the houſe of commons [i].

who correſponds with the Pretender.

EXPECTING much from the intrigues of Bolingbroke, and tired of his own ſituation, the Duke of Marlborough again formed hopes of his ſpeedy return. To regain his former power,

[h] Stuart-papers, 1713. [i] Ibid.

he

CHAP. X. 1713.

he ſeemed inclined to deſert his preſent friends. He was willing to govern Anne, by yielding to her prejudices. Under a certainty that ſhe was attached to her brother's intereſt, he endeavoured ſecretly to gain the confidence of the Pretender's adherents abroad. He wrote to the Dutcheſs of Berwick. He even ſent a letter to the late King James's Queen. He diſpatched one of his retainers to France. He empowered him to convey the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of his attachment to the Chevalier de St. George. He aſſured him, with an oath, that he would rather cut off his own right-hand, than oppoſe his views on the throne. That, provided he himſelf might be rendered ſecure, he would not heſitate a moment to uſe all his credit, both privately and publickly, for his ſervice. He inſtructed the Duke of Berwick, he ſaid, more largely on the ſubject; and he had reaſon to hope an anſwer ſuitable to his ſincerity and zeal [y]. Theſe relentings of Marlborough, if they were at all ſincere, were prevented from having any effect, by the fears of the Queen. The dangerous intrigues of the Duke, in the preceding year, had made ſuch a deep impreſſion on her mind, that ſhe was even terrified at the very mention of his name; and though ſhe could not legally continue his exile, ſhe reſolved never to give her conſent to his return [z].

Miſrepreſentations of the Whigs.

THE terrors of the Queen for Marlborough proved a fatal blow to her own views. To ruin the treaſurer, by ſupporting himſelf with the prejudices of the ſovereign, the Duke might have probably deſerted the principles of the Whigs; which, like many of the party, he had only adopted to favour his own deſigns. But when he found that the Queen was obdurate, and that the Pretender himſelf treated his propoſals with caution and even diſtruſt, he fell back with vehemence into his former profeſſions to the houſe of Hannover. He correſponded with that

[y] Stuart-papers, Oct. 1713.

[z] Idid. 1713.

family.

CHAP. X. 1713.

family. Without either ceremony or diſtinction, he accuſed the miniſtry of incurable Jacobitiſm; and in the general accuſation even involved his friend Bolingbroke. He was joined in theſe aſſurances by moſt of the leaders of the Whig-party. The Duke of Argyle, yielding to perſonal reſentment, affirmed to the envoy of Hannover, that he knew, from his own experience, the lord-treaſurer was a falſe and deceitful man. That he exerted himſelf with all his might againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. That he was reforming the army, to facilitate the reſtoration of the Pretender; and that even his friends acknowledged, he was too far engaged to retreat. The Earl of Ilay extended his accuſations much farther than his brother, the Duke of Argyle. He aſſured the Hannoverian reſident, that the Preſbyterians were the only friends of the ſucceſſion of the Electoral family; and that all the members of the church of England, eſpecially in Scotland, were Jacobites, without exception [m].

They demand money for poor lords, &c.

THE Whigs in general were impreſſed with uncommon fears. They again urged the Elector to invade the kingdom. They promiſed to furniſh him with ſums, upon his credit, to ſave their country, and to execute his own deſigns. But, with an inconſiſtence repugnant to theſe large promiſes, they reverted to their former demands of money from his Highneſs. They aſked penſions for poor, conſcientious lords, who were in want of ſubſiſtence. They demanded, with the moſt vehement entreaties, two thouſand pounds, to carry the elections for the common-council of London. They repreſented, that, with that ſum, they could chuſe their own creatures; and terrify the Queen and parliament with remonſtrances and addreſſes, throughout the winter. "Should we fail to engage," they ſaid, "the Elector to agree to any of our propoſals, we muſt, in prudence, provide for ourſelves, and yield to the times [n]."

[m] Hannover-papers, Dec. 1713.

[n] Ibid. Dec. 16, 1713.

THESE

CHAP. X.

1713. Deſpondence of the Elector's ſervants.

THESE repreſentations, though not ſufficient to prevail with the Elector to make remittances, threw his ſervants into a kind of political deſpair. "If we ſhall do nothing ourſelves," they ſaid, "for the ſucceſſion, we cannot expect to ſucceed, without a miracle. But our diſappointment of a crown is the leaſt evil we have to fear. Our troubles will only begin when our hopes ſhall come to an end. Having raiſed ſo many enemies, by our proſpect of the Britiſh throne, we can enjoy neither peace nor ſafety in the Electorate. Thoſe who either feared or envied our elevation, will never be ſatisfied, till we are ſo low that they may be aſſured they have nothing further to apprehend[b]." During the terrors of the Whigs and the deſpondence of the Elector's ſervants, they fell upon an expedient, that ſeemed, for the time, to alleviate a part of their fears. A propoſal, made by the Baron de Bernſtorff, preſident of the Elector's council, was received by Marlborough and Cadogan with eagerneſs and joy. He inſinuated, that his Electoral Highneſs might be induced to borrow to the extent of twenty thouſand pounds from his friends in Britain. This ſum was to be laid out on the poor lords and the common-council of London, during the three years the parliament was to ſit. The firſt would be thus enabled to vote according to their principles: the latter might ply the government, and haraſs the Queen and her miniſters with remonſtrances in favour of civil liberty and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Marlborough and Cadogan undertook to furniſh the money, on the obligation of his Electoral Highneſs, provided the intereſt of five *per cent.* ſhould be regularly paid[c]. But his Highneſs would give no obligation, either for the principal or intereſt. He, however, ſignified to his agents, that his friends ſhould advance the money, as they might be certain of being reimburſed, as ſoon as his Highneſs, or the Electreſs his mother, ſhould come to the throne[d].

[b] Hannover-papers, 1713.
[c] Ibid. Dec. 30, 1713.
[d] Hannover-papers, March 20, 1714.

CHAP. X.

1714.

A general uneaſineſs and panic.

DURING theſe ſecret intrigues of party, the nation was haraſſed with vague rumours and idle reports. The Queen, whoſe health had long declined, fell into a dangerous illneſs, in the end of December. The minds of the two parties became ſtrangely agitated, by various expectations or fears. The adherents of the Pretender fondly imagined, that the period of his reſtoration was near. The Whigs, foreſeeing their danger, lamented the fate of the kingdom in their own. The malicious and intereſted, on both ſides, were buſy in this ſtate of public ſuſpicion and ſuſpenſe. A report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that a ſquadron of fourteen men of war were fitting out in the ports of France[r]; and that theſe ſhips were to take on board fourteen thouſand troops. The public funds fell gradually in their price. On the twenty-ninth of January, a ſudden panic ſeized the minds of monied men. There was a great run on the Bank. The directors, in the utmoſt terror, applied to the lord-treaſurer for his aſſiſtance and advice. He endeavoured, in vain, to diſpel their groundleſs fears. Nothing could remove their apprehenſions, till the Queen herſelf wrote a letter, on the firſt of February, to the lord-mayor, announcing her recovery. The public melancholy and panic were changed at once into feſtivity and joy. The armies, reported to be aſſembled in the Bologneſe, and the ſquadrons ſaid to be preparing in the ports of France, diſappeared like an idle dream; and the Pretender, whom fame had placed at the head of a powerful invaſion, was found to have remained in his obſcure retreat in Lorrain[s].

Mr. Harley ſent to Hanover.

THE dangerous ſtate of the Queen's health induced the Earl of Oxford to endeavour to provide againſt the event of her demiſe. His own unhappy manner and the arts of his enemies has deprived of credit all his profeſſions, in the minds of the Hanoverian agents in London. He reſolved, therefore, to ſend again

[r] Jan. 12, 1714.

[s] Publications of the Times.

CHAP. X. 1714.

his relation, Thomas Harley [t], to the court of Hannover. He was as unfortunate in the choice of his meſſenger, as he was in the aſſurances which he intended to make to the Electoral family. Harley had rendered himſelf ſuſpected of Jacobitiſm, by his never writing to the Princeſs Sophia after his former embaſſy [u], notwithſtanding his warm profeſſions of attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Whigs and the Hannoverian agents put the worſt conſtruction on the advances made by the lord-treaſurer. They were ignorant of his having loſt a great part of his influence in the cabinet. They affected to conſider his proteſtations of zeal as ſo many baits to deceive. They wrote to Hannover, that the object of Harley's commiſſion was twofold: That either the Queen appeared to the lord-treaſurer to be in ſuch a bad ſtate of health, as to render it prudent to pay court to her legal ſucceſſor; or that his own meaſures were not yet come to maturity in favour of the Pretender [x].

Parliament meets.

THOUGH the Queen had, in ſome meaſure, recovered from her late indiſpoſition, ſhe was not capable to open, in perſon, the ſeſſion of parliament. That aſſembly having met on the fifteenth of February, Sir Thomas Hanmer was choſen ſpeaker, by the commons, without any oppoſition. Hanmer, who abetted in public the principles of the Tories, had privately made his peace with the Whigs. Under a promiſe, from the Hannoverian agents, of titles and preferments, when his Electoral Highneſs ſhould mount the Britiſh throne, he had become ſuddenly a friend to the Proteſtant line [y]. The ſpeaker was not the only Tory who cloſed in ſecret with the Whigs. The Earl of Nottingham, diſappointed a ſecond time in his views on the privy-ſeal [z], laid it down for a maxim, that the lord-treaſurer was averſe from the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and a friend to the Chevalier de St.

[t] Hannover-papers, Jan. 23, 1714.
[u] Ibid. 1712.
[x] Ibid Jan. 23, 1714.
[y] Hannover-papers, 1714.
[z] Stuart and Hannover-papers, 1713.

CHAP. X. 1714.

George [z]. He waited upon the reſident of the houſe of Hanover. He endeavoured to prove, by various arguments, that the miniſtry were reſolved to place the Pretender on the throne, during the Queen's life. "But though you are ſo negligent yourſelves," ſaid Nottingham, "your friends ſhall not fall, without employing their efforts to ſecure for you the crown. But as they ſee, that all their repreſentations are in vain; that you do not deſign to believe their profeſſions; that you even aſcribe, perhaps, their conduct to their paſſions and regard to intereſt; they are determined to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to take his ſeat in the houſe of peers. This meaſure will unmaſk your enemies, and diſcover to your friends what they are to expect from yourſelves [a]."

Some Tories join the Whigs.

THE Earl of Angleſea, whoſe principles, when not oppoſed to his intereſt, were inclined to Jacobitiſm, ſuffered himſelf to be guided by motives ſimilar to thoſe of the Earl of Nottingham. He met, in private, the leaders of the Whigs. He held conferences with the Hannoverian reſident. He promoted with vehemence the meaſure of demanding the writ for the Electoral Prince. The whole party reſted their hopes on this one article. They formed no other plan of oppoſition. They had nothing further to propoſe in parliament [b]. But, notwithſtanding the acceſſion of ſo many Tories to the cauſe of the houſe of Hannover, their agents were extremely diffident of the ſucceſſion. They informed their court, that out of ten, who were for the Electoral family, nine would accommodate themſelves to the times. That whatever their principles might have been in ſpeculation, they would hazard nothing in practice. That, in the affair of the ſucceſſion, they would embrace the cauſe of the firſt of the rivals for the throne that ſhould arrive in the kingdom. That thoſe who expreſſed the greateſt zeal for the Proteſtant line, flattered

[z] Hannover-papers, Feb. 27, 1714. [a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. March 6, 1714.

themſelves,

themſelves, that the government of the Pretender, whom they looked upon as a weak Prince, would not be ſo great an evil as a perpetual civil war [c].

Sentiments of both, with regard to the ſucceſſion.

THESE were certainly the ſentiments of the greateſt number of the Tories, and, perhaps, thoſe of all the moderate Whigs. The Lord Guildford, who openly avowed the Tory principle, and was privately much attached to the pretended Prince of Wales, made no ſecret of the opinions of his own party. He told the Lord Cowper, that thoſe Tories who were moſt attached to the houſe of Hannover, would hazard no part of their fortune againſt the Pretender. That though they might allow, their religion and liberty would be more ſafe by adhering to the preſent eſtabliſhment, they flattered themſelves, that, by good laws, both the one and the other might be very well ſecured. That, for his own part, he could ſolemnly ſwear, that he neither knew nor believed there exiſted any ſerious ſcheme in favour of the Pretender. "But I frankly acknowledge," he continued, "that, ſhould ever matters be puſhed to any length on that ſide, the greateſt part of us Tories will ſubmit; while ſome of you Whigs will, perhaps, be fools enough to expoſe the kingdom to a civil war, and ſuffer your country to be laid waſte, on the one hand, by the French, and, on the other, by the Germans."

Affairs of Europe. Peace of Raſtadt.

WHILE the two parties in Britain were haraſſing themſelves with idle hopes and vain fears about the ſucceſſion, a peace was concluded at Raſtadt between the Emperor and the French King [d]. The conditions of the treaty were little changed by the operations of the preceding campaign. Things were left on the confines of France and Germany on the plan delineated by the peace of Riſwick. With regard to the Netherlands, the two powers agreed to the terms ſettled at Utrecht. The Emperor conſented to reſtore

[c] Hannover-papers, March 6, 1714.

[d] March 6.

their

CHAP. X. 1714.

their territories to the Princes of Italy whom he had ſtript of their dominions. He engaged to continue the neutrality, and not to diſturb the repoſe of that country. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologn were re-eſtabliſhed in their dominions and dignities. The title of the Elector of Hannover was recogniſed, in form, by the French King. The Emperor, moved by his reſentment for having been, as he thought, deſerted, had reſolved to conclude the treaty, without either the participation or intervention of the maritime powers. To mortify the court of Great Britain, he ſet on foot a new treaty with the States-General for a barrier in the Netherlands; and, having brought to ſome maturity the buſineſs at the Hague, removed the negociation, ſoon after, to Vienna [t].

Peace with Spain.

THE King of Spain might have concluded a peace with all the confederates, except the Emperor and Empire, at Utrecht. But he ſuffered that important work to be ſuſpended till the preſent year, by the ambition of a fooliſh woman. The Princeſs Orſini, having obtained an aſcendant over his counſels, employed her credit to make herſelf a ſovereign. She wanted that a principality ſhould be erected for her in the Netherlands. The court of Great Britain and the States-General had agreed to this prepoſterous propoſal. The Spaniſh plenipotentiaries inſiſted ſtrenuouſly with the reſt of the confederates to conſent to a condition deemed eſſential by their maſter. They were, however, forced, at length, to abandon their demand. The Emperor would never conſent to the diſmemberment of any part of the Netherlands. The French King interfered with his grandſon. He perſuaded that Prince to pay more regard to the repoſe of his people, than to the caprice of a woman. But, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, the peace itſelf was not ſigned at Utrecht till the preſent year. The Princeſs Orſini, who had ſo long obſtructed the great work of peace, fell,

[t] Annals of Queen Anne, 1714.

ſoon

ſoon after, into a diſgrace ſuitable to the magnitude of her own ambition and folly [f].

Queen opens the ſeſſion of parliament.

ON the twenty-ſeventh of February, a meſſenger arrived from Holland, with the ratifications exchanged of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain. The peace between the two kingdoms was formally proclaimed on the firſt of March. The Queen had returned to London, in the middle of February, amidſt the acclamations of the populace, who were overjoyed at the proſpect of her recovery from her late dangerous illneſs. But as her health was not ſufficiently reſtored to open, with the uſual ceremony of a ſpeech, the buſineſs of parliament, the two houſes had adjourned to the ſecond of March. The Queen, having gone to the houſe of lords on that day, addreſſed her parliament in terms ſuitable to the ſtate of the times. Having animadverted ſeverely on thoſe who inſinuated that the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover was in danger, ſhe aſſured the two houſes, that, to weaken her authority, and render her uneaſy in the poſſeſſion of the crown, could never be proper means to ſupport the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. She had done and ſhould continue, ſhe ſaid, to do her beſt for the good of her ſubjects. She recommended to her parliament to follow her example, by uniting the differences of parties, and by improving jointly the benefits obtained by the treaty of peace [g].

They cenſure political writers.

THE Whigs, having confined, by concert [h], their operations to the projected demand of a writ for the Electoral Prince, no oppoſition was made, in either houſe, to warm addreſſes to the throne. The commons followed their addreſs with a vote of ſupply. In conſidering an article of the Queen's ſpeech, with regard to libels, the two parties flew into their uſual flame. A motion was made

[f] M. de Torcy, tom. ii.

[g] Journals, March 6.

[h] Hannover-papers, Feb. 1714.

in

CHAP. X. 1714.

in the houſe of commons againſt a pamphlet, written with great acrimony and boldneſs, charging the ſervants of the Queen with mal-adminiſtration; and aſſerting, in expreſs terms, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, through their machinations. This performance, though the work of a Mr. Moore [i], was aſcribed to Mr. Richard Steele, a name well known in the republic of letters. Steele, who had obtained a ſeat in the houſe of commons, acknowledged himſelf the author of this obnoxious publication. After various and long debates, he was, upon a diviſion, expelled the houſe [k]. In the houſe of lords, the Whigs, foreſeeing the ſeverity againſt Steele, extended their animadverſions to a publication, written in oppoſition to his pamphlet. This anſwer, which reflected ſeverely on the Scotiſh nation, had been aſcribed, by public report, to the famous Dr. Swift. It was chiefly levelled againſt the Duke of Argyle, who was hated by the Doctor's patron, the Earl of Oxford. But though the violence of the Whigs yielded not to that of the Tories, they were not equal to them in point of numbers, when the matter came to a vote. The miniſtry, however, choſe to remove the whole affair from before the lords into a court of common law.

The miniſtry diſmiſs ſeveral officers.

DURING the conteſt between the parties in parliament, ſecret animoſities ſubſiſted in the cabinet. The two rivals for the Queen's favour were, however, united in their public meaſures againſt the Whigs, on account of their common fears. The miniſtry were no ſtrangers to the deſigns of that party. They knew, that the Elector had been long ſolicited to undertake an invaſion. They reſolved, therefore, to be prepared againſt an event that threatened their own power, as well as the Queen's authority. It was upon this account, and not in favour of the Pretender, that they fell upon the ſpecious meaſure of new-

[i] MSS. paſſim.

[k] March 18, 1714.

modelling

modelling the army. In the middle of March, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair, and other officers of rank, whom the miniſtry ſuſpected, were removed from all their military employments. The Queen, however, paid an equivalent, in money, to the diſmiſſed officers. The meaſure furniſhed the artful with an object of clamour, and terrified the credulous and timid. The Viſcount Bolingbroke, who was known to have obtained the aſcendant over the lord-treaſurer, was accuſed of being the author of theſe dangerous counſels. His enemies affirmed, that, deſpairing of the Queen's life, and excluded from every hope of the favour of the houſe of Hannover, he precipitated every thing to pave the way for the reſtoration of the Pretender [1].

The Elector refuſes to gratify the Whigs.

THE leaders of the Whigs, terrified by this appearance of deciſion in the miniſtry, fell into their uſual deſpondence. They declared their opinion, that no hope remained, but in the death of the Queen or in that of the Pretender. They blamed the court of Hannover for having ſacrificed their friends, as well as their own hopes of the throne. The Elector argued in vain againſt the propriety of yielding to their deſperate requeſts. He knew, he ſaid, that the Queen was averſe from ſeeing any of his family in her dominions. That, notwithſtanding her prejudices, he would have ſent the Electoral Prince to London, had he not been perſuaded, that the meaſure would bring matters to an open rupture. That, as it was impracticable to bring the lawful ſucceſſor into the kingdom, they ought to ſecure the ſucceſſion, by removing his competitor. That he had already made repeated inſtances to the Queen on that ſubject. That he was reſolved to renew his remonſtrances. That, as to their unceaſing demands of money for poor lords, common-councils, bribery of members, and private penſions, he would hear no more of that affair. That, from the narrowneſs of his own income, he could not enter

[1] Publications of the Times.

CHAP. X. 1714.

upon theſe heads, into any competition with his antagoniſt, the lord-treaſurer. But that, except in the article of expences, he was willing to ſupport to the utmoſt their party [m].

Unmanly fears of that party.

THESE aſſurances on the part of the Elector neither anſwered the hopes, nor removed the fears of the Whigs. Though ſuch Tories as were in the intereſt of the houſe of Hannover, though the lord-treaſurer himſelf, though the concurring voice of the whole miniſtry declared, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in no danger, the leaders of the party gave way to their own unmanly terrors. They drew inferences from uncertain facts. They improved into ſtrong realities idle rumours. They even believed, that preparations were already made for ſending ſeveral of their leaders to the Tower. In this ſtate of doubt and uneaſineſs, they reſolved to make one other effort to gain the people, by awaking their fears. The lords having taken the ſtate of the nation into conſideration, the Earls of Wharton, Nottingham, and Sunderland, with other peers of the ſame party, repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the danger that threatened the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. They moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to her Majeſty, on the ſubject of the removal of the Pretender from Lorrain, and on other points, calculated to raiſe the reſentment of the populace againſt the miniſtry. On this occaſion the Earl of Oxford made a motion, which ſeemed prepoſterous, as the motive was then unknown. He moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, by making it high-treaſon to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom [n].

Their conſpiracy to ſeize the Tower, &c.

MEN who aſcribe to policy every meaſure of a miniſter, will find it difficult to account for the motion made by the lord-treaſurer. If, as he averred, in the houſe, he only meant to

[m] Hannover-papers, March 20, N. S. 1714.

[n] Hannover-papers, paſſim, 1714.

preclude

preclude the adherents of the Pretender from invading the kingdom, his expedient was altogether nugatory and unneceſſary. Such troops as ſhould attend that Prince, would have been open enemies, if foreigners, and rebels, if natives. The treaſurer ſeems to have had reaſons for his preſent conduct, which he did not chuſe to reveal. The States-General, alarmed by the terrors of the Whigs, and the zealous repreſentations of the agents of Hannover, began to make preparations for aiding effectually the Elector in his views on the Britiſh throne. Some ſhips of war were made ready for ſea, in their ports. Some troops, eſpecially the Scots in the ſervice, had received orders to march toward the coaſt. The Whigs at home were ready to ſecond the projected invaſion from abroad. A ſet of inferior conſpirators were prepared to ſupport with action the deliberations of their leaders. Meaſures were concerted, by a ſociety called the kit-cat club, to ſeize the Tower, to declare for the family of Hannover, to ſecure the perſons of ſuch as were ſuſpected of favouring the Pretender. In this number the lord-treaſurer himſelf had the misfortune of being comprehended by his enemies; and he awkwardly choſe this prepoſterous motion, as a kind of proof of his being no ſtranger to the deſigns of the Whigs [p].

Reflections.

In all ſtates that poſſeſs any portion of public freedom, the appeal of parties is always made to the people. Though the body of the nation enjoy but a very ſmall ſhare of any government, they make up with their weight and numbers, what they want in authority as individuals. The candidates for office endeavour to gain their favour, by applying to their principles, but oftner to their prejudices; and thoſe ſucceed the beſt who impoſe with the moſt addreſs and dexterity upon their credulity and fears. The good opinion of a people is therefore the citadel, if the expreſſion may be uſed, to which factions direct all their irregular

[p] Hannover-papers, paſſim, 1714. Publications of the Times. MSS. paſſim.

CHAP. X. 1714.

attacks; and when a party happens to poſſeſs themſelves of that ſtrong hold, they overawe their antagoniſts, and govern, at diſcretion, the noiſy populace, by whoſe ſuffrages they have aſcended to power. The domeſtic hiſtory of the preſent reign contains little more than a continued ſeries of ſuch political hoſtilities. In this clamorous conteſt, as well as in real war, the combatants acquire an experience, from length of time, that frequently ſuſpends the fate of the conflict, when a deciſion is moſt to be apprehended.

Proteſtant ſucceſſion voted out of danger.

THE Whigs, with a perſeverance worthy of a better cauſe, than any deſign on power and office, had long continued their attacks on the Tories. The weight of government, the efforts of the church, and the great popularity of the Queen herſelf, had hitherto fruſtrated all their efforts. Diſappointed in their public conduct, they had lately recourſe to private meaſures, and ſucceeded in gaining over ſuch Tories as were diſcontented with the miniſtry. The agents of the houſe of Hanover, at the ſuggeſtion of the leading Whigs, had prevailed with the Earl of Angleſea, and his followers in the houſe of lords, to deſert the Tories, upon promiſes of future advantage[q]. Sir William Dawes, though ſpontaneouſly raiſed by the Queen to the ſee of York, promiſed, upon the like aſſurances, to deſert the meaſures of the court, and to carry over to the Whigs a majority of the bench of biſhops[r]. Encouraged by this unexpected defection, the party introduced a warm debate, in the houſe of lords, on the fifth of April. After various ſpeeches, the queſtion was propoſed, whether the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger? On a diviſion, the court-party prevailed, by twelve votes[s]. The Earls of Abingdon and Jerſey, the Lords Aſhburnham, Herbert, and Carteret, who had uniformly ſupported the miniſtry, joined the Whigs, on the preſent occaſion. The ſame queſtion being

[q] Hannover papers, 1714. [r] Ibid. [s] 76 againſt 64.

agitated before the commons, was carried, by a greater majority, for the adherents of the court [t].

Cauſe of the deſertion of ſome Tories.

THOUGH the deſertion of ſo many Tories from the miniſtry may be aſcribed, in ſome degree, to the promiſes of the Hanoverian agents, they had motives of another kind. The moſt of thoſe who joined the Whigs, had been highly irritated againſt the Earl of Oxford. They knew that a party had long been forming againſt him in the cabinet, and that a defeat in parliament was only wanting to the completion of his ruin. He was abandoned by his brethren in office. He was no longer ſupported by the Queen herſelf. The ſcanty majority, in a queſtion on which his power depended, was equal to a partial defeat. Every body expected to ſee him next day without his ſtaff as treaſurer. He himſelf offered to reſign [u]. But he contrived to inſinuate to the Queen, by one of his friends, that her ruin would ſucceed his fall. Struck with this application, her uſual fears began to return. Though at the ſolicitation of the Lady Maſham, ſhe had conſented to diſmiſs the treaſurer, ſhe became again reconciled to that miniſter, upon certain conditions [x]. The Earl of Nottingham, who hoped to ſucceed Oxford in the treaſury, was again diſappointed [y]; and thus was forced, by his reſentment, to abet a party of whoſe principles he ſecretly diſapproved.

Motions of the Whigs againſt the Pretender.

THE Whigs, encouraged by the late acceſſion to their party, carried farther their oppoſition againſt the crown. On the ſubject of the Chevalier de St. George only, they could raiſe the fears of the people. They moved, therefore, for an addreſs to her Majeſty, for renewing her inſtances with the Duke of Lorrain, to expel the Pretender from his dominions. An addition made to their motion, ſeemed levelled againſt the ſuſpected feelings of the

[t] 256 againſt 208. [u] Hannover-papers, April 1714. [x] Ibid.
[y] Ibid.

Queen's

CHAP. X.

1714.

Queen's mind. It was propoſed to requeſt her Majeſty to iſſue a proclamation, ſetting a price on her brother's head. The Lord North and Grey, ſeconded by the Lord Trevor, oppoſed, with vehemence, this latter meaſure [z]. They repreſented, that the motion was as inconſiſtent with common humanity, as it was repugnant to the Chriſtian religion. That, to ſet a price on any man's head, was to encourage aſſaſſination, by public authority. That, for their own parts, ſhould ever the caſe come before them, as peers and judges, they would think themſelves bound, in juſtice, honour, and conſcience, to condemn ſuch an action as murder. The Whigs argued upon the ground of expediency. But the Tory lords who had joined them, ſome days before, deſerted them on this occaſion. The biſhops, either from principle or decency, were averſe from this ſanguinary meaſure; and, upon a diviſion, the addition to the firſt motion was rejected [a].

Their fears ſuperfluous and vain.

THE addreſs to the Queen was preſented only by a few Whig lords. Could a judgment be formed of the ſtate of things, from the conduct of parliament, one might ſuppoſe, that the nation was then in imminent danger. That the Pretender was ready to make a deſcent upon Britain, with a powerful army; or that he was invited by a formidable party at home. That his friends only waited for his arrival, to dethrone the Queen, and utterly extirpate all the Whigs in the kingdom. The contrary of all this was the truth. The French, who could only ſupport the Pretender, were unwilling to plunge into thoſe diſaſters from which they had been lately extricated by a ſpecies of miracle. Lewis the Fourteenth, never hearty in the cauſe of the excluded Stuarts, was now more averſe than ever from giving them any effectual ſupport. His ambition and his love of glory had vaniſhed with his power. He felt the decline of years. Though ſtill eager to live, he foreſaw his own approaching death. The

[z] April 8, 1714.

[a] Journals, April 8.

proſpect

CHAP. X. 1714.

proſpect of French affairs was gloomy, beyond that period. He was to leave the ſcepter in the hands of a ſickly infant, under the tuition of an unprincipled relation, who, from the very miſfortunes of the late war, had perhaps extended his views to the crown. In this melancholy ſtate at home, Lewis thought of nothing leſs, than to kindle a war abroad, by aſſiſting the Pretender.

Obſervations on their conduct.

WERE then the fears of the Whigs an idle dream? Or aimed they only at the perſecution of an unfortunate woman, already driven to the verge of the grave by ſolicitude as well as diſeaſe? To ſave the honour of that party, the anſwer to theſe queſtions muſt be made at the expence of their underſtanding. Having firſt endeavoured to alarm the populace with the fears of Popery and the Pretender, they began at length to be the dupes of their own arts; and to believe ſeriouſly what they had ſo often averred. Their precipitate ſchemes had created the only dangers that now threatened the object of the act of ſettlement. Had the Queen been leſs timid, or the miniſter more violent, or even more regardleſs of his original principles, the firſt to preſerve her authority, and the latter to ſecure his power, and, perhaps, ultimately his life, might have entered into meaſures that would have proved fatal to the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hannover. The conduct of the Whigs was, throughout, more calculated to irritate than to intimidate, had the miniſtry carried into their councils that contradictory boldneſs and obſtinacy, which bad treatment invariably raiſes in the minds of the ſpirited and proud.

Their ſcheme to embarraſs the Queen.

THOUGH the Whigs, in a fit of deſpondence, had threatened to the court of Hannover to abandon their principles and to ſhift for themſelves, their ſucceſs in the late queſtions had animated them to further attempts againſt the Queen and her ſervants. They had propoſed to the Hannoverian reſident, in the beginning of

CHAP. X. 1714.

of the ſeſſion, to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as Duke of Cambridge. The reſident, without any direct orders from his court, communicated his deſign to the lord-treaſurer, who had uniformly made the moſt violent, yet the leaſt effectual, profeſſions of the zeal for the Proteſtant line. That miniſter plainly told him, that to bring over any of the family of Lunenburgh, would be to place her coffin before her Majeſty's eyes; and that thoſe who had any reſpect for her friendſhip, or hopes from her favour, ſhould never propoſe a thing ſo utterly diſagreeable to her mind [b]. The Elector himſelf was as much averſe from the meaſure as the Queen. He had uniformly refuſed his conſent to the ſending over the Electoral Prince, in the preceding year; and his refuſal was ſo peremptory, that the Whigs, and even his ſervants, made no ſcruple of aſcribing his conduct to a jealouſy of his own ſon [c].

A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince.

THOUGH the Elector had not probably changed his ſentiments, he yielded, in part, to the earneſt inſtances of the Whigs. He permitted Schutz, his envoy at London, to demand, in the name of the Electreſs, a writ for the Electoral Prince, as Duke of Cambridge. Schutz, whoſe eagerneſs had frequently extended his meaſures beyond the limits of his inſtructions, took the firſt opportunity for executing his commiſſion. On the twelfth of April, he waited upon the Lord-Chancellor Harcourt, and demanded the writ, in form. Startled at this unexpected requeſt, the chancellor declined to give any anſwer till he ſhould conſult the Queen. He haſtened to the palace. A cabinet-council was immediately called. The Queen exhibited, upon the occaſion, every ſymptom of violence and paſſion. She commanded the chancellor to write inſtantly to Schutz. She ordered him to ſignify, that, as ſhe had heard nothing of the matter from the court of Hannover, ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that their miniſter

[b] Hannover Papers, $\frac{9 \text{ March}}{26 \text{ Feb.}}$ 1714.

[c] Ibid. 1713. paſſim.

acted,

acted in the preſent caſe by their inſtructions [d]. This was the only anſwer the reſident could obtain to his demand. The exultations of the Whigs increaſed the reſentment of the Queen. She declared, in the moſt peremptory manner, that ſhe would rather ſuffer the laſt extremities, than permit any Prince of the Electoral family to come to Britain to reſide during her life. That ſhe conſidered the conduct of the reſident in the light of a perſonal affront. As a mark of her ultimate diſpleaſure, ſhe ſent the maſter of the ceremonies to forbid Schutz to appear any more at her court. She ordered that officer to declare, at the ſame time, to the envoy, that ſhe intended to ſolicit the Elector and Electreſs for his inſtant recall [e].

The lord-treaſurer's profeſſions.

THE lord-treaſurer, terrified at an incident that was likely to create an open rupture between the Queen and the preſumptive heirs of the crown, began to make freſh profeſſions of zeal to the latter. He aſſured them, that he was entirely and unalterably devoted to the intereſt of the houſe of Hannover. That this proceeded not only from the conſcience of his oaths, but out of a profound reſpect for their many virtues. That he might without vanity ſay, he had the chief hand in ſettling their ſucceſſion to the crown. That the Lady Maſham was for the Proteſtant line. That he was ſure the Queen was inclined to the ſame ſide. That nothing therefore could endanger the ſucceſſion, but the ſending over any of the Electoral family without her Majeſty's conſent [f]. He, however, altered his language in a few days. He declared, that he never thought matters would have been puſhed ſo far. That he was apprehenſive of his own ſpeedy diſgrace. That he was deſired to enter into the views of the Pretender; and that the Queen was more determined than ever to ſtrengthen the intereſt of her brother, and to ſecure for him the throne [g].

[d] Hannover-papers, April 24, N. S. 1714.
[e] Ibid. April 29.
[f] Ibid. April 25.
[g] Ibid. May 4.

CHAP. X.

1714. The Queen's anxiety.

IF Anne was before attached to the eventual ſucceſſion of the Pretender, the preſent incident was calculated to haſten her deſigns. She was alarmed, on the ſubject of the writ, to a degree that gave an unuſual animation and even vehemence to her conduct. She wrote to the Princeſs Sophia. She ſent letters to the Elector and the Electoral Prince. She expreſſed to each her ſurpriſe at the deſign of ſending the Prince to England. She, almoſt openly, threatened, that his coming to Britain might endanger, if not prevent, the ſucceſſion of his family to the throne. In this determined conduct, that timid Princeſs ſeems to have been chiefly ſupported by her own fears. She found, that the attachment of her ſubjects to her perſon declined with the ſtate of her health. That, though ſhe had many ſervants, ſhe was totally deſtitute of friends. That thoſe whom ſhe truſted the moſt were the leaſt likely to adhere to her cauſe. That a miniſter, who derived his claim to her favour from his pretending to ſupport her meaſures, was making terms for himſelf with her political enemies. That her authority, and even her very title, as ſovereign, would depend upon the moderation of her ſucceſſor; and that ſhe would be either forced to reſign her crown, or to exert its prerogatives, in ſubſerviency to a party whom ſhe both hated and feared [1].

The Elector's demands.

DURING the convulſions in Britain, the lord-treaſurer's couſin arrived at the court of Hannover. The Whigs, and eſpecially the Duke of Marlborough, had, by letters, raiſed prejudices in the mind of the Elector, with regard to the real object of Harley's embaſſy. His Highneſs received him with manifeſt coldneſs. He paid little attention to his profeſſions. He, however, ordered a memorial to be given to Harley, couched in the moſt decent terms. He informed the Queen, that he was ſenſible of her former favours; but that ſomething ſtill remained to be done.

[1] MSS. paſſim.

He

CHAP. X.

1714.

He repreſented to her Majeſty, that it was neceſſary to oblige the Pretender to retire to Italy. That his remaining in Lorrain was dangerous, as his Highneſs was well aſſured, that he meditated a deſcent in North-Britain. That, for the ſecurity of her royal perſon, her kingdoms, and the Proteſtant religion, it ſeemed neceſſary to ſettle in Britain ſome Prince of the Electoral family, who might be attentive to ſuch important concerns. That he took the liberty to renew his inſtances for a penſion and eſtabliſhment for the Electreſs, as the neareſt heir to the crown; and that he hoped her Majeſty would grant the titles belonging to the Princes of the blood to ſuch ſons of the houſe of Hannover as were not already raiſed to dignities [k].

Intrigues of Oxford.

THOUGH the lord-treaſurer had the misfortune to procure no credit to his profeſſions, he continued to make advances to the court of Hannover. To retain the confidence of the Queen, he was forced to declare publickly againſt the coming of the Electoral Prince. But he, at the ſame time, inſinuated to the Hannoverian agents, that he would not be ſorry to ſee the Prince arrived in Britain. He took, however, advantage of the preſent terrors of the Queen, to recover the influence he had loſt. He aſſured her, that it was the violence of Bolingbroke that induced the Elector to demand the writ [l]. He pretended to have gained, with promiſes of advantage, the Lady Maſham. His emiſſaries privately accuſed Bolingbroke and Harcourt of a fixed deſign for eſtabliſhing the Pretender on the throne [m]. He even boaſted to his friends, that he would ſoon compel both his antagoniſts to reſign. But, notwithſtanding theſe pretences, he found that his credit with the Queen was greatly upon the decline. He, therefore, entered into ſecret negociations with the Whigs. He expreſſed his fears for the ſucceſſion. He repreſented their own

[k] Hannover-papers, May 7, 1714. [l] Ibid. May 8. [m] Ibid. May 18.

CHAP. X. 1714.

apparent danger. They accepted his offers, promiſed to forget the paſt, and to maintain for the future his authority [n].

Affairs in parliament.

DURING this ſuſpicious, rather than buſy ſeſſion of parliament, the two houſes paſſed two bills of conſiderable importance [o]. The firſt limited to a certain number the officers, civil and military, that ſhould be capable of becoming members of the houſe of commons. The ſecond was calculated to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, in a manner deemed extremely ſevere, by the Diſſenters. This laſt bill furniſhed an ample field of conteſt for the two contending factions. It was ſaid to have been introduced by Bolingbroke to haraſs Oxford, who favoured the Diſſenters; and to gain to himſelf the ſupport and affection of the high-church party. In matters of religion, men are frequently as inconſiſtent with themſelves, as in politics. The leaders of the miniſtry, who ſupported the bill with all their own eloquence, as well as with the weight of government, were themſelves bred Diſſenters. The Earl of Nottingham, deemed inviolably attached to the church of England, forgot his religious principles in his political reſentment. Though he had made the bill againſt occaſional conformity the price of his joining the Whigs, he oppoſed with vehemence the preſent bill [p]. The lord-treaſurer himſelf retired, without voting upon the queſtion. This conduct was, at the time, aſcribed to his religious principles. But it is now known, that it proceeded from his ſecret coalition with the Whigs [q].

Situation and views of the Pretender.

WHILE the courts of Great Britain and Hannover, the two houſes of parliament, and the whole Britiſh nation, were diſtracted with hopes and fears about the ſucceſſion, the Pretender lived, in a ſtate of anxious obſcurity, in Lorrain. Foreigners, judging from the fears of the friends of the houſe of Hannover, formed

[n] Hannover-papers, May 26, 1714.
[o] Journals.
[p] Publications of the Times.
[q] Hannover-papers, May, 1714.

no

CHAP. X. 1714.

no doubt of his ſpeedy reſtoration to the throne. They concluded, that his ſiſter was heartily in his intereſt: That her ſervants were forming effectual ſchemes for ſecuring his ſucceſſion to the crown. The Duke of Lorrain, gained by the ſoftneſs of his manners, touched with his misfortunes, or forming hopes upon his future proſpects, entered heartily into his cauſe. Perceiving the indifference of France, he endeavoured to gain the Imperial court to the intereſt of his gueſt. He even directed his envoy at the court of Vienna to aſk for him in marriage one of the daughters of the Emperor Joſeph. Charles the Sixth was ſo little offended at this requeſt, that the only objection he made was the diſparity in their age. The arch-dutcheſs was but twelve years old; but the Pretender was in his ſix and twentieth year. The Emperor recommended his own ſiſter, as a more ſuitable match. He, however, prudently obſerved, that the times were too critical to come to a determination on this head. But that, when an occaſion ſhould offer, he was much diſpoſed to give to the Chevalier de St. George ſolid marks of his eſteem and regard[r].

A proclamation againſt him, offering a reward.

MANY zealots in Britain maintained, in the mean time, a correſpondence with the Pretender and his ſervants. The miniſtry continued to admit his agents into their converſation, to ſerve or ruin his cauſe, as might beſt ſuit with their own intereſt. But, amidſt inſinuations of attachment, and, perhaps, profeſſions of zeal, they were betrayed into a meaſure, which might convince him, that his hopes from their favour were ill-founded. An information having been obtained, by the vigilance of the Earl of Wharton, againſt ſome Iriſh officers, who inliſted men for the Pretender, they were ſeized by a warrant from the Queen's Bench. The people were alarmed. The Whigs added artfully to their fears. The adherents of the miniſtry were terrified. The lord-treaſurer now, in concert with the Whigs, had wrought

[r] Stuart-papers, Feb. 22, 1714.

ſo

CHAP. X. 1714.

ſo much upon the natural timidity of the Duke of Shrewſbury, that he joined him in an important meaſure upon the preſent occaſion [s]. The diſcovery made by Wharton having fallen under the deliberation of the cabinet-council, it was carried by a majority of votes, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued againſt the Pretender. Shrewſbury deſerted his principles of Jacobitiſm, and his political friend Bolingbroke, upon this point [t]. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued, on the twenty-third of June, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The two houſes voted an addreſs of thanks to the Queen; and the commons, in their zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, extended the reward to one hundred thouſand pounds [u].

The Queen endeavours to ſoothe the Elector.

THE conduct of the Queen, upon the preſent occaſion, ſeemed inconſiſtent with her ſuſpected attachment to the intereſt of the Pretender. But her fears from the family of Lunenburgh had ſuſpended her affection for her own. Her object was to ſooth the Elector, to agree to her requeſt of keeping the Prince at home. She had taken early precautions for this purpoſe. Soon after the writ was demanded, ſhe appointed the Lord Paget her ambaſſador to the court of Hannover. But his Lordſhip having declined that ſervice, ſhe conferred that character on her own couſin, the Earl of Clarendon. The Elector, on his part, ordered the Baron de Bothmar to repair to London, to ſupply the place of Schutz, who, upon being forbid the court, had left the kingdom. Bothmar endeavoured to defeat the object of Clarendon's embaſſy, by raiſing prejudices againſt that nobleman in the mind of the Elector. He informed his court, that Clarendon was a ſelfiſh and preſumptuous fool [x]. That, when he was governor of an American province,

[s] MSS. 1714.

[t] Hannover-papers, $\frac{25^{th}\text{ June,}}{6^{th}\text{ July,}}$ 1714.

[u] Journals, June 24, 1714.

[x] Hannover-papers, June 16, 1714.

he

he dreſſed himſelf as a woman, the better to repreſent the Queen's perſon. That this fool, to uſe Bothmar's words, was appointed without the treaſurer's knowledge. That Bolingbroke had acquired the ſuperiority; and that Oxford had made, through Kreyenberg the reſident, the moſt ſervile advances to Bothmar himſelf: "A ſure ſign," ſays he, "of his approaching fall [y]."

Death of the Princeſs Sophia.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Electreſs Sophia died ſuddenly at Hannover, in the eighty-fourth year of her age [z]. She retained her faculties to the laſt. But there is reaſon to believe, that, had ſhe even ſurvived Queen Anne, ſhe would not mount the throne. She was a Princeſs poſſeſſed of great prudence, good ſenſe, lively parts, and a conſiderable degree of knowledge, with an affability of diſpoſition that rendered her much beloved. Though ſhe was the only perſon mentioned by name in the act of ſettlement, her great age had prevented her from being the principal object of attention. The Elector, without conſulting her, ſeems to have inſtructed his envoys in her name; and the parties in Britain, who ſtrove to pay their court to the family of Lunenburgh, had, for ſeveral years, much neglected the Princeſs. Her demiſe, as it was not unexpected, was regarded as a common occurrence. Scarce any mention is made of that event in the papers of the Hannoverian agents in Britain, except where it is announced in form to the Queen. Her death, therefore, could produce no change on the preſent ſtate of affairs.

State of the miniſtry.

BUT though the Elector was now one ſtep nearer the throne, his efforts to ſecure the ſucceſſion were far from keeping pace with the ſanguine hopes of his friends. He made no preparations for ſending the Electoral Prince to Britain. To gratify the Whigs, to put an end to the teaſing entreaties of his ſervants, and, perhaps, even to terrify Queen Anne, he had given per-

[y] Hannover-papers, June 16, 1714.

[z] May 28, O. S.

miſſion

CHAP. X. 1714.

miſſion for demanding the writ. But there is no reaſon to believe, that he altered his firſt ſentiments on that ſubject, or that he ever ſeriouſly deſigned to permit his ſon to depart from his dominions. This conduct would have thrown back the Whigs into their former deſpondence, had not their hopes of power been, from time to time, revived by the diſſenſions in the cabinet. The common ſafety of the two candidates for the Queen's favour had hitherto preſerved a kind of union in their public counſels. The meaſures of the crown, though languidly ſupported, were carried forward with a degree of unanimity. The jealouſy of the Tories, except in a few queſtions, on which ſome of their leaders joined the Whigs, from motives of private intereſt or reſentment, had cemented them together, in a manner not to be disjoined by the ſquabbles between Oxford and Bolingbroke. But as the quarrels of theſe men were likely ſoon to accompliſh the fall of the one or the other, the Whigs looked forward to the confuſion expected from that event. They watched with eagerneſs the cabals of the two rivals; and hoped, through the diſſenſions of their political enemies, to reſume the reins that had been ſtruck from their own hands.

Parliament prorogued.

THE ſupplies being granted, and the public buſineſs, in ſome meaſure, finiſhed, the Queen came in perſon to the houſe of lords, on the ninth of July. In her ſpeech from the throne, ſhe made no mention either of the houſe of Hannover, or of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Her fears from the coming of the Electoral Prince were diſſipated. But her reſentment was not yet abated. She told the two houſes, that her chief concern was to preſerve the liberty and the religion of her ſubjects, and to ſecure the preſent and future tranquillity of the kingdom. That, to attain theſe deſirable ends, her parliament ought to ſhew the ſame regard for the juſt prerogatives of the crown, and for the honour of government, as ſhe had always expreſſed for the rights of her people.

people [a]. Having finiſhed this ſpeech, ſhe ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament to the tenth of Auguſt. Men, who aſcribed to ſome deſign all the meaſures of Anne, put various conſtructions on a prorogation which was not ſo ſuddenly expected. Thoſe, who argued with moſt deciſiveneſs on this ſubject, attibuted the meaſure to the manifeſt decline in the health of the Queen. They affirmed, that a dropſy, under which ſhe laboured, increaſed from day to day: That the miniſtry had their reaſons for wiſhing that parliament might not be ſitting at her death. Beſides, that their projected ſchemes now demanded all their time and their care [b].

Open rupture among the miniſtry.

In reaſoning in this manner, mankind muſt have ſuppoſed, that the miniſtry were united, by the ſame principles and the ſame views. Nothing, however, could be more contrary to truth, than this ſuppoſition. The chief ſervants of the crown were divided between two irreconcilable rivals; men obſtinately reſolved on each other's deſtruction. During the ſitting of parliament, the animoſities between Oxford and Bolingbroke were, in ſome degree, reſtrained by their common fears. Their mutual friends eſtabliſhed, from time to time, a temporary reconciliation between thoſe rivals for power. But, when the parliament was prorogued, they obſerved neither moderation nor common decency in their conteſts. The firſt could bear no equal in the Queen's favour. The latter was reſolved to yield no longer to a ſuperior. They deſcended into altercation, perſonal reflection, and mutual accuſation. The lord-treaſurer made no ſcruple to declare, that he could produce evidence that Bolingbroke was a determined Jacobite. Bolingbroke, on his part, openly affirmed, he had proofs in his hands, that Oxford was in the intereſt of the Pretender. Though the allegations of neither ſeem to have been well founded, they had both the misfortune to be believed [c].

[a] Journals, July 9, 1714. [b] Hannover-papers, July 1714. [c] Ibid. 1714.

CHAP. X.

1714.

Immediate cauſe of their quarrel.

THOUGH the difference in their characters, and a perpetual ſtruggle for power, had rendered the treaſurer and ſecretary irreconcilable enemies, a late incident in parliament was the obvious cauſe of their preſent fury. A few days [d] before the prorogation, the lords took under conſideration the trade to Spain and the Weſt-Indies, as lately ſettled by the treaty concluded at Madrid. This examination was ſuggeſted by the lord-treaſurer, now ſecretly in the intereſt of the Whigs, to procure the fall of Bolingbroke. The Queen had reſerved for herſelf the fourth part of the aſſiento or contract for negroes. This ſhare was privately divided into ſixteen parts. Five were deſigned for the lord-treaſurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for Lady Maſham, and two for one Arthur Moore, the agent of the junto in this affair [e]. The Earl of Oxford, perceiving the dangerous ſtate of the Queen's health, ſacrificed an uncertain intereſt for certain revenge. In the courſe of the examination, he made himſelf a party againſt his aſſociates in ſpoil. He joined thoſe lords who inſiſted to hear the Spaniſh merchants againſt the treaty [f]. He encouraged an addreſs to the Queen, requeſting her Majeſty to apply to the uſe of the public her part of the profits of the aſſiento contract. Bolingbroke dictated an anſwer, that gave great offence to the lords. Neither he nor the Lady Maſham could forgive the treaſurer for a meaſure, which, in hurting their intereſt, had deeply wounded their pride.

Concert between

THIS incident haſtened the fall of the treaſurer. But it was far from being the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace. Though Bolingbroke had failed in his project of bringing Marlborough into office, in the preceding winter, he never loſt ſight of that object. During the whole ſeſſion, he is ſaid to have held a correſpondence with the Duke, whoſe only objection to the preſent men and meaſures was an irreconcilable averſion to the Earl of Oxford.

[d] July 2. [e] Hannover-papers, July 24, 1714. [f] Ibid.

That

That miniſter, by his ſuggeſting no difficulties in any meaſure, was a ſervant calculated to pleaſe a weak ſovereign, that was always haunted by political fears. He had, therefore, obtained a dominion over the Queen, which neither the arts of Bolingbroke nor the influence of Lady Maſham could remove. The demand of the writ, made by the envoy of the houſe of Hannover, was one of thoſe few incidents that had raiſed any appearance of ſpirit in the mind of Anne. Bolingbroke had the addreſs to perſuade her, that this meaſure was privately promoted by the Earl of Oxford. His cabals with the Whigs, his vehement profeſſions to the Electoral family, his myſterious conduct, which ſhe had now, for the firſt time, remarked, confirmed the inſinuations of Bolingbroke. She, therefore, reſolved to diſmiſs a ſervant, whom ſhe could no longer conſider in the light of a friend [g].

CHAP. X. 1714.

Bolingbroke and Marlborough.

BOLINGBROKE, on the other hand, humoured the Queen in all her prejudices. He ſuggeſted to her, that to pay any attention for the future to the houſe of Hannover, was incompatible with her ſervice [h]. Her reſentment had placed her in the ſcale of the Pretender, as far as ſhe was permitted by her own timidity and jealouſy. The principal object of Bolingbroke was to perpetuate his influence; that of Marlborough to regain his former power. The firſt knew that he could not ſupport himſelf alone, after the removal of the lord-treaſurer. The latter had no objection to his entering into any meaſures, ſhould that miniſter be removed from the cabinet. The views of both were turned to their own intereſt. Should the Queen live and continue her favour for the Pretender, they would probably have paved his way to the throne. Should ſhe happen to die, before matters were ripe, the Duke had eſtabliſhed an intereſt with the family of Hannover, that might preſerve his friend. Though no deciſive proofs of their intrigues can be now produced, a probable

[g] MSS. paſſim.

[h] Hannover-papers, July 20, 1714.

CHAP. X. 1714.

conjecture may be made. They deſigned, perhaps, to ſerve the Pretender, by the means of Sweden. The ambaſſador of that kingdom made no ſecret of his expecting REAL aſſiſtance, through the means of Bolingbroke, from the Britiſh court; and he openly expreſſed his wiſhes, that the Pretender were already arrived [i].

Their views.

THE Duke of Marlborough, aſſured of the projected diſgrace of Oxford, haſtened to Oſtend, to embark. But he was detained there for a fortnight by contrary winds. In this interval of ſuſpenſe, the difficulty which Bolingbroke found in forming the ſhow of a miniſtry, was the cauſe of the delay in the treaſurer's fall. His own object was to continue ſecretary of ſtate to command all the foreign correſpondence. He was, however, to diſmiſs Bromley, his colleague in office, and to place the ſeals in the hands of Sir William Wyndham. The treaſury was to have been put in commiſſion. The Earl of Angleſea was to have been at the head of the board [k]. But either ſome of theſe men declined the offices allotted for them, by Bolingbroke, or he himſelf became undeciſive, through the weight of his own power. He, however, reſolved to remove the Earl of Oxford, and to truſt the reſt to fortune. On the twenty-ſeventh of July, when the treaſurer came to court, he was deprived of his ſtaff. He was, however, permitted to fall gently from his high ſtation, being ſuffered to retain all his other offices [l].

Diſmiſſion and character

THE character of the Earl of Oxford has been deſcribed in all its ſingularities as the incidents aroſe. But the throwing into one view its moſt ſtriking features, may give a more complete portrait of the man. The talents beſtowed upon him by nature were neither extenſive nor obvious; and theſe ſeem to have been little improved by education, though he has been called a patron of learning and of learned men. His whole progreſs in literature

[i] Hannover-papers, July 31, 1714. [k] Ibid. July 20. [l] Ibid. 1714.

was

CHAP. X.

1714.

was confined to that ſlight knowledge of the dead languages, which men intended for public life generally bring from ſchool. He neither underſtood foreign languages, nor wrote, with any degree of elegance, his native tongue. In the diſpoſition of his mind he was reſerved, diſtruſtful, and cold. A lover of ſecreſy, to ſuch a degree, that he aſſumed its appearance in mere trifles; fond of importance, without any dignity of manner; ſo full of profeſſions, that he was always deemed inſincere. In his public meaſures he was rather tenacious of his purpoſe, than either firm or reſolute in his conduct: yet much more deciſive in the means of annoying his enemies, than in thoſe calculated to gratify his friends. With a facility of temper that could deny no requeſt, but with a defect of mind that could beſtow nothing with grace, he offended the diſappointed, and even loſt thoſe whom he ſerved. The diſpoſal of offices, which gives influence to other miniſters, was a real misfortune to the Earl of Oxford. He often promiſed the ſame place to five perſons at once; and created four enemies, without making the fifth his friend.

of the Earl of Oxford.

BUT if the Earl of Oxford was not remarkable for ſtriking virtues, he had the good fortune to be free from glaring vices. Though undeciſive in the great line of buſineſs, he was not ſubject to perſonal fear. Though thoroughly ambitious, he was a ſtranger to haughtineſs and pride. Though perſevering in his oppoſition to his enemies, he was not in his temper revengeful; and though he made no ſcruple to tempt the honeſty of others, with money, he himſelf cannot be accuſed, with juſtice, of the leaſt tincture of avarice. In his public meaſures he can never deſerve the character of a great miniſter. There was a narrowneſs of ſentiment, a vulgarity of policy, and even a meanneſs in his conduct, that frequently excited the contempt of his beſt friends. In his private intrigues for power, in his dexterous management of two parties, by whom he was equally hated,

CHAP. X. 1714.

hated, in his tempering the fury of the Jacobites, in his amuſing the vehemence of the Whigs, in his advancing the intereſts of the houſe of Hannover, when moſt diſtruſted by themſelves and their adherents, he ſhewed a conſiderable degree of addreſs and political knowledge. The nation owed to a defect in Oxford's mind, a greater benefit, than they could have derived from a miniſter of more ſplendid talents. Had he been poſſeſſed of the pride inſeparable from great parts, his reſentment for the ill uſage, which he experienced from the Whigs and the agents of the houſe of Hannover, might have induced him to defeat the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and bring about thoſe very evils of which he was unjuſtly accuſed.

Obſervations.

In a country where freedom prevails, extenſive talents are far from being the neareſt path to the poſſeſſion of power. Their prior condition muſt place mankind in the line of preferment; otherwiſe their abilities, inſtead of being employed by the ſtate, become, through want of uſe, a burden to themſelves. The moſt intelligent ſovereign, at the head of a popular government, is extremely circumſcribed in the choice of his ſervants. He muſt govern his people through the medium of perſons whom ſome accident, independent of themſelves, have fixed in a certain rank in the community. But, as the advantages which favour ambition, are enemies to the toil neceſſary for improving and enlarging the mind, men frequently come to the management of the concerns of a great kingdom, with abilities ſcarce ſufficient to regulate the affairs of a private family. Hence, and not from a want of talents in a nation, proceed the confined ſyſtems, the vulgar policy, the uniform undeciſiveneſs of public councils. A miniſter, inſtead of moving the whole machine of government, ſuffers himſelf to be carried forward by its inherent motion; and ſhould no accidents happen, the praiſe muſt be given to providence. Theſe obſervations may be applied, with a degree of juſtice, to the

Earl of Oxford; who carried into his public conduct, all the narrowneſs of his private character. CHAP. X. 1714.

THOUGH the Viſcount Bolingbroke had the addreſs to remove the lord-treaſurer, he was not able to ſeize the reins which he had ſtruck from his hands. Wild, viſionary, and vehement, in all his projects, he had not foreſeen difficulties, or he was found incapable to ſurmount them, when they came. During three days of anarchy and confuſion in the cabinet, the minds of men were agitated with the viciſſitudes of hopes and fear. The Queen herſelf, in a dangerous ſtate of health before, had increaſed the violence of her diſtemper, by the agitation of her ſpirits. Having aſſiſted at a council of her principal ſervants, in the night of the twenty-ninth of July, ſhe became perplexed, beyond meaſure, at their differences in opinion, and want of deciſion. The uſual diſcharge, from an impoſthumation in her leg, was ſtopped. The gouty matter, tranſlating itſelf to the brain, threw her into a dozing inſenſibility, in which ſhe expired, at Kenſington, on Sunday the firſt of Auguſt, about ſeven of the clock in the morning. In a tranſient interval of her lethargy, ſhe delivered the treaſurer's ſtaff to the Duke of Shrewſbury, who had been recommended to that high office by ſuch of the privy council as were aſſembled, upon the occaſion, at Kenſington.

Confuſion in the cabinet.

Aug. 1. Death of the Queen.

THUS died Anne Stuart, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, in the fiftieth year of her age and thirteenth of her reign. In her perſon ſhe was of a middle ſtature, and before ſhe bore children well-made. Her hair was dark, her complexion ſanguine, her features ſtrong but not irregular, her whole countenance more dignified than agreeable. In the accompliſhments of the mind, as a woman, ſhe was not deficient. She underſtood muſic: She loved painting: She had even ſome taſte for works of genius. She was always generous, ſometimes liberal, but never profuſe.

Her perſon and character.

Like

CHAP. X. 1714.

Like the reſt of her family, ſhe was good-natured, to a degree of weakneſs. Indolent in her diſpoſition, timid by nature, devoted to the company of her favourites, eaſily led. She poſſeſſed all the virtues of her father, except political courage. She was ſubject to all his weakneſſes except enthuſiaſm in religion. She was jealous of her authority, and ſullenly irreconcilable toward thoſe who treated either herſelf or her prerogative with diſreſpect. But, like him alſo, ſhe was much better qualified to diſcharge the duties of a private life, than to act the part of a ſovereign. As a friend, a mother, a wife, ſhe deſerved every praiſe. Her conduct, as a daughter, could ſcarcely be excuſed by a virtue much ſuperior to all theſe. Upon the whole, though her reign was crowded with great events, ſhe cannot, with any juſtice, be called a great Princeſs. Subject to terror, beyond the conſtitutional timidity of her ſex, ſhe was altogether incapable of deciſive councils; and nothing, but her irreſiſtible popularity could have ſupported her authority, amidſt the ferment of thoſe diſtracted times.

INDEX.

A.

ABHORRERS and petitioners, two political parties, when and how they commenced, i. 514. The former perſecuted by parliament, 329. See *Whig* and *Tory*.

Aghrim, battle of, in which the Iriſh and French are defeated, i. 693.

Aix-la-Chapelle, a treaty of peace concluded at, i. 108.

Albemarle, Duke of, i. 17. His behaviour in Scotland during the Commonwealth, 21. Commands the fleet, 82. Is beaten by the Dutch, 85. Succoured by Prince Rupert, ib. Defeats the Dutch, in the battle of four days, 87. Purſues them, and inſults their coaſts, ib. His death and character, 120.

——— Duke of, made captain of the guards, i. 304. Oppoſes the Duke of Monmouth at Bridport, 444.

Abbeville, Marquis of, ambaſſador to the States-General, i. 495. His character, ib. Betrays his maſter to the Prince of Orange, and the latter to the French King, 510.

Algier, peace with, i. 147.

Allemonde, admiral, commands the fleet, and bombards Copenhagen, ii. 185.

Allyboyne, a puiſne judge at the trial of the biſhops, i. 500.

Almanza, battle of, in which the Engliſh and Portugueze are routed by the French, ii. 367.

Almenara, battle of, ii. 44.

Alphonſo the Sixth, King of Portugal, i. 61. and ſee *Portugal*.

Amexial, battle of, i. 62.

Angus, Earl, killed in the battle of Steinkirk, ii. 18.

Anne, Princeſs, the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh comes to England to pay his addreſſes to her, i. 398. Married to Prince George of Denmark, 399. Flies from court under the conduct of the Biſhop of London, 531. Joins the Prince of Orange, 532. Writes a penitential letter to her father, 682. Is diſgraced and deprived of her guards by King William, ii. 7. Writes again to her father, aſks his forgiveneſs, and promiſes to join him whenever he ſhould land in England, ib. On the death of her ſiſter ſhe writes a letter of condolence to King William, 75. She is reconciled to him, ib. Begins to have hopes of the crown, 130. Aſks her father, by letter, whether ſhe ſhould accept of it in caſe of William's demiſe, ib. Succeeds to the crown, 227. Her firſt ſpeech to parliament, 229. Engages to ſupport the allies in the war againſt France, 230. Favours the Tories, 232. Declares war againſt France, 234. Raiſes her huſband, Prince George of Denmark, to the office of lord high admiral, 235. Diſſolves the parliament and calls another, 244. Makes a progreſs, ib. Settles an eventual penſion on the Prince of Denmark, 246. Confers titles, 252 Huy, Limbourg and Gueldres fall into the hands of her general, 272. Her fleet defeated in the Weſt Indies by the French, 275. Calls her parliament, 276. Obtains ample ſupplies, 277. Is viſited by the King of Spain, 279. Her arms are victorious at Blenheim, 296. Diſſolves the parliament, 320. Calls one, 330. Sends Lord Halifax with the bill of regency and the garter for the Electoral Prince, to the court of Hannover, 338. Succeſs of her arms at Ramillies, 342. Brabant, Lovain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Aloſt, Ghent, and Oudenarde, conquered by her arms, 343. Succeſs of her arms in Spain, 346. Unites England and Scotland into one kingdom by the name and deſignation of Great Britain, 360. Calls her parliament, 363. Settles a difference between the King of Sweden and the Emperor, 369. Calls the firſt parliament of Great Britain, 380. Diſmiſſes Harley, 386 Is threatened with an invaſion from France under the Pretender, 388. Diſſolves the parliament, 393. Her army defeats the French at Oudenarde, 395. And takes the city of Liſle, 396. Sardinia and Minorca reduced, 401. Her grief for the death of her huſband, 402. Calls a new parliament, 403. Extends the laws of treaſon to Scotland, 405. Paſſes an act of grace, 406. Urged by parliament to a ſecond marriage, 408. Rejects the propoſals of France for peace, 415. Tournay falls into the hands of her general, 421. Her arms are victorious at Malplacquet, 422. Mons taken, 424. Calls her parliament, 430. Douay, Bethune, St. Vincent, and Aire, conquered by her arms, 440. Diſmiſſes Sunderland, 453. The Emperor and the States uſe their good offices with her, in vain, for the declining credit of the Whigs,

453. Diſmiſſes the Whigs, and changes her miniſtry, 455. Calls a new parliament, 468. Obtains immenſe ſupplies, 472. Raiſes Harley to the peerage, by the double title of Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, 476. Receives a letter from the Pretender, 481. Is favourably diſpoſed toward him, 482. Is bent on the proſecution of the war, 485. Bouchain taken by her arms, 487. A memorial ſent to her from France, 491. Her demands, 492. Sends Strafford to the Hague to negociate a peace, 498. Meets her parliament, 506. Paſſes the bill of occaſional conformity, 509. Diſgraces Marlborough, 512. Makes a majority in the houſe of lords, 526. Prince Eugene of Savoy arrives in her court, 527. Is terrified at the deſigns of Prince Eugene and the Whigs, 534. Is anxious for peace, and why, 547. Her attachment to the eventual ſucceſſion of the Pretender, 548. Receives a letter from that prince, 550. Her eagerneſs for peace, 552. Lays the treaty of peace before the parliament, 554. The auxiliaries refuſe to obey her general, 561. Dunkirk delivered up to her by the French, 563. Creates Mr. Secretary St. John Viſcount Bolingbroke, and ſends him to the court of France to negociate a ſeparate peace, 567. Preſſes the French King to agree to terms of peace with the States, 570. Her ſecret views with regard to the Pretender, 572. Sends Shrewſbury her ambaſſador to France, 579. Concludes peace at Utrecht, 587. Is averſe from the intereſts of the houſe of Hannover, 593. Her ſpeech to her parliament, 595. Diſſolves it, 613. Her ſtate of mind, 620. Sends Mr. Harley to the court of Hannover, 626. Aſſembles her parliament, ib. Her ſpeech, 631. Refuſes the writ, as a peer of Great Britain, to the Electoral Prince of Hannover, 640. And forbids the Hannoverian reſident to appear again at her court, 641. Her anxiety, 642. Iſſues a proclamation againſt the Pretender, 645. Endeavours to ſooth the Elector, 646. Diſmiſſes Oxford, 653. Her death, 654. And character, 655.

Anneſly, ——, created Earl of Angleſey, i. 32.

Appin, Stuart of, joins the Viſcount Dundee in Lochaber, i. 616.

Apſley, Sir Allen, i. 301.

Argyle, Marquis, comes to London and is committed to the Tower, i. 23. Is condemned and executed, 24.

—— Earl, condemned, i. 361. But eſcapes from priſon, ib. Engages in a conſpiracy with Monmouth, Ruſſel, and others, 390. Undertakes an invaſion of Scotland, in concert with the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth, 441. Lands in that kingdom, ib. Is defeated, taken, and executed, 442.

——, Duke of, his character, ii. 601.

Arlington, Lord, in chief power, i. 103. His intrigues in the cabinet, 114. His character, 132. Is a member of the cabal, ib. Raiſed to the dignity of an Earl, by the ſame name, 156. Sent ambaſſador-extraordinary to treat with the States for peace, 165. Is lord chamberlain of the houſehold, 199. Is ſent to Holland to negociate a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of the Duke of York, 201.

Armſtrong, Captain, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 386. Executed, 412.

Arran, the Iriſh Earl, lord-deputy of Ireland, i. 416.

——, the Scotch Earl, attends King James to Rocheſter, i. 546. His motion to invite back the late King, 589. Is in the intereſt of the court of St. Germains, ii. 33.

Arundel of Wardour, Lord, accuſed in the popiſh plot, i. 259. Is a member of a ſecret popiſh cabinet, 465. Lord-privy ſeal, 480.

Aſhley-Cooper, Sir Anthony, created Lord Aſhley, i. 32. Made chancellor of the exchequer, 103. A member of the cabal, 134. His character, ib. Is created an earl, 156. See *Shafteſbury*.

Aſhton, ——, tried, condemned, and executed, i. 679.

Aſton, Lord, i. 288

Athlone, Earl, accuſed of poſſeſſing himſelf of Iriſh forfeitures, which ought to have fallen to the public, ii. 31.

Athlone, ſiege of, raiſed, i. 665. Taken, 692.

Athol, Marquis, i. 587.

——, Duke, enters into the views of the excluded family of Stuart, i. 374.

Aubigny, Lord, marries King Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, i. 45.

Auguſtus, King, is aided by the Czar, ii. 276.

Auverquerque, M. de. a Dutchman, made maſter of the horſe to King William, i. 577.

Axtel, ——, a regicide, condemned, i. 13.

Ayleſbury, Earl, attends King James to Rocheſter, i. 546.

——, men of, their caſe, ii. 316.

Ayliffe, ——, enters into the Rye-houſe plot, i. 370.

Ayres, Captain, his ſuppoſed treachery when the Duke of York eſcaped ſhipwreck near the Lemon and Ore, i. 274.

Ayſcough, admiral, Sir George, taken priſoner by the Dutch, i. 88.

B.

Bagſhaw, Mr. ſent from Magdalene-college with a petition to King James the Second, i. 485.

Baillie of Jerviſwood accuſed in the Rye-houſe plot by the Duke of Monmouth, i. 407. His trial, ſentence, and execution, 415.

Balfour, captain, prevents the Scotiſh dragoons from joining the Viſcount Dundee, i. 616.

Balmerino, Lord, his attachment to the excluded family of Stuart, ii. 308.
Barclay, Sir George, receives a commiſſion from the court of St. Germains for a general inſurrection in England, ii. 106.
Barebone, Praiſe God, accuſed in a plot, i. 40.
Barkſtead, a regicide, executed, i. 46.
Bavaria, Elector of, his progreſs, ii. 270. Routed by the allies at Blenheim, 296. His dominions fall into the hands of the Emperor, 298.
Bath, Earl, declares for the Prince of Orange, i. 532. His engagements to the court of St. Germains, ii. 25.
Bedford, Earl, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 387.
Bedloe, William, his hiſtory, i. 264. A new evidence in the Popiſh plot, ib. Accuſes the Queen, 266. His dexterous evidence againſt France, 274.
Bedingfield, Mr. confeſſor, to the Duke of York, accuſed in the Popiſh plot, i. 249. Feigned letters ſent to him, ib.
Belhaven, Lord, oppoſes the Union, ii. 355.
Bellaſis, Lord, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 259. Member of a Popiſh cabinet, 465. Is made firſt lord of the treaſury, 479.
Bembow, admiral, commands the fleet in the diſgraceful battle with the French near Carthagena, ii. 275.
Bennet, Sir Henry, made ſecretary of ſtate, i. 54. See Lord *Arlington*.
———, Robert, his conduct with regard to the Dutcheſs of Gordon's medal, ii. 505.
Bentinck, M. de, ſent by the Prince of Orange to the court of London to negociate for him a marriage with the Princeſs Mary, i. 225. Sent again to England to prevent the marriage of the Lady Anne with the Prince of Denmark, 410. Made groom of the ſtole and privy purſe to King William, 577. See *Portland*.
Bergen, affair of, i. 78.
Berkley, Lord, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, i. 171. Commands the fleet and bombards St. Maloes, ii. 89.
Berwick, Duke, attends King James in his flight to France, i. 547. And to Ireland, 623. Defeats the Engliſh and Portugueſe at Almanza, ii. 366.
Biddulph, Mr. attends King James to France, i. 547.
Biſhops petition King James againſt his declaration of indulgence, i. 497. Committed to the Tower, 498. Tried before the court of king's bench, 499. Acquitted, 500.
Blenheim, battle of, ii. 295. Its conſequences, 297.
Blood, Thomas, his crimes, i. 140. And pardon, 141.
Bohemia, Queen of, in England, i. 14.
Bolingbroke, Viſcount, ſent ambaſſador to the court of Verſailles to conclude a ſeparate peace, ii. 567. His intrigues in concert with Lady Maſham, 608. His intrigues in favour of Marlborough, 622. His intrigues againſt Oxford, 643. Quarrel with Oxford, 650. Concert between him and Marlborough, 651. His views, 652.
Bothmar, Baron de, the Hannoverian envoy, arrives in London, ii. 504. His ſchemes with Marlborough and the Whigs, 530.
Bothwell-bridge, rout at, i. 296.
Bouchain, town of, taken, ii. 487.
Bouffiers, Mareſchal de, taken priſoner by the Engliſh at Namur, ii. 87.
Boyne, battle of, i. 659.
Boyle, Mr. ſlain in the firſt Dutch war on board the Duke of York's ſhip, i. 75.
Bredalbin, Earl, correſponds with the late King, ii. 33. His engagements with the court of St. Germains, 308.
Bradſhaw, ſerjeant, a regicide, attainted though dead, i. 46.
Brandon, Lord, attends the Duke of Monmouth in his diſgrace, i. 303. Monmouth accuſes him in the Popiſh plot, 407. Is pardoned, 461.
Bridgman, Sir Orlando, lord keeper, i. 103. Reſigns, 168.
Briſtol, Earl, his charge of treaſon againſt Clarendon, i. 58. Propoſes a journey to Italy to find a new wife for the King, i. 116.
Bromley, William, choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ii. 468.
Brounker, ———, his remarkable behaviour on board the Duke of York's ſhip in the firſt Dutch war, i. 76. For which he is expelled the houſe of commons, 77.
Brunſwick Zell, Duke of, defeats the French, i. 205. Marries his daughter to the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, 400.
Buckingham, Villiers Duke of, choſen head of the faction in parliament, i. 91. His inſinuations againſt Clarendon, 103. His intrigues againſt the Duke of Ormond, 114. His violent ſchemes againſt the Duke of York, 117. His character, 132. A member of the cabal, ib. Choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, 147. Is ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with the States for peace, 165. Superſeded by the King in the chancellorſhip of Cambridge, 199. Sent to the Tower for moving in the houſe of lords that the parliament was legally diſſolved by a receſs of fifteen months, 217. His oppoſition in parliament, 232. His attempt to get into the magiſtracy of London, 334.
———, Sheffield, Duke of, his correſpondence with the Elector of Hannover, and with the court of St. Germains, ii. 466. Endeavours to lay the deſigns of the Whigs and Prince Eugene before the parliament, 534. But is diſappointed by Oxford, 535.

Burnet, Doctor, i. 117.
Buys, M. de, the Dutch envoy, his intrigues, ii. 409.
Byng, admiral, Sir George, engages the French fleet in a running fight, ii. 389.

C.

Cabal, character of, i. 131. Their councils, 136.
Caermarthen, Marquis, his attachment to the late King, ii. 5. Engages to deliver Hull to him as ſoon as he ſhould land in England, 52. Created Duke of Leeds, 65. See *Leeds*.
Cadogan, general, his corrupt practices, ii. 398.
Cambridge, Univerſity of, an attempt to introduce Papiſts into it, i. 484.
Canailles, the Marquis de, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, his violent memorial to the lords of the regency, ii. 167. For which he is ordered to depart the kingdom, 168.
Canne, Sir Robert, expelled the houſe of commons for declaring that there was no Popiſh plot, i. 325.
Cannon, colonel, joins the Viſcount Dundee with a reinforcement of troops from Ireland, i. 618. Succeeds him in the command of King James's army, 620.
Capel, Sir Henry, admitted into the privy council, i. 284. Reſigns, 312.
——, lord, made lord-deputy of Ireland, ii. 93. Dies, 119.
Cardonnel, Adam, accuſed of peculations with regard to the army-contracts in Flanders, ii. 512. Expelled the houſe of commons, ib.
Carliſle, Earl, propoſes to the King to own the legitimacy of Monmouth, i. 116. Is made firſt lord of the treaſury, ii. 219.
Caſtlemain, Earl of, accuſed by Dangerfield of a deſign to aſſaſſinate the King and to murder the Earl of Shafteſbury, i. 308. Member of a Popiſh cabinet, 465. Sent ambaſſador from King James to the court of Rome, 466.
——, Counteſs, her intrigues againſt Clarendon, i. 52.
Catherine, of Portugal, arrives in England, i. 44. And is married to King Charles the Second, 45. Accuſed by Otes and Bedloe in the Popiſh plot, 266.
Catinat, Mareſchal de, defeats the Duke of Savoy at Straffarda, i. 674.
Cavendiſh, Lord, preſents the Duke of York to the grand jury of Middleſex as a Popiſh Recuſant, i. 317.
Cellier, Mrs. her connexion with Dangerfield, i. 307.
Charles II. King of England, proclaimed at London, i. 1. Enters that city, ib. His character, 3. Chuſes his miniſters, 4. Paſſes an act of indemnity, 6. Confirms judicial proceedings, 7. Gets the parliament to ſettle a revenue for his life, 8. Confers honours on ſeveral, 10. Reſtores prelacy, 13. Diſſolves the parliament, 14. Appoints a conference of divines at the Savoy, 19. His miniſtry in Scotland, 22. Calls a parliament there, ib. Settles the affairs of Ireland, 28. His coronation, 32. Calls a new parliament, 37. His neceſſities and want of money, ib. Paſſes the corporation-act, 39. And the act of uniformity, 41. Marries the Infanta of Portugal, 45. Sells Dunkirk to the French, 50. Is diſturbed by quarrels in his court, 53. To favour the Preſbyterians he diſpenſes with the act of uniformity, 55. An addreſs preſented to him againſt Papiſts, 56. To which he gives a moſt gracious anſwer, ib. Makes a progreſs, 59. Is addreſſed by parliament to make war on the States, 67. Seizes Cape Verde and New York, Dutch colonies, 70. Prepares for war, 72. Borrows money from the city of London, ib. Aſſembles his parliament 73. Declares war againſt the States, ib. His fleet under the Duke of York defeats the Dutch, 75. His unſucceſsful negociations with France and Spain, 79. Is joined by the Biſhop of Munſter, 80. On bad terms with France and Denmark, 81. Declares war againſt France, 82. Defeats the Dutch in the battle of four days, 86. His activity in extinguiſhing the fire of London, 89. Calls his parliament, 90. Lays up the fleet, 92. Is inſulted by the Dutch, 94. Concludes a peace with France, Denmark, and the States, 96. Diſmiſſes Clarendon, 100. His new miniſtry, 103. Concludes the triple alliance with the States at Breda, 107. Induces Spain to accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 108. Makes peace between Spain and Portugal, 109. Calls his parliament, 112. His diſſipated and lewd life, 113. Buckingham propoſes to him to divorce the Queen, 116. Paſſes an act againſt conventicles, 118. Changes his meaſures, 121. His ſecret negociations with France, 123. Is ſaid to have declared himſelf of the Catholic faith, ib. Concludes a money-treaty with Lewis XIV, 125. Meets his ſiſter the Dutcheſs of Orleans at Dover, 126. who prevails with him to declare war againſt the States, ib. Conditions between him and the French King, 127. Calls his parliament, 137. Is viſited by the Prince of Orange, 139. Pardons Blood, 141. Makes peace with Algier, 147. Breaks with the Dutch, 148. His imperious conduct to his miniſters, and particularly to Buckingham, 149. His neceſſities, 150. Induce him to ſhut up the exchequer, 151. Attacks the Dutch Smyrna fleet, 154. Declares war againſt the States, ib. Iſſues a declaration of indulgence, 155. Confers honours on ſeveral, 154. Beats

the Dutch at Southwold-bay, 160. Refuſes their ambaſſadors a hearing, 166. Sends ambaſſadors to Holland to propoſe terms of peace, ib. Makes promotions, 168. Aſſembles his parliament, 173. Recalls his declaration of indulgence, 175. Is urged by Shafteſbury to own the legitimacy of Monmouth, 178. Which he abſolutely refuſes, ib. Aſſembles his parliament, 186. Diſmiſſes Shafteſbury, 189. Makes peace with the Dutch, 194. Meditates in vain a peace between France and the States, 197. Changes his miniſtry, 199. Gains the city, 200. Receives its freedom, ib. His negociations with the Prince of Orange to make peace with France, 201. Enforces the laws againſt non-conformiſts, 202. Calls his parliament, 203. Enters into a new ſecret treaty with France, 208. Reprimands the commons in ſevere terms for encroaching on his prerogatives, 220. Adjourns them, ib. His views, 224. Receives the Prince of Orange with affection and eſteem, 225. And gives him his niece, the Princeſs Mary, in marriage, ib. Settles, in concert with the Prince, the plan of a general peace, 226. Requires the French King in two days either to accept or reject it, 227. His duplicity, 228. Concludes a treaty with Spain and the States, 229. Calls his parliament, ib. Is importuned by them to declare war againſt the French, 234. Enters into a money-treaty with France, 237. Concludes a general peace at Nimeguen, 240. Endeavours in vain, and why, to break the peace of Nimeguen, 242. Cauſe of his eagerneſs for war, 243. Is diſtreſſed by his ſubjects, 245. Is informed by Kirby of the Popiſh plot, 248. Which he diſbelieves, 249. Calls his parliament, 258. Diſſolves it, 277. Adviſes the Duke of York in vain to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, ib. Orders him to retire abroad, 278. Diſavows the legitimacy of Monmouth, ib. Makes ineffectual propoſals for a new treaty to the French King, 279. Calls a new parliament, ib. Rejects the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, 280. Pardons Danby, 282. Chuſes a new privy-council, 283. Paſſes the *habeas corpus* act, 288. Diſſolves the parliament, 290. Sends Monmouth to quaſh the inſurrection in Scotland, 296. Compliments him at his return with the title of Highneſs, 297. Falls ſick, 300. Diſgraces Monmouth, and orders him to quit the kingdom, 302. Refuſes to admit him into his preſence, 304. Aſſembles a new parliament, 312. Encourages the Whigs, 315. His policy, 320. Permits the Duke of York to go to Scotland, 322. Diſſolves the parliament, 338. Permits the Duke of York to negociate a ſecret treaty with France, 341. Calls a parliament to meet at Oxford, 344. Diſſolves it, 347. To vindicate his conduct he iſſues a declaration, 351. Which produces addreſſes from all quarters, 352. Reprimands the city, 353. Sends Mr. Hyde to Scotland to intreat the Duke of York to conform, 362. Enters into a new treaty with Lewis XIV, 364. Is preſented with a joint remonſtrance from Spain and the States to cloſe with his parliament, 365. Is viſited by the Prince of Orange, 366. His conference with him, ib. Paſſive obedience of his ſubjects, 370. By irregular means he poſſeſſes himſelf of the city, 376. Iſſues the writ of *quo warranto*, 382. A conſpiracy formed againſt his life, 385. Which is prevented by an accident, 391. Conſpirators ſeized and puniſhed, 393. Marries his niece, the Lady Anne, to Prince George of Denmark, 399. Iſſues a declaration concerning the Rye-houſe plot, 400. Appoints the city magiſtrates, 491. Pardons Monmouth upon his confeſſion, 407. But having retracted he forbids him the court, ib. Raiſes the Duke of York to the office of lord high-admiral, 412. Makes changes and promotions, 414. His ſituation at home and abroad, 418. His death, 420. And behaviour in his laſt moments, 421. His character, 423.

Charles II. King of Spain, ii. 125. See *Spain*.

Charleroi taken by the French, ii. 43.

Charnock, ———, his concern in a conſpiracy againſt the life of King William, ii. 106. Condemned and executed, 110.

Chatham, diſgrace at, i. 95.

Churchill, John, a domeſtick of the Duke of York, attends him from Bruſſels to London, i. 301. His meſſage to the King, 340. One of the few whom the Duke took along with him when he eſcaped ſhipwreck near the Lemon and Ore, 375. Created a Lord, and ſent by King James to the French court to announce the death of his brother, 431. Offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, 484. His ſuppoſed deſign to ſeize King James and to carry him to the Prince, 530. Joins the Prince of Orange, ib.

Clarendon, Earl, abets the Portugal match, i. 30. Briſtol's charge of treaſon againſt him, 58. His character, 98. His credit declines, 99. And why, ib. Reſigns the ſeals, 100. Is attacked by the commons, 101. Impeached, 102. Retires abroad, ib. Is baniſhed by act of parliament, ib.

———, Earl, offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, i. 484.

Clifford, Sir Thomas, his character, i. 132. One of the cabal, ib. Created a lord, 156. Lord-treaſurer, 169. Reſigns all his employments, 184.

Cochran, Sir John, an agent of the court of St. Germains in England, ii. 4.

———, Sir James, his concern in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390.

Coke, ———, committed to the Tower, for a ſpeech in the houſe of commons, i. 460.
Coleman, Mr. accuſed by Otes in the popiſh plot, i. 251. Is ſeized, *ib.* His letters, 252. Tried, condemned, and executed, 267.
College, ———, tried and condemned, i. 358.
Comprehenſion, ſcheme of, i. 145.
Condè, Prince of, defeats the Prince of Orange at Seneff, i. 198.
Convention of eſtates, aſſembled by the Prince of Orange, i. 556. Vote an addreſs of thanks to him, 558. The grand reſolve, 560. Debates in the houſe of lords, 561. A letter from King James rejected, 563. Conference between the houſes, 565. They declare the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen, 566. Their declaration of rights, 568. Converted into a parliament, 571.
Cooke, a regicide, tried and condemned, i. 12.
———, Sir Thomas, governor of the Eaſt-India company, makes a diſcovery to parliament of corrupt practices, ii. 81.
Copenhagen, city of, bombarded by the combined fleets of England, Holland, and Sweden, ii. 185.
Cornbury, Lord, the firſt who joined the Prince of Orange, i. 527.
Corniſh, ———, choſen ſheriff of Middleſex, i. 319. Tried and executed, 455. His blood reſtored by act of parliament, 613.
Corporation, act of, i. 39.
Corporations reſign their charters, i. 383.
Courtney, Sir William, enters into Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 388.
Coventry, Sir William, in office, i. 103. Diſmiſſed, 114.
———, Sir John, an aſſault on his perſon, i. 142.
———, Sir Henry, ſent ambaſſador to Sweden, i. 150. Is ſecretary of ſtate, 169.
——— act, i. 143.
Crawford, governor, undertakes to deliver the fort of Sheerneſs to the late King, ii. 52.

D.

Danby, Earl of, lord high-treaſurer, i. 200. Abetts the Popiſh plot, 257. His letters to Montague, 269. Is impeached, 270. His defence, 272. Pardoned, 282. Admitted to bail, 411. Offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, 484. Sends an invitation to him, 506. Declares for that Prince, 532. Favours the right of the Princeſs of Orange to the throne, 555. With Halifax, Shrewſbury, and ſome others, he is called to a converſation with the Prince, 564. See *Caermarthen*.
Dangerfield, ———, his hiſtory and plot, i. 307. Fined and pilloried, 432.
Dartmouth, Lord, commands the fleet, i. 524. Is prevented by contrary winds from fighting the Dutch, 525. Offers his ſervices to the late King, 681.
D'Avaux, Count, preſents a threatening memorial to the States, in the name of the French King, i. 511. Attends King James to Ireland, 601. His conduct toward that Prince, 628.
Davis, Mrs. a favourite of Charles II. i. 142.
Delamere, Lord, engages with Monmouth, Ruſſel, and others in a conſpiracy, i. 389. Is acquitted and pardoned, 461. Takes up arms for the Prince of Orange, 532. Is ſent with others by him, to deſire the King to leave London, 544.
Delaval, Admiral, Sir Ralph, commands the red ſquadron in the battle of la Hogue, ii. 13. One of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, 37. Commands the fleet, 46. Favours the views of the late King, 50. Is diſmiſſed, 65.
Denmark, Prince George of, marries the Lady Anne, daughter of the Duke of York, i. 399. Deſerts King James, and joins the Prince of Orange, 531. Is lord-high-admiral of England, ii. 235. An eventual penſion ſettled on him by his wife, now Queen Anne, 246. His death, 402. And character, ib.
———, Frederick III. King of, his treacherous behaviour in the affair of Bergen, i. 78. Enters into a treaty with the King of England, and with the Dutch, 79. Adheres to his engagements with the latter in the war againſt England, 81. Enters Sweden with an army, 209. But is defeated at Lunden, and forced to retire, ib. Chriſtian V. King of, 399. Dies, ii. 168. and is ſucceeded by his ſon, Frederick IV. ib. Who is forced into a treaty with Sweden, 185. Is defeated by the Swedes, 446.
De Ruyter, a Dutch admiral, takes all the Engliſh acquiſitions except Cape Corſe on the coaſt of Guinea, i. 71. Commands the Dutch fleet, 83. Fights Albemarle, 84. Beats him, ib. Surpriſes the Duke of York, 158. Engages him at Southwold-Bay, ib. And is defeated, 160. Engages Prince Rupert, 182. Retires before him, 183. Killed in battle with the French before Meſſina, 209.
Derry, ſiege of, i. 631. Raiſed, 634.
D'Eſte, Mary, a princeſs of Modena, married to the Duke of York, i. 186.
D'Eſtrées, a French admiral, i. 156.
Devonſhire, Earl, offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, i. 484. Sends an invitation to the Prince to come to England, 506. Declares for him, 532. Is ſuppoſed to favour the exc uded family, ii. 4.
———, Duke, his engagements with the court of St. Germains, ii 95.
———, Dutcheſs, an agent for the late King, ii. 95.
De Wit, penſionary, the States place a dictatorial power in his hands, i. 71. His cloſe engagements with

with the French King, 79. Lewis XIV. joins him in the war againſt England, 81. Gains Denmark by a ſubſidy, ib. Goes aboard the Dutch fleet, 83. Oppoſes in vain the Prince of Orange's election to the ſtadtholderſhip, 164. Is accuſed of a deſign to poiſon the Prince, 166. He is murdered, with his brother, at the Hague, 169. His character, ib.

Donawert, taken by the allies, ii. 294.

Don John, of Auſtria, commands with ſucceſs the Spaniſh army againſt Portugal, i. 62. Is routed by the Portugueſe and their auxiliaries, ib. Takes up arms againſt the Queen-regent of Spain, 222. Is declared prime miniſter of that kingdom, ib.

Douglas, Sir Joſeph, drowned near the Lemon and Ore, on his way with the Duke of York to Scotland, i. 375.

———, General, beſieges Athlone, i. 665. His cruel behaviour, ib.

Dover, conference at, i. 126.

——, Lord, a member of the Popiſh cabinet, i. 465. Is ſent from Ireland by King James, ambaſſador to the French court, 633.

Downing, Sir George, ambaſſador to the States-general, his vigilance in ſeizing Okey and Barkſtead, two regicides, 46.

Dugdale, a new evidence in the Popiſh plot, i. 288.

Dundee, Viſcount, attends King James to Rocheſter, i. 546. His ſpirited council to that Prince, ib. Secedes from the convention of Scotland, 592. Leaves Edinburgh at the head of fifty horſe, ib. Goes to Inverneſs, 615. Settles a difference between that town and Macdonald of Keppoch, ib. Retires to Lochaber, ib. Where he holds a general rendezvous of the chiefs of clans, 616. Many join him, ib. Takes the caſtle of Ruthven, ib. Goes again to Lochaber, 617. Marches againſt the enemy, 618. Meets them at Rinrory, ib. Defeats Mackay, 619. His death and character, 620.

Dunfermling, Earl, joins the Viſcount Dundee, i. 615.

Dunkirk, ſold to the French, i. 50. Delivered up to the Engliſh, ii. 563.

Dumbarton, Earl, attends King James to Rocheſter, i. 546.

Drumore, rout at, i. 599.

E.

Eaſt-India-company, their corrupt practices detected, i. 80. A new company eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, 146.

Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, court of, i. 471. They ſuſpend the biſhop of London, 472. And Dr. Sharp, ib. They deprive Dr. Hough, and ſuſpend the vice preſident of Magdalen-college, 486.

Errol, Earl of, his attachment to the excluded family, ii. 308. Promiſes them his ſervice, 374.

Eſcric, Lord Howard of, is acquitted, i. 369. Engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, 389. Is ſeized, 393. Is evidence againſt Ruſſel, 394. Againſt Sidney, 403. And againſt Hampden, 410.

Eſſex, Earl, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, i. 156. Is made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, 284. Reſigns, 310. But joins not the oppoſition, 311. Retires from the council, 339. Engages with Monmouth, Ruſſel, and others, in a conſpiracy, 387. Is ſeized, 393. Dies by his own hand in the Tower, 398.

Eugene, Prince of Savoy, is defeated by the French, ii. 45. Obtains a victory over the Turks at Zenta, 136. Defeats the French at Carpi, 210. And at Chiara, 211. His ſucceſs at Turin, 344. Lays ſiege to Toulon, in vain, 370. Takes Liſle, 396. Is one of the arbiters of Europe, 410. His character, 526. At the ſolicitation of the Whigs he comes to England, 527. His projects, in concert with Marlborough, 528. His violent propoſal, 531. His ſchemes diſappointed, ib. Is diſguſted with the Whigs, 532. Departs, 541.

Evertſon, a Dutch admiral, ſlain, i. 84.

———, another, commands the Dutch fleet, i. 669.

Exchequer, ſhut, i. 151.

Excluſion, bill of, i. 286.

F.

Falmouth, Earl, killed on board the Duke of York's ſhip in the firſt Dutch war, i. 75.

Fanſhaw, Sir Richard, ambaſſador to Spain, i. 79.

Farmer, Mr. recommended by mandate to the preſidentſhip of the college of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, i. 485. Rejected, ib.

Fauconberg, Lord, one of the council of thirty, i. 284. Carries a letter from Monmouth to the King, 304. Which he refuſes to open, ib.

Fenwick, Sir John, his caſe, ii. 121. He is attainted and executed, 122.

Ferguſon, ——, enters with Ruſſel and others into a conſpiracy, i. 389. Attends the Earl of Shafteſbury to Holland, ib. Flies, 393. Attends Monmouth in his expedition againſt England, 451. Is taken, but diſmiſſed without puniſhment, ib. Becomes an agent for the court of St. Germains, ii. 4. Intreats King James to invade England, 52. Diſcovers the Scotiſh plot, 286.

Ferria, Franciſco, an evidence in the Popiſh plot, i. 326.

Feverſham, Earl, ſent ambaſſador to the French court, to require Lewis XIV. in the ſpace of two days, either to accept or refuſe terms of peace, i. 227. Commands the Engliſh army, 446. Defeats Monmouth at Sedgmoor, 447. His cruelties to the inſurgents, 451. Carries a letter from King James to the Prince of Orange, 542. Who commits him priſoner to Windſor-caſtle, 543.

Fifth monarchy-men, their inſurrection, i. 17.
Finch, Sir Heneage, lord-high-chancellor of England, i. 189.
Fiſher, Captain, diſcovers a conſpiracy againſt the life of King William, ii. 107.
Fitz harris, his hiſtory, i. 341. His libel, 342. Its effects on the Duke of York, 343. Is condemned and executed, 355.
Fletcher, Andrew, of Salton, a Scotſman attends Monmouth in his expedition againſt England, i. 445. Leaves his camp, and why, ib. His character and hiſtory, ii. 267. Oppoſes the Union, 355.
Fleurus, battle of, in which the Dutch and Spaniards are defeated by the French, i. 673.
Foley, Mr. choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ii. 98.
Fourbin, M. de, a French admiral, carries the Pretender to the coaſt of Scotland, ii. 388. But refuſes to land him there, 389. And returns to Dunkirk, ib.
France, Lewis XIV. King of, forwards a marriage between Charles II. King of England, and a daughter of the King of Portugal, i. 31. Buys Dunkirk from the Engliſh for 400,000 pounds, 50. Falls on the dominions of the Duke of Lorrain, 63. Evades an alliance with the King of England, 80. Joins the Dutch in the war againſt that kingdom, 81. Concludes a treaty with Charles II. 96. His character, 105. His haughtineſs to other powers, 106. Concludes a treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, 108. Enters into ſecret negociations with the King of England, 123. Sends the Dutcheſs of Orleans to that kingdom to induce her brother to make war on the States, 125. Conditions of the treaty between the French King and Charles II. 127. Invades and conquers the dominions of the Duke of Lorrain, 137. Declares war againſt the Dutch, 154. Joins his fleet to that of England, 156. Progreſs of his armies into the territories of the States, 161. Reduces three provinces, 162. Recals them, ib. His fleet avoids to aid their allies the Engliſh, 182. Takes Maeſtricht, 183. Succeſs of his arms in Germany and Flanders, 198. An unſucceſsful campaign, 206. Enters into a new ſecret treaty with the King of England, 208. His fleet defeats the Dutch and ſuccours Meſſina, 209. Offers terms of peace to Spain and the States, 214. Takes Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, 218. And defeats the Prince of Orange at Caſſel, ib. His negociations for peace, 223. State of his finances, ib. Is required by the King of England, in the ſpace of two days, to accept or refuſe terms of peace, 227. His dexterous evaſion, ib. His armies take Ghent and Ypres, 237. Enters into a money-treaty with Charles the Second, 238. Concludes a ſeparate peace with the States, at Nimeguen, 240. Refuſes to pay to the King of England the ſubſidy ſtipulated for his neutrality, 243. Declines to enter into another treaty with that Prince, 279. Negociations renewed for that purpoſe through the Duke of York, 340. A new treaty is concluded, 364. His encroachments on the Spaniſh monarchy, ib. Refuſes his conſent to the principality of the houſe of Orange, 408. Demands Aloſt from the Spaniards, 417. Blockades Luxembourg, ib. It is ceded to him, 418. Makes peace with Spain at Ratiſbon, ib. Revokes the edict of Nantz, 461. Offers his aſſiſtance to King James againſt the Prince of Orange, 509. Preſents by his ambaſſador a threatening memorial to the States againſt the intended expedition of the Prince of Orange, 510. Receives James II. into his dominions, 547. Furniſhes that Prince with an army, and tranſports him to Ireland, 600. At war with England, 605. Defeats her fleet, 607. Takes Mentz, 640. His projects in favour of King James, 662. Defeats the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, 670. Defeats the confederates at Fleurus, 673. Succeſs of his arms in Germany, 674. Takes Mons, 684. Liſtens to a project of an invaſion of England under the late King, ii. 8. His preparations for that purpoſe, 9. His fleet is defeated by the Engliſh and Dutch off La Hogue, 12. Commands in perſon his army, 16. Takes Namur, 17. Returns to Verſailles, ib. His army defeats the Engliſh, under King William, at Steinkirk, 18. And again at Landen, 42. Takes Charleroi, 43. His army is defeated and Namur taken, 86. He furniſhes James with the means to invade England, 106. The exhauſted ſtate of his kingdom, 113. His intrigues and deſire of peace, 114. Gains the Duke of Savoy, 117. Concludes a peace with England and the Empire at Riſwick, 135. His negociations in Spain, 149. Propoſes a partition treaty to the King of England, 150. Concludes it, 156. Concludes another, 183. Accepts the will of the King of Spain in favour of the Duke of Anjou, 191. His army is defeated by Prince Eugene at Carpi, 210. And at Chiara, 211. Exhauſted ſtate of his dominions, 212. He declares the ſon of the late exiled King James II. King of Great Britain and Ireland, 215. At war with England and the Dutch, 234. A favourable campaign, 273. His army is defeated by the confederates at Blenheim, 296. But ſucceſsful in Italy, 299. Defeated at Ramillies, 342. And at Turin, 344. He offers terms of peace, 362. Which are rejected, ib. His diſtreſs, 365. His army under the Duke of Berwick defeats the Engliſh and Portugueſe at Almanza, 366. He prevents the deſigns of the allies at Toulon, 371. Threatens to invade England, 388. Sends a fleet with the Pretender to the coaſt of Scotland, ib. Which returns without effect, 389. His army takes Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges, 394. But is defeated at Oudenarde, 395. He offers peace, 409. But in vain,

vain, 412. His melancholy ſituation, ib. Offers extraordinary terms, 414. Which are rejected by the allies, 415. Refuſes to aid the Pretender, 418. His army is defeated at Malplacquet, 424. And Mons taken by the allies, ib. Takes the iſland of St. Thomas and Fort St. John, 427. He makes overtures for peace, 428. Offers preliminaries, 437. Douay, Bethune, St. Vincent, and Aire, loſt to the allies, 440. His army defeats them at Villa-vicioſa, 441. His condition and views, 488. His memorial to the court of England, 491. Sends Menager privately to London, 493. Death of the princes of, 543. His arguments concerning hereditary right, 545. Refuſes to deliver up Dunkirk, 562. Agrees however at the requeſt of the Queen of England, 563. And a ſuſpenſion of arms is declared, ib. Defeats the allies at Denain, 564. His rapid progreſs, 565.

Fraſer, Captain Simon, his character, ii. 281. His hiſtory and crimes, 282. Is pardoned, ib. Flies to France, 283. Returns, and engages himſelf with Queenſberry, 284. His conduct in Scotland, ib. Goes again to France, 285. Is thrown into the Baſtile, 286. His plot diſcovered by Ferguſon, ib.

G.

Galway, Earl, commands the Engliſh army in Portugal, with ſucceſs, ii. 346. Is totally defeated by the French at Almanza, 366.

Gaunt, Mrs. her trial, i. 455.

Gaultier, Abbé, a French ſpy in London, ii. 491.

Gavan, a Jeſuit, accuſed in the Popiſh plot, i. 251.

Germany, Leopold, Emperor of, joins the Dutch againſt France, i. 197. At peace with France, 418. Oppoſes the peace of Riſwick, ii. 124. And why, 125. Is at peace with the Porte, 164. His reſentment againſt France, 192. Joſeph, emperor of, in conjunction with the allies, obtains a victory over the French at Blenheim, 295. By which the dominions of the elector of Bavaria fall into his hands, ib. Defeats the French at Turin, 344. Dies, 384. Charles III. King of Spain, is choſen Emperor of, 487. Is encouraged by the Whigs in England to continue the war, 612.

Gertruydenberg, fruitleſs conferences for peace at, ii. 438.

Gibraltar, taken by the Engliſh, ii. 299.

Ginckle, Baron de, a Dutchman, left with Solmes in the command of the army in Ireland, i. 668. Takes Athlone, 692. Defeats the Iriſh at Aghrim, 693.

Glencairn, Earl, chancellor of Scotland, i. 22.

Glenco, Macdonald of, joins the Viſcount Dundee, i. 616.

——, maſſacre of, i. 704. And obſervations thereon, 705.

Glengary, Macdonald of, joins Dundee, 616.

Glouceſter, Henry, Duke of, i. 14. His character, ib.

——, William, Duke of, his death, ii. 189.

Godfrey, Sir Edmund-Bury, his extraordinary death, i. 253. Strikes a general panic into the nation, 254. His body is expoſed to public view, ib. And buried with a melancholy ſolemnity, 255. Reflections, ib.

Godolphin, Sidney, is gained to the views of the Prince of Orange, i. 311. Made ſecretary of ſtate, 413. Firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, ib. And ſoon after created a baron, by the ſame name, ib. Sent by King James to treat with the Prince of Orange, 533. Offers his ſervice to the late King, 680. One of his friends, ii. 5. His interview with Lloyd, the agent of the court of St. Germains, 63. Informs James of the deſign upon Breſt, 67. Is accuſed by Sir John Fenwick of correſponding with the excluded King, 121. Is made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, 194. Supplanted in his office, 219. Is lord-high-treaſurer of England, 232. His correſpondence with the late King, 233. His intrigues with the court of St. Germains, 303. Is intimidated, and joins the Whigs, 320. His ſecret conduct, 339. Is ſuſpected of a deſign to break the union, 377. An oppoſition formed againſt him, 379. His intrigues in favour of the Pretender, 417. His imprudent conduct, 449. His credit declines, 452. Is diſmiſſed, 455. His attachment to the excluded family, 461. And ſuppoſed project in favour of the Pretender, ib. His character, 463. His intrigues with Prince Eugene and the Whigs, 532.

Goodenough, ——, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390.

Gordon, Duke, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, i. 589. Declared a traitor, 590. Surrenders the caſtle upon honourable terms, 615. Favours the views of the Pretender, and promiſes him his ſervices, ii. 374.

——, Dutcheſs of, preſents the faculty of Advocates with a medal of the Pretender, ii. 505.

Gourville, M. de, i. 108.

Grafton, Duke of, joins the Prince of Orange, i. 530.

Graham, of Claverhouſe, his activity againſt the covenanters, i. 295. See *Dundee*.

Grandval, ——, the pretended aſſaſſin in a conſpiracy againſt the life of King William III, executed, ii. 18.

GREAT-BRITAIN, the united kingdoms of England and Scotland take that name, ii. 364.

Greenville, Sir Richard, his accuſation of Sir Edward Hyde, i. 101.

Green-ribbon-club, a factious ſociety, headed by the Earl of Shafteſbury, i. 308. Their project of burning the Pope and the Devil with remarkable ſolemnity, ib.

Greg, ——, tried, condemned, and executed, for betraying the deſigns of England to the French, ii. 358.
Gregory, Serjeant, i. 281.
Grenville, Colonel, engages to join the late King whenever he ſhould land in England, ii. 52.
Grey, Lord, preſents the Duke of York to the grand jury of Middleſex, as a Popiſh recuſant, i. 317. Engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, 387. Is taken, 393. But eſcapes from the meſſengers, ib. Attends Monmouth in his expedition againſt England, 445. His cowardly conduct, ib. He is, upon a full diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot, pardoned, 451.
Guildford, Lord, his ſentiments concerning the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, ii. 629.
Guiſcard, Marquis de, a Frenchman, his expedition to the coaſt of France, ii. 347. His hiſtory, 474. Betrays the Engliſh miniſtry to the court of France, 475. Is apprehended, and brought before the council, 476. Stabs the lord-treaſurer Harley, ib. Wounded by St. John, ib. He dies ſoon after in Newgate, ib.
Guthrie, a violent Scotiſh preacher, executed, i. 23.
Guy, ——, ſecretary of the treaſury, ſent to the Tower for receiving a bribe, ii. 78.
Gwin, Mrs. miſtreſs to Charles II. i. 142.
Gwynne, Sir Rowland, his letter, ii. 337.

H.

Habeas corpus act, paſſed, i. 287. Its nature, and how neceſſary, 288.
Hales, Sir Edward, his caſe, i. 467. How brought about, and for what purpoſe, by the King, ib. Decided in his favour, 468. He attends King James in his flight, 538.
Halifax, Lord, a privy-counſellor, i. 156. Is ambaſſador-extraordinary to treat with the States for peace, 165. One of the council of thirty, 284. Is made an earl, 310. Retires from the council, ib. His ſpeech againſt the excluſion bill, 326. His expedient, 327. A marquis, and preſident of the council, 428. Is ſent by King James to treat with the Prince of Orange, 533. Is ſent by the Prince to deſire King James to retire from London, 544. Favours the Prince's views on the throne, 554. Is choſen ſpeaker of the upper aſſembly of the convention, 556. Is called to a converſation with the Prince of Orange, 564.
———, Lord, ii. 194. Is impeached, 204. His intrigues and ſchemes with Prince Eugene, 531. Writes in the name of his party, the Whigs, to the Elector of Hannover, 468.
Hamilton, Duke, his oppoſition to the adminiſtration of Lauderdale, i. 212. Repairs to London, to lay the grievances of his Scotiſh ſubjects before the King, ib. Is choſen preſident of the convention in Scotland, 589. Is commiſſioner to a parliament there, 614.
———, another Duke of, proteſts againſt the ſitting of the Scotiſh parliament, ii. 237. His character, and a hiſtory of him, 258. His inſtructions from the court of St. Germains, ib. His conduct in parliament, 259. His intrigues with the exiled family, 308. Oppoſes the union with eloquence and ſpirit, 355. His patent, as a peer of Great Britain, rejected by the lords, 511. Is killed in a duel, 577.
———, Lord Baſil, comes to London to addreſs the King in Behalf of the Scotiſh adventurers, ii. 178. Is refuſed admittance, ib.
Hampden, ——, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 389. Is ſeized, 393. Fined, 410. And pardoned, 461. His fine remitted, ib. Is made chancellor of the exchequer, 651.
Hannover, Duke of, joins the King of England in the war againſt France, ii. 16. Is acknowledged Elector of, 441. Declines the command of the Imperial army on the Upper Rhine, ib. The Queen and her miniſters profeſs great zeal and attachment to him and his family, 467. He oppoſes the peace, 499. Is alarmed at the Scotiſh medal, 506. His projects, 572. His jealouſy of the Queen and her miniſtry, 584. Becomes indifferent about the ſucceſſion, 585. The Whigs demand money in vain from him, 610. Deſpondence of his ſervants, 625. Refuſes to gratify the Whigs, 633. A writ as a peer of great Britain, for the Prince, demanded, 640. The Elector's demands, 642.
———, Sophia, Dutcheſs of, named by the Lords in the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, i. 610. Electreſs of, ii. 200. The ſucceſſion ſettled on her and the heirs of her body, ib.
Harcourt, Sir Simon, reſigns his office of attorney-general, ii. 386 Is made lord high-chancellor, 465. Deſigns of the Whigs againſt his life, 533. His intrigues, 643.
Harley, Robert, choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ii. 195. Is made ſecretary of ſtate, 292. His influence with the Queen, 379. Oppoſes Godolphin, ib. His intrigues in concert with Mrs. Maſham, 384. Reſigns, 386. His intrigues, 429. His ſchemes for power, 449. Is made chancellor of the exchequer, 455. Makes ſervile profeſſions of attachment to the electoral family, 467. Is ſtabbed by the Marquis de Guiſcard, 476. Made Earl of Oxford and lord treaſurer, ib. See *Oxford*.
Hedges, Sir Charles, made ſecretary of ſtate, ii. 194. Diſmiſſed, 219.
Heinſius, penſionary, one of the arbiters of Europe, ii. 410.
Henrietta, Princeſs, comes to England, i. 14. Returns to France, 17.
Herbert, Admiral, goes to Holland, and joins the Prince of Orange in his expedition to England, i. 507.

i. 507. Commands the fleet againſt France, 607.
Hervey, Lady, a character of her by the Duke of York, i. 115.
Hewit, Sir George, his death-bed confeſſion, i. 530.
Hill, Colonel, ii. 450.
Holland, republic of, at variance with England, i. 70. And why, ib. They ſend Van Gough their ambaſſador to the court of London, 71. Place a dictatorial power in the hands of the Penſionary de Wit, ib. Their fleet under De Ruyter, takes the acquiſitions of England, on the coaſt of Guinea, without oppoſition, ib. At ſea under Opdam, 74. Engage the Engliſh fleet, and are defeated, 75. Their conſternation, 77. France and Denmark join them, 81. Their fleet, under De Ruyter, with De Wit himſelf on board, engage the Engliſh in the battle of four days, 83. Defeated, 86. They burn the Engliſh fleet at Chatham, and inſult the coaſt, 94. Conclude the triple alliance with England at Breda, 107. Their Smyrna fleet attacked by the Engliſh, 153. They are at war with England and France, 154. Their fleet under De Ruyter, ſurpriſes the Duke of York, 158. A battle enſues at Southwold-bay, ib. In which they are defeated, 159. Three of their provinces reduced by the French, 162. Their unprepared condition, ib. Raiſe the Prince of Orange to the ſtadtholderſhip, 165. Send deputies to England to treat about a peace, ib. A congreſs is held for that purpoſe at Utrecht, 166. They reject the propoſals of England and France, ib. The Penſionary De Wit and his brother are barbarouſly murdered by a mob at the Hague, 167. The war by ſea deciſive on no ſide, 182. By land, favourable for the States, 183. An ineffectual congreſs for the reſtoration of peace held at Cologne, 184. A peace with England, 194. Charles II. mediates a peace in vain between them and the French King, 197. They are joined by Spain and the Empire, ib. By land in ſome meaſure ſucceſsful, 206. Defeated at ſea by the French, and De Ruyter killed, 209. Their bad ſucceſs by land, 210. Their negociations for peace, 223. A treaty with England concluded, 229. They make a ſeparate treaty with France at Nimeguen, 240. Their army, notwithſtanding, under the Prince of Orange, fall, but with no ſucceſs, upon the French at St. Dennis, 242. Send a memorial to the King of England, requeſting him to prorogue his parliament, 338. Join with Spain in a remonſtrance to Charles II. againſt the diſſolution of his parliament, 365. The deputies of Amſterdam at variance with the Prince of Orange, 409. Inſolence of the States to the King of England, 495. Prepare for war, 508. They furniſh the Prince of Orange with a fleet and troops to invade England, 523. Their fleet defeated by the French, 670. And their army at Fleurus, 673. King William III. of England, their ſtadtholder, holds a conference at the Hague, 683. They engage to proſecute the war againſt France, ib. Agree to the firſt partition treaty, ii. 156. The Queen of England engages by letter to ſupport them in the war againſt France, 230. Hoſtilities commenced, 234. Take Keyſerwaert and Landau from the French, 240.
Hollis, Denzil, created a peer, i. 82. Sent ambaſſador to Paris, 79. And to Breda, 94.
Holmes, Sir Robert, ſent with a fleet to Cape Verde, i. 70. Attacks the Dutch Smyrna fleet, 154.
Hooke, Colonel, ſent by the French King to Scotland, ii. 352. His negociations, 375.
Horn, ———, of Weſthall, is appointed by the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh to thank the Dutcheſs of Gordon for her medal, ii. 505.
Hotham, Sir John, his concern in the Rye-houſe plot, i. 407.
Hume, Earl, favours the views of the court of St. Germains, i. 688. Seized and confined, ib.
Hunt, Colonel, his valour in the battle of Amexial, i. 62.
Huntingdon Earl, preſents the Duke of York for a Popiſh recuſant, i. 317. Is ſuſpected to favour the views of King James, ii. 11. Is ſent to the Tower, ib.
Hurſt, Major, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 407.
Hutton, Doctor, his correſpondence with the Elector of Hannover, ii. 467.
Hyde, Sir Edward, made lord-high-chancellor of England, i. 4. His character, ib. Is created Lord Hindon, 18. And ſoon after Earl of Clarendon. See *Clarendon*.
———, Lawrence, lord-treaſurer, i. 311. Is gained to the views of the Prince of Orange, 313. Is ſent by the King to Scotland, to intreat the Duke of York to conform, 362. See *Rocheſter*.

I.

James II. King of England, ſucceeds to the throne, i. 425. State of public opinions on that event, 226. Iſſues a popular declaration, ib. Levies the cuſtoms and exciſe without the authority of parliament, which had been granted only for his brother's life, 428. Makes changes and promotions, ib. His generous ſpeech to Halifax, ib. His prudent government at home, 430. Goes publickly to maſs with his Queen, ib. Encourages converts to the Roman faith, ib. His engagements with France, 431. His ſecurity, 432. Calls a parliament, 433. His ſpeech, ib. Obtains his brother's revenue for his own life, 434. Is invaded by Monmouth, 443. Rejects the proffered ſervices of the Prince of Orange againſt that nobleman, ib. Suppreſſes Monmouth's inſurrections.

rections, 447. Receives a letter from him, 448. Admits him into his preſence, 449. Cauſes him to be executed, 450. Suffers acts of injuſtice and cruelty to be committed, 452. His great power, 456. Meets his parliament, ib. His imprudent ſpeech to them, 457. Diſpenſes with the teſts, ib. His imperious anſwer to an addreſs of the commons, 459. Diſpleaſed with their proceedings, he prorogues them, 460. Pardons ſome criminals, 461. His kindneſs to refugees, 462. His views with regard to the Romiſh religion, ib. Forms a ſecret Popiſh cabinet, 465. Sends an ambaſſador to the Pope, ib. Who was coldly received, 466. Cloſets ſome members and judges, ib. To try the diſpenſing power of the crown he brings a feigned action againſt Sir Edward Hales, 468. Which power is recognized by the judges, 469. He publickly favours Papiſts, 470. Admits four lords of that perſuaſion into the privy council, ib. Eſtabliſhes a court of Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, 471. Orders the biſhop of London to ſuſpend Dr. Sharpe, ib. Which that prelate refuſes, and is himſelf ſuſpended, 472. Forms a camp on Hounſlow-heath, ib. His imprudence, 473. Diſmiſſes Rocheſter, ib. Places the government of Ireland in the hands of Papiſts, 475. Promotes that ſect in England, 479. Grants a general toleration in Scotland, 480. And in England, 482. His attempt to introduce Papiſts into the univerſity of Cambridge, 484. And Oxford, 485. Diſſolves his parliament, 486. Gives a public audience to the Pope's nuncio, 487. Diſmiſſes the Duke of Somerſet for refuſing to aſſiſt at that ceremony, ib. Makes a progreſs, 488. Courts the diſſenters, ib. Dines with the city, 489. His Queen declared with child, 491. He is inſulted by the States, 495. Renews his declaration of indulgence, 496. Is petitioned by the biſhops on that ſubject, 497. Commits them to the Tower, 498. His Queen bears him a ſon, 499. His projects, 502. Is unpopular, 503. His political views, 504. His ſecurity, 509. Refuſes the aſſiſtance of France againſt the Prince of Orange, 510. His imprudence, ib. His counſels are betrayed by Sunderland, 512. Is convinced of the Dutch invaſion, ib. Prepares for war, 513. Endeavours to gain the people, 514. Reſtores the charter of the city of London, 515. Is adviſed by the biſhops, 516. Retracts his meaſures, 517. Proves in a council extraordinary the birth of his ſon, 519. Diſgraces Sunderland, ib. His fleet is detained in their ports by contrary winds, 524. He is invaded by the Prince of Orange, 525. His preparations, 526. Is petitioned by ſeveral peers, 528. Joins his army, 529. Makes a ſpirited ſpeech to the general officers, ib. Many deſert him, 530. Is taken ill with a bleeding at his noſe, ib. Returns to London, 531. Is generally deſerted, ib. His daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark, flies to the Prince of Orange, ib. His diſtreſsful ſituation, 532. Takes the advice of his peers, 533. Sends a deputation to the Prince of Orange, ib. Sends away the Queen and the Prince of Wales, 534. His diſtreſs, 535. Flies, 538. Is ſeized at Feverſham, 539. And brought back to London, 542. Sends a letter to the Prince of Orange requeſting him to come to London, ib. Retires under a Dutch guard to Rocheſter, 545. Is requeſted, in vain, to remain in England, 546. Eſcapes to France, 547. Sends a letter to the convention, 550. Which is rejected, 563. His letter to the convention in Scotland received and read, 590. Arrives in Ireland, 600. His tranſactions at Dublin, 602. Wretched ſtate of his army, 603. Calls a parliament at Dublin, 626. Debaſes the coin, 630. Beſieges Derry, 631. Offended at the cruel order of Roſen, he diſpatches Lord Dover to the court of France to ſolicit his return, 633. Raiſes the ſiege of Derry, 634. His diſtreſs, 636. Offers battle in vain, 638. Fights King William at the Boyne, 659. Is defeated, 660. Flies again to France, 662. Enters into a correſpondence with Marlborough and Godolphin, 680. Receives a letter from the Princeſs of Denmark, 682. Sends Mr. Ord with inſtructions, to his adherents in Britain, 688. His intrigues with the Whigs, ii. 4. Gains many friends both in England and Scotland, 5. His affairs wear a favourable aſpect, 7. His project of an invaſion, ib. Arrives at La Hogue, 10. Returns to St. Germains, 15. Where in his abſence his Queen had born him a daughter, ib. Is accuſed in a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate King William, 18. His intrigues, 35. Offers terms to the Engliſh, 36. His declaration, 38. Whigs, Tories, clergy, and army, favour his views, 52. Many perſons of rank correſpond with him, 60. Is informed by Marlborough of the deſign upon Breſt, 67. His reflections on the death of his daughter Queen Mary, 75. His inactivity, 91. His party in England increaſes, 95. His ſituation compared with that of William, 97. Prepares to invade that kingdom, 105. But he is undeceived with regard to the ſtate of his affairs, 109. His projects are broken, ib. Returns in a diſconſolate ſtate of mind to St. Germains, 110. Rejects an offer of the crown of Poland, 128. His ſecret views, 129. Refuſes his conſent to let his ſon ſucceed King William, 133. His inactivity, 189. His death, 214.

Jeffries, Sir George, recorder of London, i. 329. Is made chief juſtice of the king's bench, 402. His

His barbarous cruelties, 453. Is made lord-high-chancellor, 454. Adviſes the King to proſecute the biſhops, 497.

Jerſey, Earl, ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, ii. 150. Made ſecretery of ſtate, 171.

Johnſton, Archibald, condemned and executed at Edinburgh, i. 64.

Ingoldſby, Colonel, a regicide, pardoned, i. 6.

Indemnity, general, granted in England, i. 35.

Indulgence, declaration of, i. 155. Renewed in Scotland, 480. And England, 482.

Ireland, kingdom of, its ſtate under the commonwealth, i. 25. Its condition at the Reſtoration, 26. Affairs of, ſettled, 28. The chief government of, placed in the hands of the Duke of Ormond, 65. His aſſiduity and attention in reſtoring that nation to tranquillity, ib. A bill which paſſed the Engliſh parliament for reſtraining the importation of Iriſh cattle occaſions a ferment, 111. Ormond removed, and Lord Roberts appointed in his room, 117. Earl of Eſſex lord-lieutenant, 156. Affairs of, 213. Ormond reſtored to the government of, 297. Affairs of, ib. Ormond's adminiſtration, 416. Earl of Rocheſter ſucceeds Ormond, ib. Arms taken from Proteſtants there, 463. Earl of Clarendon raiſed to the government of, 464. Catholics placed in chief power there, 475. Clarendon removed, 476. The Earl of Tyrconnel lord-deputy, ib. Affairs of, 594. Strangely neglected by William III. 597. The Proteſtants there take arms, 598. Routed at Drumore, 599. King James arrives there, 600. A parliament called, 626. Their injuſtice and violence, 628. The coin of, debaſed, 630. Military tranſactions there, 657. Battle of the Boyne, 660. King James leaves that kingdom, 661. Cork and Kingſale taken by the Earl of Marlborough, 689. Terrible miſeries of, 690. A pacification, 696. Earl Wharton lord-lieutenant of, ii. 457. Affairs of, 615. The Duke of Shrewſbury chief governor, 616.

Ireland, Father, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 251. Is ſeized, ib.

K.

Kent, petition of, to parliament, ii. 206.

Keppoch, Macdonald of, joins the Viſcount Dundee, i. 615.

Keys, ———. condemned and executed for being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the life of King William, ii. 110.

Kidd, Captain, his piracies in the Eaſt Indies, ii. 176.

Kieling, a falter, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390. Makes a diſcovery, 392.

Killegrew, Admiral, one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, ii. 37. Commands the fleet, 46. Favours the views of the court of St. Germains, 50. Is diſmiſſed, 65.

Killicranky, battle of, i. 619.

King, ——, condemned and executed for conſpiring againſt the life of King William, ii. 110.

Kirk, Colonel, his cruelties after Monmouth's rebellion, i. 452. Is ſent with ſuccours to relieve Derry, 631.

Kirby, ——, his connexion with Tong and Otes, the authors of the Popiſh plot, i. 247. Informs the King of that impoſture, 248.

——, Captain, executed at Plymouth for cowardice, ii. 275.

Knight, Sir John, his remarkable motion in the houſe of commons, ii. 57.

L.

La Baſtide, ———, ſent ambaſſador extraordinary from France to confirm Charles II. in his reſolution to marry the Infanta of Portugal, i. 31.

La Chaiſe, Father, the French King's confeſſor, i. 252.

La Hogue, ſea-fight at, ii. 13. In which the French are defeated by the Engliſh, ib.

Lambert, Colonel, a regicide, tried and condemned, i. 48.

———, a ſeaman, his active behaviour in ſeizing Venner and his aſſociates, i. 18.

———, ——, at whoſe houſe Otes and Tong formed the Popiſh plot, i. 248.

Lancaſhire plot, ii. 77.

Landen, battle of, ii. 42.

Landau, fortreſs of, taken by the French, ii. 271.

Langhorne, ——, a lawyer, accuſed in the Popiſh plot, i. 259. Tried, condemned, and executed, 287.

Lawſon, Admiral, Sir John, left by the Earl of Sandwich to command the fleet before Algier, i. 36. Fights the Dutch, 75. Dies of his wounds, 76.

Lauderdale, Earl of, made ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, i. 22. One of the cabal, 135. His character, ib. Raiſed to a Dukedom in Scotland, 156. His adminiſtration there, 212. Oppoſed by Duke Hamilton, ib. Dies, 380.

Leake, Admiral, reduces Sardinia and Minorca, ii. 408.

Leeds, Duke, ii. 65. Impeached, 81. Reſigns, 171. His correſpondence with the Elector of Hannover, 467.

Legg, Captain, engages the Dutch fleet, i. 183.

Lewis XIV. King of France, i. 31. See *France*.

Lillington, Admiral, commands the fleet in the expedition againſt Hiſpaniola, ii. 89.

Limerick, fortreſs of, beſieged in vain, i. 666.

Lindſey, Earl, his engagements with the court of St. Germains, ii. 51.
Litchfield, Earl of, attends King James to Rocheſter, i. 546. His engagements with the court of St. Germains, ii. 51.
Littleton, Sir Thomas, made treaſurer of the navy, i. 114. Choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ii. 157.
Lloyd, Captain, an agent of the court of St. Germains, ſent with a meſſage from his adherents in England to King James at La Hogue, ii. 11. Returns to England, 61. His interview with Marlborough, ib. Ruſſel, 62. Shrewſbury, ib. Godolphin, 63. And Sunderland, 64.
Lochiel, Cameron of, joins the Viſcount Dundee, i. 616. Submits to the new government, 687.
London, city of, a plague there, i. 81. Fire of, 89. King Charles II. receives its freedom, 205. He reprimands the citizens, 353. And by irregular means poſſeſſes himſelf of it, 376. *Quo warranto* iſſued againſt it, 381. Charter of, ſurrendered, 383. Violence of parties there, 384. The King appoints the magiſtrates, 401. Its charter reſtored, 515. General confuſion in, 539. A council of peers there, 540. The magiſtrates ſend an addreſs to the Prince of Orange, 541.
———, Biſhop of, ſuſpended for refuſing to ſuſpend Dr. Sharpe, i. 472. Invites the Prince of Orange in a hoſtile manner to England, 506. Attends the Princeſs of Denmark in her flight, 533.
Lopping, another name for murder, i. 391.
Lorrain, Duke of, his dominions invaded and conquered by Lewis XIV. i. 137. Takes refuge in the city of Cologn, ib. Charles V. Duke of, 222. Commands the Imperial and Saxon troops, 640. Takes Mentz, ib.
Louveſtein, a faction in Holland known by that name, i. 162. Dejected by the power and influence of the Prince of Orange, 408.
Louvois, M. de, i. 165. 601.
Lovat, Lady-dowager of, raviſhed by Captain Fraſer, ii. 282.
Lowther, Sir John, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, i. 651.
Lumley, Lord, one of thoſe who invited the Prince of Orange to England, i. 506.
Lunt, ——, his information of the Lancaſhire plot, ii. 76.
Luxembourg, Duke of, i. 168. Is ſurpriſed but not worſted by the Prince of Orange at St. Dennis, 241.
Lyſle, Mrs. her trial, i. 453. Her blood reſtored by act of parliament, 613.

M.

Macartney, General, murders the Duke of Hamilton, ii. 577.
Mackay, General, marches in queſt of Dundee to Inverneſs, 615. Meets him at Rinrory, 618. Is defeated at Killicranky, 619. Is killed in the battle of Steinkirk, ii. 18.
Mackay, *John*, detains Mr. Prior at Canterbury, on his return from France, ii. 494.
Maclean, Sir Alexander, i. 617.
Macclesfield, Earl of, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 387.
Magdalene-college, affair of, i. 485. And proceedings thereon, 489. The fellows of, deprived, 490. Reſtored to their rights and franchiſes, 518.
Malaga, a fight at, ii. 300.
Malony, Biſhop, i. 636.
Malplacquet, battle of, ii. 424.
Mancini, Hortenſia, according to King James II. the moſt beautiful woman in the world, i. 30.
Mancheſter, Earl, made ſecretary of ſtate, ii. 219.
Marlborough, Earl, commands the Engliſh troops in Holland, i. 640. His correſpondence with the late King, 680. Takes Cork and Kingſale, 689. Enters into a communication with the court of St. Germains, ii. 5. Is diſmiſſed from his employments, 7. Is excepted from pardon in James's projected declaration, 9. Sent to the Tower, 11. His intrigues, 61. Betrays the deſign upon Breſt to the late King, 67. Is appointed governor to the Duke of Glouceſter, 151. His correſpondence with King James, 233. Commands, with uncommon ſucceſs, the allied army in Flanders, 240. The commons refuſe to perpetuate to his family a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year, granted by the Queen for his own life, 246. His intrigues with the court of St. Germains, 247. Is created a duke, ib. A marriage propoſed between his daughter and the pretended Prince of Wales, 255. Commands the army in Flanders, 272. Takes ſucceſſively Bonn, Huy, Limbourg, and Gueldres, ib. Marches into Germany, and takes Donawert, 294. Defeats the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, 296. His ſecret negociations with the Pretender, 303. The Whigs, to gain him to their party, propoſe a marriage between his daughter and the Electoral Prince of Hannover, ib. Arrives in England, 314. Is well received and rewarded by the Queen, ib. And congratulated by both houſes of parliament, ib. His intrigues with the excluded family, 315. In his political conduct he favours the Whigs, ib. Takes the command of the allied army, 321. Is raiſed to the dignity of Prince of Mindelheim, by the Emperor, 336. Defeats totally the French at Ramillies, 342. Takes Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Aloſt, Ghent, 343. And ſoon after Oſtende, Dendermonde, and Ath, ib. Is ſent by Queen Anne into Saxony, to ſettle a difference between the Emperor and the King of Sweden, 369. His profeſſions to the Pretender, 378. His ſucceſs at Oudenarde, 395. His corrupt practices, 398. His conduct with

with regard to General Webb animadverted upon by the commons, 407. Is ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to the Hague, to ſettle the terms of peace, 410. One of the arbiters of Europe, ib. Favours the Pretender, 416. Adviſes that Prince to remove from France, 417. Takes Tournay, 421. Defeats the French at Malplacquet, and takes Mons, 424. Takes Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, 440. His obſtinacy and imprudence with the Queen, 450. Declines in his influence, 451. And becomes in ſome meaſure unpopular, ib. The Emperor and the States interpoſe in vain their good offices in his favour, 453. Offers his ſervices to the Pretender, ib. Receives a letter from the exiled Queen, 454. Accuſes Harley to the Elector of Hannover of Jacobitiſm, 457. His credit declines, 472. Takes Bouchain, 487. Offers again his ſervices to the Pretender, 503. His intrigues againſt Harley, 507. Is accuſed by Sir Solomon Medina of various peculations, 512. Is diſgraced, and why, ib. His character, and reflections thereon, 515—520. His ſchemes in concert with Bothmar, 529. And with Prince Eugene, 532. His intrigues with the Dutch, 560. Quits the kingdom, and retires to Antwerp, 579. Is a ſpy on the Pretender, 585. His connexion with Bolingbroke, 619. His correſpondence with the Pretender, 623. Offers money in loan to the Elector of Hannover, 625. Concert between him and Bolingbroke, 650. Their views, 652.

Mariſhal, Earl of, his connexion with the court of St. Germains, ii. 308. Promiſes his ſervices to the Pretender, 374.

Marſhal, a Jeſuit, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 251. Is ſeized, ib. Acquitted, 290.

Mary D Eſté, a daughter of the Duke of Modena, married to the Duke of York, i. 186. Is Queen of England, 425. Declared to be with child, 491. Which is ſaid to be an impoſture, 492. Is brought to bed of a ſon, 498. Sent to France, 534. Is brought to bed of a daughter at St. Germains, ii. 15. Writes a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, 454.

Mary, Queen, i. 566. Crowned, 585. Her adminiſtration in the abſence of her huſband, 688. Her death and character, ii. 73.

Maſham, Mrs. a favourite of Queen Anne, ii. 384. Her intrigues in concert with Harley, ib. Her conference with Menager, concerning the Pretender, 548. Her intrigues, in concert with Bolingbroke, 608.

Maumont, M. de, a Frenchman, engages the Iriſh near Derry, i. 625. Is killed, ib.

Mazarin, Cardinal, i. 106.

Mead, Mr. a member of the Rye-houſe plot, i. 407.

Meal-tub plot, impoſture of the, i. 307.

Medina, Sir Solomon, accuſes the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Cardonnel of ſome unwarrantable practices with regard to contracts for the army in Flanders, ii. 512.

Meeſtres, a Dutch engineer, his *infernals*, ii. 89.

Melfort, Earl, his letter before the lords, ii. 198.

Melvin, Lord, his concern in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390.

Menager, Mr. ſent by Lewis XIV. to the court of London, to negociate a peace, ii. 493. His converſation with Mrs. Maſham, concerning the Pretender, 548.

Middleton, Earl, declared commiſſioner to the Scotiſh parliament, i. 22. One of thoſe whom the Duke of York took along with him when he eſcaped ſhipwreck near the Lemon and Ore, 375. Is made ſecretary of ſtate, 414. Attends King James to Rocheſter, 546. And intreats him in vain to ſtay in England, ib. Is ſent by that Prince, in his exile, to his adherents in England, ii. 35. Returns to France with propoſals for his reſtoration, 37. Urges the French court in vain to invade Britain, 96. Endeavours to perſuade Lewis XIV. of the practicability of an inſurrection in Scotland, 376.

Minorca, iſland of, reduced by the Engliſh, ii. 400.

Mitchell, ——, a Scotiſh fanatic, executed, i. 293.

Mohun, Lord, killed by the duke of Hamilton, in a duel, ii. 577.

Monk, General George, i. 2. Created maſter of horſe to King Charles II. 4. His character, 5. Raiſed to the Dignity of a duke, by the title of Albemarle, 10. See *Albemarle*.

Monmouth, Duke of, is ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with the States for peace, i. 166. His character, 179. Is choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, 199. Is made commander in chief, 234. His hopes of being declared Prince of Wales, ib. Is declared illegitimate, 278. Is ſent by the King to quell the inſurrection of the covenanters in Scotland, 295. Routs the inſurgents at Bothwell-bridge, 296. But uſes them with mildneſs and humanity, ib. Returns to court, and is complimented by the King with the title of Highneſs, ib. Is diſgraced, ſtript of his office of general, and ordered to depart the kingdom 302. Returns, 303. Is refuſed admittance to the King, 304. Retires to the Hague, 305. And enters into the ſchemes and views of the Prince of Orange, ib. Who makes uſe of him, 310. Returns, and makes a progreſs, 318. Makes another, 378. Is apprehended, and brought to London, 379. Enters with Ruſſel and others into a conſpiracy againſt the King, 386. Flies, 393. Surrenders himſelf, 406. His confeſſion, ib. Is pardoned, 407. Retracts, and is forbid the court, ib. In concert with the Prince of Orange and the Earl of Argyle, he undertakes an invaſion of Britain, 439. Sails from the Texel, 443. Lands in England, 444. His declaration, ib. Is attainted by act of parliament,

ib. Is victorious at Bridport, 445. Aſſumes the title of King, ib. Is in diſtreſs, 446. Is defeated, 447. And taken, ib. Writes a letter to the King, 448. Is admitted into his preſence, 449. Executed, 450.
Mons, town of, taken by the French, i. 684.
Montague, Admiral, created Earl of Sandwich, i. 10.
———, Mr. ambaſſador at the French court, i. 149. His correſpondence with Danby laid before the parliament, 270. Reflections on his conduct in that affair, 273.
———, a Mr. his dexterous conduct in reſtoring the public credit, ii. 121. Is created a peer, by the title of Lord Halifax, 194. See *Halifax*.
Montgomery, Sir James, ſent by the convention in Scotland to inveſt King William III. with the government, i. 593. Heads an oppoſition there, 655.
Moore, Sir John, choſen Lord Mayor of London, i. 368.
Mordaunt, Lord, i. 194. Is created Earl of Monmouth, 613.
Morgan, Sir Thomas, commands the Engliſh troops in the ſervice of Portugal, i. 62.
Morrice, ——, made ſecretary of ſtate, i. 4. His character, 5. Retires from office, 115.
Mulgrave, Earl of, made governor of Hull, i. 304. Is created Marquis of Normanby, ii. 65.
Munſter, Biſhop of, joins the Engliſh, i. 80. And makes an irruption into the territories of the States, ib.
Murray, Captain, ſent by the court of St. Germains, with Captain Simon Fraſer, to Scotland, ii. 284.
Muſkerry, Lord, ſlain in the firſt Dutch war, i. 75.

N.

Namur, town of, taken by the French, ii. 16. Retaken by the Engliſh, 86.
Newton-Butler, rout at, i. 684.
Nicholas, ——, raiſed to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, i. 4. His character, 5. Reſigns his office for a conſideration in money, 54.
———, Sir Richard, ſent to the Mediterranean with a fleet, i. 70.
Nimeguen, peace made there, ii. 240.
Normanby, Marquis of, made lord privy-ſeal, ii. 232. Created Duke of Buckingham, 252.
North, Sir Francis, chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas, i. 329. His unpopularity, ib. Is made Lord keeper, 380.
Norton, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, 390.
Nottingham, Earl of, offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, i. 484. Is ſent by King James to treat with that Prince, 533. Made ſecretary of ſtate, 577. Diſmiſſed, ii. 290.
Norwich, the deprived biſhop of, becomes an agent for the late King, ii. 49.
Nugent, Sir Thomas, informs King James of the ſtate of Ireland, i. 601.

O.

Obedience, *paſſive*, recognized by the people, i. 370.
Occaſional conformity, bill of, ii. 509.
Okey, a regicide, executed, i. 46.
Opdam, a Dutch admiral, engages the Duke of York, i. 75. His ſhip blown up, ib.
Orange, Prince of, viſits King Charles II. i. 139. His character, 163. Is declared Stadtholder of the United Provinces, 164. His bad ſucceſs againſt France, 168. Commands the allies againſt France, 198. Eludes the inſtances of the King of England, to make peace with France, 202. Enters into ſecret negociations with the country-party in England, ib. Has the mortification to ſee Aire and St. Omer taken, without being able to relieve them, 210. His correſpondence with the Scotiſh fanatics, 213. Is defeated by the French at Caſſel, 218. Propoſes, by Bentinck, a marriage with the Lady Mary, eldeſt daughter of the Duke of York, 225. Comes to England, and marries that Princeſs, ib. Agrees, in concert with the King of England, upon terms for a general peace, 226. Notwithſtanding the peace between the States and the French, of which he is ſaid to have had a copy in his pocket, he falls, but with no ſucceſs, with the Dutch army, upon that of the latter, at St. Dennis, 242. His intrigues in England at the time of the Popiſh plot, 262. His engagements with the Duke of Monmouth, 305. Correſponds with Shafteſbury, and, through him, foments diſturbances in England, 309. Gains to his views Sunderland, Godolphin, and Hyde, 313. His intrigues abroad, 324. And in England, 354. Induces the States and Spain to preſent a remonſtrance to the King of England, againſt the diſſolution of his parliament, 365. Comes to the court of London, 366. His conference with the King, ib. His propoſals, 367. Departs, 368. Oppoſes in vain the marriage of the Lady Anne with the Prince of Denmark, 400. His arbitrary views in Holland, 409. His conduct with regard to the Rye-houſe plot, 410. Encourages Monmouth and Argyle to invade Britain, 436, 437, 438, 439. Offers his aſſiſtance to the King of England in quaſhing Monmouth's rebellion, 443. His intrigues with the Earl of Sunderland, 477. His ſecret ſchemes, ib. Sends Dykveldt to England to foment diſturbances, 483. Many lords offer him their ſervices, 484. Sends two hundred pounds, in the name of his wife, to the deprived fellows of Magdalene-college, 491. Prepares for an invaſion

ſion, 495. Gains the Pope to his views, ib. His intrigues, 505. Sends Zuleſtein to congratulate King James on the birth of his ſon, 506. Is invited to England by ſeveral perſons of rank, ib. Declares the birth of the Prince of Wales an impoſture, 507. Takes his leave of the States, 521. His declaration, 522. Sails, and is driven back, 523. Sails again, ib. Lands in England, 525. Is in diſtreſs, 526. Many join him, 527. His dictatorial anſwer to the commiſſioners ſent by King James to treat with him, 536. His conduct, 541. Sends Zuleſtein with letters to King James, 543. Diſpatches Count Solmes to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, ib. Forces the King to retire to Rochester, 544. Arrives in London, 548. Calls an aſſembly of peers, 549. Who addreſs him to aſſume the government of affairs, 552. His firſt act of authority, 553. Borrows money from the city, ib. His private intrigues for the throne, 554. Calls a convention, 556. His letter to them, ib. Their addreſs of thanks to him, 558. Declares himſelf, 564. Is declared King, and his wife Queen, of England, 566. See *William* III.

Ord, Mr. a ſecret agent of the court of St. Germains, ii. 688.

Oxford, Earl of, i. 151. Removed from the Admiralty, ii. 171.

Orkney, Counteſs of, ii. 174.

Orleans, Dutcheſs of, comes to England, and meets her brother at Dover, i. 125. Prevails with him to declare war againſt the States, 126. Dies ſuddenly at St. Cloud, 128.

Ormond, Marquis of, made lord-ſteward of the houſehold, i. 4. His character, 5. Obtains a grant of all the lands of his anceſtors in Ireland, 28. Is raiſed to the government of that kingdom, 54. His attention to its affairs, 65. Is diſmiſſed, 116. An attempt made upon his life, 140. Is reſtored to the government of Ireland, 297. Is recalled, 416.

——, Second Duke of, joins the Prince of Orange, 361. Takes Fort St. Catharine and Port St. Mary, ii. 242. His ſucceſs before Vigo, ib. Is again lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 268. Commands the allied army in Flanders, 558. His inactivity, 559. The auxiliaries refuſe to obey him, 561.

Oſborne, Sir Thomas, made treaſurer of the navy, i. 114. Raiſed to the office of lord-treaſurer, 185. His character, 186. Is created Lord Latimer and Earl of Danby, 200. See *Danby*.

Oſnaburgh, Biſhop of, comes to England to pay his addreſſes to the Lady Anne, i. 399. Departs, ib. Marries Sophia Dorothy, daughter of the Duke of Brunſwick-Zell, 400.

Oates, Titus, a hiſtory of him, i. 246. Becomes a Papiſt and Jeſuit, 247. Goes to the Engliſh ſeminary of Jeſuits at St. Omer's, ib. He is diſmiſſed for bad behaviour, 248. His narrative before the council, 249. His evidence is ſuſpected, 250. Is penſioned by parliament and idolized by the nation, 260. Accuſes the Queen, 266. Is fined in one hundred thouſand pounds, 412. Convicted of perjury, 432. Receives a penſion from King William, 613.

Oudenarde, battle of, ii. 395.

Owen, Dr. an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 407.

Oxendon, Sir James, prevents the eſcape of King James from Feverſham, i. 539.

Oxford, a parliament held there, i. 344. An attempt made to introduce Papiſts into the univerſity of, 485. The famous decree of, 500.

——, Earl of, lord-high-treaſurer of England, his character, ii. 477. On bad terms with St. John, 479. His profeſſions to the family of Hannover, 483. Reſolves to conclude a general peace, 490. His caution in treating with the court of France, 496. His awkward ſituation and views, 522. Diſcovers the deſigns of the confederates, 523. His prudence, 525. His conſternation at the deſigns of Prince Eugene and the Whigs, 533. Prevents their ſchemes from being laid before parliament, 535. His cautious conduct, 536. His artifice, 551. Deceives the Jacobites, 552. Pays court in vain to the houſe of Hannover, 576. His ſecret views, 586. His perilous ſituation, 592. Is hated both by Whigs and Tories, 593. His ſecret views and intrigues, ib. Is terrified, 604. Gratifies with offices and power the Tories, 618 Takes advantage of the Queen's prejudices for her brother, 620. His motion in parliament to bring in a bill to make it high treaſon to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, 634. Is deſerted in parliament by the Tories, 637. His profeſſions to the court of Hannover, 641. His intrigues, 643. Is accuſed by Bolingbroke of favouring the Pretender, 649. Cauſe of their quarrel, 650. His diſmiſſion and character, 653.

P.

Panmure, Earl of, his attachment to the excluded family, ii. 308. Enters into the views of the Pretender, 374. And promiſes him his ſervices, ib.

Paterſon, ——, his project of a ſettlement at Darien, ii. 90.

Payne, Mr. an agent of the court of St. Germains, ii. 35.

Parliament convention, paſſes the act of indemnity, i. 6. Confirms judicial proceedings, 7. Settles the revenue of the crown, 8. Is adjourned, ib. Aſſembled, 14. Diſſolved, 15. Character of, ib. Another called, 33. Attachment of, to monarchy, 34. Paſſes a new act of indemnity, 35. Is prorogued, 36. Meets, 38. Paſſes the corporation-act, 39. And the bill of uniformity, 41. Settles the militia, and the revenue of the crown, 43. Is prorogued, 44. Meets, 55. An addreſs againſt Papiſts, 56. Debates in the houſe of lords on Briſtol's charge of Treaſon, 58. Is prorogued, 59. Meets, 66. Repeals the triennial act, ib. An addreſs againſt the Dutch, 67. Is prorogued, ib. Meets, 73. Grants a ſupply

and is prorogued, ib. Meets at Oxford, 81. Grants a ſupply, ib. And paſſes the five-mile act, ib. Meets at London, 90. In an ill-humour, 91. Baniſhes the Earl of Clarendon, 102. An act againſt conventicles, 113. Coventry-act, 143. Addreſs of, induces the King to recal his declaration of indulgence, 175. The teſt-act, 177. Addreſs of, againſt the Duke of York's marriage with a Princeſs of the Romiſh religion, 187. Violence of, occaſions a prorogation, 188. Addreſſes the King to join the confederates againſt France, and to preſerve Flanders, 220. But having refuſed the neceſſary ſupplies they are reprimanded and adjourned, ib. Eagerneſs of, for a French war, 230. Leaders of, intrigue with that kingdom, ib. Violence of, with regard to the Popiſh plot, 259. Penſions Otes the author of that impoſture, 260. Attacks the Duke of York, 261. Bill to diſable Papiſts, 263. In which the Duke of York is excepted, ib. Grants a ſupply on limited terms, 268. Impeaches Danby, 270. Is diſſolved, 277. Another called, 279. Speaker of the lower houſe rejected by the King, 280. Violence of, againſt Danby, 282. A ſupply, 283. Bill of excluſion, 286. Reſolution againſt the biſhops, ib. *Habeas-corpus* act, 287. Diſſolved, 290. Another parliament is called, 312. Is prorogued, ib. Aſſembled, 323. Excluſion-bill, 326. Rejected by the lords, ib. Reſentment of the commons, 328. The judges impeached, 330. And the Viſcount Stafford, 331. Diſſolved, 338. A parliament aſſembled, 339. At Oxford, 344. Quarrel between the houſes of, 346. Is diſſolved, 347. Conſternation of, 348. Another called by King James the Second, 432. Settlement of the revenue, 433. A vote about religion, 434. A ſupply, 435. Attaints the Duke of Monmouth, 444. Grants a ſupply, 459. Is prorogued, 460. The convention which ſettled the crown on the Prince of Orange converts itſelf into a parliament, 577. See *Convention*. Frugality of the commons, 579. Suſpends the *habeas corpus* act, ib. Is refractory, 583. Rejects a ſcheme for comprehenſion, 584. Addreſs of, to declare war againſt France, 604. Is diſcontented, 609. Is adjourned, 612. Aſſembled, 645. A ſupply, 646. Inquiry of, into abuſes, 647. Is diſſolved, 649. Another called, 651. Settles the revenue, 652. Supplies, 677. An oppoſition formed there, 700. Aſſembled, ii. 21. An ill-humour in both houſes, 22. A ſupply, 23. Remonſtrance of, againſt foreigners, 25. Triennial bill, 72. Proceedings of, on the Lancaſhire-plot, 77. Speaker of the commons expelled for corruption, 81. Impeaches the Duke of Leeds, ib. A coin-act, 82. Is diſſolved, 97. A new parliament called, ib. Bill for regulating trials, 99. A ſupply, 100. Addreſs of, againſt the Scotiſh Eaſt-India company, 103. And another againſt Portland, 104. Reſtores public credit, 120. Obſequiouſneſs of, 123. Orders the army to be diſbanded, 139. Provides amply for the civil liſt, 144. Eſtabliſhes a new Eaſt-India company, 146. Is diſſolved, 147. Another aſſembled, 157. Inquiry into Iriſh forfeitures, 173. Violence of, 174. Is prorogued, 178. A new parliament meets, 195. Settlement of the crown, 199. Articles for the ſecurity of the ſubject, 200. A difference between the houſes, 207. Is diſſolved, 218. Another called, 219. Prorogued, 235. And diſſolved, 244. Firſt parliament of Queen Anne meets, ib. Settles an eventual penſion on Prince George of Denmark, 246. But refuſes one to Marlborough, ib. Bill to prevent occaſional conformity, 249. Loſes in the houſe of lords, ib. Ample ſupplies, 257. Proceedings of, on the Scotiſh plot, 287. Is diſſolved, 320. Another called, 331. Paſſes the bill of regency, 333. Firſt parliament of Great Britain, 380. Oppoſition in the houſe of lords, 382. Is alarmed by a threatened invaſion from France, 387. Is diſſolved, 393. Another meets, 403. Extends the laws of treaſon to Scotland, 405. Paſſes an act of grace, 406. Extraordinary addreſs of, to the Queen, 408. Impeaches Sacheverell, 433. Bill of occaſional conformity, 509. Rejects the Duke of Hamilton's patent, 510.

Pembroke, Earl of, favours the views of the late King James, ii. 95. Is made preſident of the council, 171. Lord high-admiral of England, 219. Is removed from that office, 235.

Pentland hills, a fight at, i. 111.

Perkins, Sir William, conſpires againſt the life of King William, ii. 106. Is condemned, 110.

Perth, Earl of, one of thoſe whom the Duke of York took along with him when he eſcaped ſhipwreck at the Lemon and Ore, i. 375.

Peterborough, Earl of, marries by proxy, Mary D'Eſté, ſecond wife of the Duke of York, i. 180, 301.

Petitioners and Abhorrers, i. 514. See *Whig* and *Tory*.

Petre, Lord, accuſed in the Popiſh plot, i. 263. Dies in the Tower, 411.

——, Father, member of a Popiſh cabinet, i. 463. His political views, 474.

Pett, Commiſſioner, impeached, i. 112.

Pickering, a Jeſuit, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 249. Executed, 267.

Pilkington, ——, enormity of his fine, i. 379.

Poland, throne of, filled by the Elector of Saxony, i. 128. Affairs of, 249. Crown of, offered to King James, ii. 128.

Player, Sir Thomas, preſents the freedom of the city to King Charles II. i. 200.

Plunket, Oliver, condemned and executed, i. 356.

——, John, his diſcovery, to the Earl of Oxford, ii. 524.

Pope, remarkable burning of a, i. 308.

Popiſh plot, i. 246.

Portſmouth

Portſmouth, Dutcheſs of, a miſtreſs of Charles II. i. 129. Reconciles that Prince to Shafteſbury, 284. Who preſents her to the grand jury of Middleſex for a common nuiſance, 319. Uſes her influence for the Duke of York's return from Scotland, 373. To ſettle 5000 l. a year on her out of the profits of the poſt-office, ib. Is accuſed by Shafteſbury of a deſign of having her ſon, the Duke of Richmond, created Prince of Wales, 378.

Portugal, Catherine, daughter of the King of, married to Charles II. King of England, i. 29. Alphonſo the Sixth, King of, at war with Spain, 62. Obtains a deciſive battle over the Spaniards at Amexial, ib. His remarkable generoſity to the Engliſh ſoldiers, 63. Is thrown into priſon, and his brother, Don Pedro, declared regent, [illegible]. Who makes peace with Spain, [illegible].

Powell, Mr. an agent of the co[illegible]t of St. G[illegible]ins, ii. 109.

Powlet, Lord [illegible] i. 465.

———, Lord, favours the views of the late King James the ſecond, ii. 58.

Praunce, Miles, is accuſed by Bedloe of the murder of Godfrey, i. 274. Becomes himſelf an evidence on the ſame ſubject, 275.

Preſton, Lord, is condemned for treaſon, i. 679. Is pardoned, ib.

Price, Mr. preſents the Denbigh-petition to the houſe of commons, ii. 104.

Prior, Mr. ſent to the court of France to negociate a peace, ii. 492.

Pultowa, battle of, ii. 427.

Q.

Queenſberry, Duke of, holds a parliament in Scotland, ii. 186. In concert with Simon Fraſer he forms a plot, 284.

Queroüaille, ——, a young lady of the name of, attends the Dutcheſs of Orleans in her journey to England, i. 129. Returns to France with that Princeſs, and after her death comes to England, where ſhe is created Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, ib. See *Portſmouth*.

Quo-warranto, a writ of, iſſued againſt the city of London, i. 382.

R.

Radcliffe, Sir Francis, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 259.

Ramillies, battle of, ii. 342. Conſequences of, ib.

Reflexions, on the ſale of Dunkirk, i. 51. On the fire of London, 90. On King Charles II.'s ſecret engagements with France, 128. On his public conduct, 130. On the ſhutting of the exchequer, 152. On the ſtate of the nation, 171: And on the Dutch war, 172. On the ſtate of Europe with regard to the war, 210. On the King's conduct, 221. On that of parliament, 233. On the peace of Nimeguen, with regard to France, 243. On the death of Godfrey, 254. On the conduct of the Earl of Danby, 272. On that of Mr. Montague, 337. On the Oxford-parliament, 350. On the ſtate of the times, 371. On the private character of Charles II. 423. On the death of the Duke of Monmouth, 450. On the conduct of James II. 478. On the affair of the Magdalene-college, 490. On the flight of King James, 548. On the legality of the convention called by the Prince of Orange, 557. On the Revolution, 568. On the reign and character of James II. 570, 571, 572. On the battle of the Boyne, 661. On the conduct of Lewis XIV. 675. On the Iriſh pacification, 697. On the affair of La Hogue, ii. 14. On the conduct of King William at Landen, 42. On the taking of Namur, 86. On the ſettlement of the crown, 202. On the Union, 360. On the projected invaſion of Scotland, 390. On the character of Marlborough, 517. On the peace of Utrecht, [illegible]

[illegible] act of, ii. 333.

Renau, Chatteau, a French admiral, defeats the Engliſh fleet, i. 607.

Revolution takes place, i. 566.

Rights, declaration of, i. 567.

Riſwick, congreſs at, ii. 124. Peace of, concluded, 135.

Rivers, Earl of, ambaſſador at the court of Hanover, ii. 467.

Roberts, Lord, 117.

Rocheſter, Earl of, made preſident of the council, i. 414. Lord-high-treaſurer, 428. An attempt on his religion, 473. Is diſmiſſed for obſtinacy, 474. Sends an offer of his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, 484. Is raiſed to the government of Ireland, ii. 194. Writes to the Elector of Hanover, 467. Dies, 477. His character, ib.

Rochfort, Marquis of, i. 161.

Rooke, Admiral, Sir George, ſurpriſed by the French, ii. 47. Commands the fleet on an expedition againſt Denmark, 185. Takes Gibraltar, 300.

Roſen, Mareſchal de, i. 600. Commands King James's army before Derry, 631. His cruel order, 632.

Rothes, Earl of, commiſſioner to the Scotiſh parliament, i. 64.

Rouſe, ——, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390.

Rowallan, ———, is accuſed by Monmouth in the Rye-houſe plot, i. 407.

Roxborough, Earl of, drowned near the Lemon and Ore, on his way with the Duke of York to Scotland, i. 375.

Rupert, Prince, i. 77. Commands, jointly with Albemarle, the fleet, i. 82. Comes opportunely to his relief as he was flying from the Dutch, 85. Engages De Ruyter, 182. Beats the Dutch, 187. Purſues them in triumph to their coaſts, 188. Dies, 380.

Rumbold, ——, his concern in the Rye-houſe plot, i. 390.
Rumſey, Colonel, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390. Surrenders himſelf and turns evidence, 392.
Ruſſel, Lord, his oppoſition in parliament, i. 232. Offers his ſervices to the Duke of York, 233. Carries an addreſs up to the lords adviſing the King to declare war, 235. A member of the privy council, 285. Reſigns 312. Preſents the Duke of York for a Popiſh recuſant, 317. Carries the bill of excluſion to the lords, 326. Engages with Monmouth and Shafteſbury in a conſpiracy againſt the King, 386. Is ſeized, 393. Tried, 394. Condemned, 395. His behaviour, ib. Execution, 396. And character, 397.
——, Admiral, invites the Prince of Orange to England, i. 506. His correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, ii. 6. Commands the fleet, 9. His project of a deſcent on the coaſt of France, 10. Sails toward La Hogue, 11. Engages the French, 12. Defeats them and burns ſixteen of their ſhips, 13. Is diſmiſſed, 37. His correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, 61. Commands the fleet in an expedition againſt Breſt, 67. Which miſcarries, ib. Bombards Calais to no purpoſe, 110. Is accuſed by Sir John Fenwick of correſponding with the late King, 121. Is created Earl of Orford, 131. See *Orford*.

S.

Sacheverell, Doctor, impeached, ii. 432. Articles againſt him, 433. His trial, 434. Is found guilty, 436.
Sackville, Colonel, ſent to the Tower for expreſſing his diſbelief of the Popiſh plot, i. 283. An agent for the court of St. Germains, ii. 5.
Saliſbury, Earl of, ſent to the Tower for queſtioning the legality of a receſs of parliament for more than one year, i. 217. Is made a privy councellor, 284.
Salton, Lord, i. 363.
Sandwich, Earl of, brings over the Infanta of Portugal, i. 45. Commands the fleet, 77. Sails to the coaſt of Norway, 78. Is ſent ambaſſador to the court of Madrid, 82. Commands the Blue ſquadron in the ſecond Dutch war, 157. Is killed, 160. His character, ib.
Sandys, Sir Thomas, i. 142.
Saragoſſa, battle of, ii. 442.
Sardinia, iſland of, reduced by the Engliſh, ii. 400.
Savoy, Duke of, defeated by the French, i. 673. Deſerts the confederates and joins the French, ii. 117.
Saxony, Elector of, choſen King of Poland, i. 128.
Savoy, a conference of divines held there, i. 19.
Scarſdale, Earl of, accuſed of conſpiring againſt King William III. and ſent to the Tower, ii. 20.
Schomberg, Mareſchal, maſter of the ordnance, i. 577. Arrives in Ireland with an army, 637. Avoids an engagement with King James, 638. Fights the Iriſh at the Boyne, 659. Defeats them and is ſlain, 660.
——, Duke of, wounded and taken priſoner by the French, ii. 45. Dies of his wounds at Turin, ib.
Scotland, kingdom of, i. 20. State of, under the commonwealth, 21. The Earl of Middleton holds a parliament there, 22. A parliament there, 64. The covenanters raiſe an inſurrection there, 110. But are defeated near the Pentland hills, 111. Lauderdale calls a parliament, 170. Affairs of, 212. Archbiſhop Sharpe murdered by the covenanters, 295. They take the field in arms, ib. But are routed by Monmouth, at Bothwell-bridge, 296. The Duke of York holds a parliament there, 359. The right of ſucceſſion [illegible] 360. A new teſt, 361. King [illegible] there, 440. A parliament [illegible] by the Earl of Argyle, [illegible] A parliament held there, 467. Indulgence granted there, 480. Affairs of, 536. Adminiſtration of, conferred on the Prince of Orange, 589. Convention of, meets, ib. Letters from the two Kings before them, 590. Many members ſecede, 591. Crown of, ſettled on King William, 592. Convention of, converted into a parliament, 614. Which is held by the Duke of Hamilton, ib. A great oppoſition, 622. A parliament there, 653. Intrigues in favour of the late King James, ib. Their ſubmiſſion to the new government, 687. An obſequious parliament there, ii. 33. Ill-requited by William, 34. A parliament held by the Marquis of Tweedale, 91. Proceedings of, on the affair of Darien, 153. Affairs of their company, 169. Diſcouraged by the King, 170. Diſtreſs of the adventurers, ib. A petition to the King, in the name of the whole nation, 180. A parliament held by Queenſberry, 189. A general ferment there, 190. A ſeceſſion of eighty members, 237. Act for ſettling the crown of, rejected, 238. And why, 239. A new parliament called there, 259. Act of ſecurity, 261. To which the commiſſioner refuſes his aſſent, 263. Act for the houſe of Hannover rejected, 262. Violent heats, 264. State of, with regard to England, 265. And obſervations thereon, ib. Act of ſecurity, 305. A parliament there, 353. In which a great majority are for the Union, ib. Tumults there, 354. The Union takes place, 357. Diſcontent of the Scots, 372. Affair of a medal there, 504.
Scot, a regicide, condemned, i. 12.
Scrogs, Chief Juſtice, impeached, i. 329.
Seaton, Sebaſtian, i. 75.
Seignelai M. de, i. 601.
Selwin, Colonel, his engagements with the court of St. Germains, ii. 51.

Seymour, Mr. accuſes Clarendon of treaſon, i. 101. is rejected as ſpeaker of the houſe of commons by the King, i. 280.

Shafteſbury, Earl of, lord high-chancellor of England, i. 159. Urges the King in vain to own the legitimacy of Monmouth, 178. Cauſe of his defection, 179. Is diſmiſſed, and why, 189. His factious conduct in the city, 197. At the King's deſire he retires to the country, ib. Is ſent to the Tower for moving, that the parliament was diſſolved by virtue of a receſs of fifteen months, 217. His oppoſition in parliament, 232. His project of burning a Pope, 328. His correſpondence with the Prince of Orange, 309. Preſents the Duke of York to the grand-jury of Middleſex for a Popiſh Recuſant, 317. His remarkable ſpeech to the grand-jury, 319. Preſents the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth for a common nuiſance, ib. His activity in the exclusion-bill, 326. Attempts, in vain, to get into [illegible] of London, 334. [illegible] acquitted by an ig[illegible] reconciled to the [illegible] Duke of York, 377. [illegible] being rejected, he [illegible] endeavours to create a difference between that Prince and the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, 378. Engages with Monmouth and Ruſſel in a conſpiracy againſt the King, 386. Retires to Amſterdam, 389. And dies, ib. His character, ib.

Sharpe, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, i. 110. A hiſtory of him, 293. Is murdered by the covenanters, 294.

Sheppard, ——, a member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 394. His evidence againſt Ruſſel, ib.

Skowel, Sir Cloudſley, one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, ii. 37. Commands the fleet in an expedition againſt Dunkirk, 71. Appointed to the chief command of the fleet, 316. His expedition to the coaſt of France, 347. Commands in an ineffectual expedition againſt Toulon, 370. Is ſhipwrecked near the Scilly Iſlands, 371. His character, 372.

Shrewſbury, Earl of, i. 304. Offers his ſervice to the Prince of Orange, 484. Invites him to come in a hoſtile manner to England, 506. Is ſent by that Prince to deſire King James to leave London, 544. Made ſecretary of ſtate, 577. Is gained by Marlborough to the views of the late King, ii. 6. His intrigues with the court of St. Germains, 61. Created a Duke by the ſame name, 65. Accuſed by Sir John Fenwick of correſponding with the late King, 121. Is diſmiſſed, 171. Lord chamberlain, 451. His correſpondence both with the Elector of Hannover and with the Pretender, 467. Ambaſſador at the French court, 579.

——, Counteſs of, her intrigues in favour of the late King James, ii. 62.

Sidney, Lord Viſcount, raiſed to the government of Ireland, ii. 29.

——, Algernon, enters with Monmouth and Ruſſel into a conſpiracy againſt the King, i. 390. Seized, 393. His trial, 402. Condemnation, 403. And execution, 404. His character, and a hiſtory of him, 405.

——, Mr. manages a correſpondence between Sunderland and the Prince of Orange, 477.

Skelton, ——, ambaſſador at the Hague, i. 439.

Smith, Aaron, his concern in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 406.

Smyrna fleet attacked, i. 153. Without ſucceſs, ib.

——, another, ſurpriſed, and many ſhips taken by the French, ii. 47.

Solmes, Count, takes poſſeſſion of Whitehall for the Prince of Orange, i. 543. Commands the army in Ireland, 668. Animadverſions on his conduct at Steinkirk, ii. 23.

Somers, lord-high-chancellor, diſmiſſed, ii. 182. His character, ib. Impeached, 204. Made president of the council, 404. His intrigues with Prince Eugene, 531.

Somerſet, Duke of, i. 487.

Sophia, Princeſs, Dutcheſs of Hannover, ii. 200. See *Hannover*.

Southampton, Earl of, lord-treaſurer, i. 4. His character, 5. Adviſes the laying up of the fleet, 92.

South Sea Company, riſe of, ii. 473.

Southwold Bay, battle of, i. 158.

Spain, Philip IV. King of, endeavours in vain to obſtruct the Portugal match, i. 30. Bad ſucceſs of his arms in Portugal, 62. Rejects a propoſed alliance with England, 79. Concludes peace with Lewis XIV. at Aix-la-Chapelle, 108. At peace alſo with Portugal, 110. Joins the Dutch againſt France, 197. Charles II. King of, eſcapes from his mother, orders her to be confined, and declares Don John, his natural brother, prime miniſter, 222. Bad ſucceſs of his arms on every ſide, ib. Joins with the States in a remonſtrance to the King of England, 365. Declares war againſt France, 416. Concludes a peace at Ratiſbon, 418. Oppoſes the peace of Riſwick, ii. 124. And why, ib. Intrigues for the ſucceſſion of, 126. Partition of the monarchy of, as ſettled in a treaty between England, France, and Holland, 156. Its effects on the court of Spain, 157. The ambaſſador of, preſents an inſolent memorial to the court of London, 167. For which he is ordered to quit the kingdom, 168. King of, dies, 190. His will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, 191. Exhauſted ſtate of, 214. At war with England, 234. Throne of, filled by the Arch-duke, 274. Who viſits the Queen of England, 279. Is choſen Emperor, 487. King of, renounces his title to the crown of France, 546.

Spragge, Admiral, Sir Edward, engages Van Tromp, i. 182. Is killed, ib.

Stafford, Viſcount, his trial, 331. Condemnation, 332. And execution, 333.

Stair, Lord Viſcount, a hiſtory of him, i. 614.

Stamford, Earl of, pardoned, i. 461.

Stanhope, General, taken priſoner, ii. 443.
St. Dennis, battle of, i. 241.
Steinkirk, battle of, ii. 17.
St. George, Chevalier de, ſon of King James II. aſſumes the title of King of England, ii. 215. A propoſed marriage between him and a daughter of Marlborough, 225. Undertakes an invaſion of Britain, 387. Sails from Dunkirk to the coaſt of Scotland, 388. But returns without ſucceſs, 389. Is adviſed by Marlborough to remove from France, 417. Which he declines, from motives of gratitude to Lewis XIV. 419. His ſchemes and views, 480. Writes to Queen Anne, 481. Endeavours in vain to gain the Engliſh miniſtry, 482. Marlborough's profeſſions for his cauſe, 500. Attachment of Queen Anne to his eventual ſucceſſion, 547. His party joins the miniſtry, 549. Writes again to Queen Anne, 550. Who urges him in vain to change his religion, 573. His views, 586.
St. Germains, palace of, in France, the reſidence of the late King James of England, 547.
St. John, Henry, preſents to the houſe of commons a bill to prevent occaſional conformity, i. 249. Secretary at war, 292. Reſigns, 380. Secretary of State, 455. His intrigues, 465. On bad terms with Oxford, 479. His profeſſions to the Electoral family, 483. A deſign to aſſaſſinate him, 533. His correſpondence with Lewis XIV. on the ſubject of hereditary right, 545. Is created Viſcount Bolingbroke, 567. See *Bolingbroke*.
Stormont, Viſcount, favours the Pretender, ii. 374.
Strafford, Earl of, ſent to the Hague to negociate a general peace, ii. 497.
Strathmore, Earl of, his attachment to the excluded Stuarts, ii. 374.
St. Ruth, defeated at Aghrim, i. 693.
Sunderland, Earl of, ſent ambaſſador to Spain, i. 150. Made ſecretary of ſtate, 284. Is gained by the Prince of Orange, 313. Votes for the bill of excluſion, 326. Diſmiſſed, 339. His intrigues with the Prince of Orange, 354. Reſtored to his former office of ſecretary of ſtate, 381. His artifices and intrigues, 429. His double dealing with Monmouth, 448. His character and councils, 464. Forms a ſecret Popiſh cabinet, of which he is preſident, 465. His intrigues in the cabinet, 474. And with the Prince of Orange, 477. Betrays his maſter's councils, 512. His diſgrace, 519. Favours the views of the late King James, ii. 53. His intrigues with that Prince, 64. Is viſited by King William, 87. Lord-chamberlain of the houſehold, 123. Diſmiſſed, 452.
———, another Earl of, his correſpondence with the Elector of Hannover, 468.
Sweden, regency of, adhere in friendſhip to the King of England, i 81. But avoid to enter into the war, ib. Charles XI. King of, joins France and meets with misfortune, 205. The King of Denmark makes an irruption into his dominions with ſucceſs, 209. But he defeats that monarch at Lunden, and forces him to retire to his own country, ib. Charles XII. of, is courted and feared by all the other powers in Europe, ii. 349. His quarrel with the Emperor, 368. Throws the balance of Europe from his hands, 369. Is totally defeated by the Ruſſians at Pultowa, 428. Gains a victory over the Danes, 446.
Swift, Doctor, a political writer, ii. 493.

T.

Talbot, ———, created Earl of Tyrconnel, i. 475. And raiſed to the government of Ireland, ib. Raiſed to the dignity of a Duke, 602.
———, Archbiſhop of Dublin, i. 171.
Temple, Sir William, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels ordered to the Hague, i. 107. Where he concludes the triple alliance, ib. Concludes a [illegible] the States, 240. Encourages [illegible] the Prince of Orange, 305. [illegible] from the councils, 339.
Tong, Doctor, together with Otes and Kirby, forms the Popiſh plot, i. 346. Of which he delivers a narrative to the King, 348.
Tempeſt, a dreadful one in England, ii. 278.
Tories and *Whigs*, two political parties, i. 314. See *Abhorrers* and *Petitioners*. The former favour the excluded Stuarts, ii. 52. Favoured by the Queen, 252. Their views in favour of the Pretender, 253. Their inconſiſtency, 332. Their motion in parliament, to invite the Princeſs Sophia to England, ib. Rejected, 333. Oppoſe the bill of regency, 334. Their profeſſions to the houſe of Hannover, 466. They are generally returned to ſerve in parliament, 468. Urge the Pretender, in vain, to change his religion, 573.
Torrington, Earl of, commands the fleet, i 669. Is defeated by the French, 670. Tried, and acquitted, 678.
Toulon, ſiege of, deſerted by the allies, ii. 370.
Tournay, town of, taken by the allies, ii. 421.
Tourville, a French admiral, ſails to La Hogue, ii. 11. Engages Admiral Ruſſel, 12. And is defeated, ib. Surpriſes the Smyrna fleet, 47. And takes many ſhips, 48.
Treby, ———, a violent patriot, diſmiſſed from the recorderſhip of the city of London, i. 401. Chief juſtice of the Common-Pleas, his ſeverity, ii. 39.
Trenchard, ———, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 388.
Trevor, Sir John, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, i. 651. Expelled for corruption, ii. 79.
Triennial act, i. 65.
Triple-alliance concluded, i. 107. Another, 212.
Tromp, Van, i. 87. See *Holland*.
Turberville, ———, an evidence in the Popiſh plot, i. 331.
Tullibardin, Earl of, commiſſioner to the Scotiſh parliament, ii. 118.
Turin, battle of, ii. 344.

Tweedale, Marquis of, holds a parliament at Edinburgh, ii. 90. Preſents a petition in the name of the whole Scotiſh nation, to the King, 176.
Tyley, ——, a member of the Rye-houſe plot, i. 390.

U.

Uniformity, act of, i. 41. Diſpenſed with by the King, 55.
Union of the two kingdoms, ii. 357.
Utrecht, peace of, ii. 587.

V.

Vane, Sir Henry, tried, i. 87. And condemned, 88.
Vendôme, Duke de, defeats the allies at Villa-Viciosa, ii. 444.
Venner, Thomas, his inſurrection, i. 17. Taken and executed, 18.
Villa Flor, Conde de, commands the troops of Portugal in the war againſt Spain, 62.
Villa-Vicioſa, battle of, ii. 444.
Villiers, Barbara, i. 52. See
Viner, Sir Robert, [illegible] 200. The King dines with the city upon the occaſion, ib.

W.

Wade, Captain, executed at Plymouth, for cowardice. ii. 275.
Wakeman, Sir George, the Queen's phyſician, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 250. Tried, and acquitted, 289.
Walcot, ——, engages in Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 389. Attends the Earl of Shafteſbury to Holland, ib. Tried and condemned, 394.
Wales, Prince of, his birth proved in a council extraordinary, i. 519. Declared King of Great Britain by Lewis XIV. ii. 215. Is attainted by act of parliament, 221. Takes the title of Chevalier de St. George, 388. See *St. George*.
Walpole, Robert, expelled the houſe of commons, ii. 537.
Walters, Mrs. the Duke of Monmouth's mother, i. 318.
Weſt, a lawyer, an inferior member of Monmouth's conſpiracy, i. 390. Surrenders himſelf, and turns evidence, 292. His teſtimony againſt Sidney, 403.
Wharton, Lord, ſent to the Tower, for moving in the houſe of lords, that the parliament was virtually diſſolved by a receſs of fifteen months, 217.
——, Earl of, raiſed to the government of Ireland, ii. 404. His character, 457.
Whigs, and Tories, two political parties, how they commenced, i. 314. Are diſguſted with King William, 650. Favour the court of St. Germains, ii. 4. 52. In chief power, 64. Are generally returned to parliament, 98. Their conteſts with the Tories, 217. Their conduct, 251. To gain Marlborough to their party, they propoſe a marriage between his daughter and the Electoral Prince of Hannover, ib. A great majority of, returned to parliament, 403. Are promoted, 404. Apply to the Houſe of Hannover, 468. Their dangerous deſigns, 451. Their intrigues, 507. Send for Prince Eugene, 526. Their deſigns, 575. And ſecret ſchemes, 582.
Whitbread, a Jeſuit, accuſed by Otes in the Popiſh plot, i. 251.
White, William, his caſe, ii. 315.
Wildman, ——, an agent of the court of St. Germains, ii. 4.
Wilmot, Admiral, commands the fleet in an expedition againſt Hiſpaniola, ii. 89.
William III. King of England, i. 566. His firſt ſpeech to parliament, 577. Suſpends the habeas corpus act, 579. Gives up the tax of hearth-money, 580. Tottering condition of his government, 581. Quells a mutiny, 582. His parliament refractory, 583. His coronation, 585. Adminiſtration of Scotland conferred on him, 589. His letter to the convention of that kingdom, 590. His ſtrange neglect of Ireland, 597. Declares war againſt France, 605. His fleet defeated, 607. Grants a penſion to the noted Otes, 613. His army under Mackay defeated at Killicranky, 619. Is confirmed on the throne, 644. Diſſolves his parliament, 649. Calls another, 651. Settlement of his revenue, 652. Goes to Ireland, 658. Engages King James at the Boyne, 659. Defeats him, 660. His military tranſactions there, 664. Beſieges Limerick in vain, 666. Cruelty of his army, 667. Returns to England, 668. Calls his parliament, 676. Goes to Holland, 682. His conference with the States, at the Hague, 683. Returns to England, 684. Takes the command of the allied army in Flanders, 685. Is offended with the Preſbyterians, 688. Returns to England, and meets his parliament, 698. His unpopularity, 700. Goes to Holland, 702. Signs a warrant for the murder of the Macdonalds of Glenco, 704. Which meaſure renders him unpopular, ii. 3. His councils betrayed to the late King, 4. Is threatened with an invaſion from France, 9. His fleet, under Ruſſel, ſails to La Hogue, 11. And an engagement enſues, 12. In which the French are defeated, 13. Is joined by the Dukes of Hannover and Zell, 16. Takes the command of his army in Flanders, 17. Witneſſes the taking of Namur, without being able to prevent its ſurrender, ib. Attacks the French at Steinkirk, 18. Who repulſe him, with loſs, ib. A conſpiracy formed againſt his life, 19. Returns to England, and calls his parliament, 21. Rejects the bill for ſhortening the duration of parliaments, 27. Goes to Holland, 39. Commands the allied army in Flanders, 40. Is defeated by the French at Landen, 42. Returns, 49. Aſſembles his parliament, 54. Admits Whigs and Tories promiſcuouſly into office, 65. Confers honours on ſeveral, ib. Goes to Holland, 66. His deſign upon Breſt, 67. Miſcarries, 68. Takes Huy,

Huy, 69. Returns to England, 71. Gives at last his assent to the triennial act, 72. His grief for the loss of his Queen, 74. Is reconciled to the Princess of Denmark, 75. Goes abroad, 84. Commands in person the allied army in Flanders, ib. Takes Namur, 87. Retires to his favourite residence at Loo, ib. His situation, 96. Dissolves the parliament, 98. And, to influence the new elections, makes a progress, ib. Visits the Earl of Sunderland at his country-seat, 98. Meets a new parliament, 99. A conspiracy formed against his life, 106. It is discovered, 107. Is disposed to make peace with France, 117. Passes into Holland, 124. Agrees that the son of the late King James should succeed him in the throne, 132. Concludes a general peace, 135. Returns, 137. Assembles his parliament, 138. Is disgusted with the resolutions of the commons, for disbanding the army, 143. Dissolves his parliament, 147. Sends Portland to France to negociate a treaty for the partition of the Spanish monarchy, 148. Goes abroad, 151. Signs the partition-treaty, 156. Meets a new parliament, 157. Threatens to abandon the kingdom, 160. Solicits the commons, in vain, for his Dutch guards, 161. Goes abroad, 165. The first partition-treaty being defeated, he listens to another, 166. Which being known, creates a misunderstanding between the courts of London and Madrid, 168. Orders the Spanish ambassador to quit the kingdom, ib. Discourages the Scotish company of adventurers, 170. Returns to England, 171. Changes his ministers, ib. Assembles his parliament, 162. His ill treatment of the Scots, 180. Changes his ministers, 181. Concludes another partition-treaty with France, 183. Enters into a treaty with the King of Sweden, 184. Goes to the Hague, 185. His fleet bombards Copenhagen, ib. Is well disposed toward Spain, 193. Calls a new parliament, 195. Is addressed by the lords against the partition treaties, 202. His prudent management of the commons, 203. Concludes the triple alliance, 212. Prepares for war, 216. His declining state of health, 217. Meets a new parliament, 219. Makes changes among his servants, ib. Falls from his horse, 221. His death, 222. And character, 223.

Williamson, Sir Joseph, i. 119.

Y.

Yarmouth, Earl of, favours the views of the excluded Stuarts, ii. 51.

York, Duke of, lord high-admiral, i. 4. Marries Mrs. Anne Hyde, 10. His character, 68. Commands the fleet, 72. Defeats the Dutch, 75. But an accident prevents him from pursuing the victory, 76. Returns to court, and is well received, 77. His activity in extinguishing the fire of London, 89. Opposes laying up the fleet, 92. Schemes to exclude him from the throne formed, 114. Embraces the Romish religion, 124. Opposes the Dutch war in vain, 126. His Dutchess dies, 146. Commands the fleet against the States, 156. Is surprised by the Dutch fleet at Southwold-bay, 158. Engages them at Southwold bay, ib. And defeats them, 160. Returns to court, 168. Schemes of Shaftesbury to exclude him from the throne, 178. In consequence of the test-act, he resigns all his employments, 184. Marries Mary D'Esté, daughter of the Duke of Modena, 186. Marries his eldest daughter, the Lady [illegible]y, to the Prince of Orange, 225. Is attac[illegible] by the commons, 261. Is excepted in the bill [illegible] disable Papists, 265. Is entreated by the King [illegible] ange his religion, 278. [illegible] Retires to Brussels, ib. [illegible] the thr[illegible] passes the [illegible] England, 301. Retires to Scotland, [illegible] urns, [illegible] 315. His conduct in Scotland, 31[illegible] resen[illegible] to the grand jury of Middlesex for [illegible] nance, 317. Retires again to Scotland, 322. Is accused by Fitzharris with being privy to a design of poisoning the King, 342. Its effects, 343. Holds a parliament at Edinburgh, 360. Is importuned, in vain, to conform, 362. His administration in Scotland, ib. Through the intrigues of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, he returns, 373. Is well received, 374. On his return to Scotland, he narrowly escapes shipwreck, 375. Lord high-admiral of England, 412. His influence, 419. Succeeds to the throne, 425. See *James* II.

York, Dutchess of, 53. Her death, and character, i. 146.

——, Mary D'Esté, Dutchess of, her character, i. 190.

Young, ——, his forgeries, ii. 20.

Z.

Zinzendorf, Count, the Imperial minister, interrupts the conferences for peace between the confederates and France, ii. 569.

Zulestein, ——, sent by the Prince of Orange into England, to foment disturbances, i. 487. Is sent again to congratulate King James on the birth of his son, 506. Brings letters from the Prince to the King, 543. Master of the robes to King William, 577.

THE END.

00031129

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016